THE DRAMATIC WORKS OF LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

THE DRAMATIC WORKS OF LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

Their Plots, Sources, and Bibliography

BY

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CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE xi

LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA (1579–1644) xv

BIBLIOGRAPHY xxv

DRAMATIC WORKS OF LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA 1

I. COMEDIAS NOVELESCAS—

1. A lo que obliga el ser Rey 3
2. Comedia segunda de los Agravios perdonados 7
3. Amor es Naturaleza 10
4. Los Amotinados de Flandes 14
5. El Caballero del Sol 17
6. Celos [Zelos], Amor, y Venganza 21
7. El Cerco del Peñón de Vélez 24
8. El Conde Don Pero Vélez y Don Sancho el Deseado 26
9. La Corte del Demonio 33
10. El Diablo está en Cantillana 39
11. Don Pedro Miago 43
12. El Embuste Acreditado y el Disparate Creído 46
13. El Espeio del Mundo 50
14. Los Fijos de la Barbuda 55
15. La Luna de la Sierra 60
16. El Marqués del Basto 64
17. La Niña de Gómez Arias 67
18. El Niño Diablo 73
19. Los Novios de Hornachuelos 78
20. La Obligación a las Mugeres y Duquesa de Saxonia 82
21. Cumplir Dos Obligaciones 85
22. Cumplir dos Obligaciones y Duquesa de Saxonia 86
23. El Príncipe Viñador 93
24. El Rey en su Imaginación 98
25. La famosa comedia del Rey Muerto 102
26. El Rey Naciendo Mujer 105
27. La Romera de Santiago 108
28. Santa Susana 111
29. La Serrana de la Vera 115
30. El Triunfo Maior de Ciro 118
31. Comedia Famosa del Verdugo de Málaga 121
32. Virtudes vencen Señales 125

CONTENTS

II. Comedias histórico-novelescas— PAGE

33. El Águila del Agua 135
34. El Alba y el Sol 140
35. El Amor en Vizcaíno, los Celos [Zelos] en Francés, y Torneos de Navarra 147
36. El Assombro de Turquía y Valiente Toledano 151
37. Atila Azote de Dios 155
38. Los Celos [Zelos] hasta los Cielos y desdichada Estefanía 160
39. El Cerco de Roma por el Rey Desiderio 164
40. El Conde Don Sancho Niño 167
41. La Conquista de Orán 171
42. El Hércules de Ocaña 176
43. El Hijo del Águila 180
44. Juliano [De Ivliano] Apóstata 183
45. El Lucero de Castilla y Luna de Aragón 188
46. Más pesa el Rey que la Sangre y Blasón de los Guzmanes 188
47. La Mayor Desgracia de Carlos V 194
48. La Montañesa de Asturias 196
49. La Nueva Ira de Dios y Gran Tamorlán de Persia 200
50. El Ollero de Ocaña 205
51. Las Palabras a los Reyes 210
52. Del Primer Conde de Orgaz y Servicio bien pagado 217
53. El Príncipe Escanderbey 220
54. El Príncipe Esclavo 225
55. El Privado Perseguido 228
56. Reynar Después de Morir 234
57. Comedia del Renegado de Jerusalén 239
58. El Rey Don Sebastián 243
59. Si el Caballo vos han muerto y Blasón de los Mendozas 248
60. Los Sucessos en Orán por el Marqués de Ardales 254

III. Comedias divinas (de santos, Bíblicas, etc.)—

61. La Creación del Mundo 261
62. La Devoción de la Misa 266
63. Comedia Famosa de la Hermosura de Raquel (Primera parte) 272
64. Comedia Famosa de la Hermosura de Raquel (Segunda parte) 276
65. El Lego de Alcalá 282
66. El Negro del Seraphín 285
67. La Rosa Alejandrina 290
68. Las Tres Edades del Mundo 294
69. Los Tres Portentos de Dios 297

CONTENTS

IV. Autos— PAGE

70. La Abadesa del Cielo 303
71. La Mesa Redonda 311
72. El Nacimiento de Cristo 313

V. Comedias escritas en colaboración con uno o más otros autores dramáticos—

73. Algunas Hazañas de las Muchas de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete 317
74. La Baltasara 322
75. El Catalán Serrallonga y Bandos de Barcelona 325
76. Enfermar con el Remedio 328
77. La Luna Africana 331
78. El Pleito que tuvo el Diablo con el Cura de Madrilejos 337
79. También la Afrenta es Veneno 340
80. También tiene el Sol Menguante 344

VI. Entremeses y Bailes—

81. La Burla más Sazonada 352
82. La Sarna de los Banquetes 353
83. Los Atarantados 354
84. Antonia y Perales 355
85. Los Sordos 356
86. Baile de la Colmeneruela 357
87. Baile de los Moriscos 357

VII. Comedias dudosas—

88. La Bienaventurada Madre Santa Teresa de Jesús 361
89. La Boba y el Vizcaíno 364
90. Del Capitán Prodigioso, Príncipe de Transilvania 368
91. Diego García de Paredes 373
92. Disparates del Rey Don Alfonso el de la Mano Horadada 376
93. El Milagro Imposible: Santa Rita de Casia 381
94. El Monstrvo de la Fortvna y Lavandera de Nápoles 383

PREFACE

FORREST EUGENE SPENCER was born in 1889; his active and promising career was broken off after a brief illness on February 7, 1920. It had been my privilege to direct some of his preparatory and graduate work; his death therefore came as a personal loss to me, and I accepted the responsibility of preserving, as far as possible, the work he left unfinished, more especially since a great deal of the material that he had gathered seemed both new and useful.

The reader will no doubt discover that the result of my efforts is of uneven workmanship, that it is less complete and spontaneous than the book which Dr. Spencer could have written had he lived to prepare all his gleanings for the press. But unfortunately my task was frequently interrupted by more urgent duties, by prolonged absences, and by my inability to consult the necessary books. This long delay I sincerely regret.

The papers which Dr. Spencer left were written entirely in his own hand and consisted of the notes, quotations, and résumés which he had set down in the course of his reading. Since this material was still in the rough, the first problem was to sift and organize it. Details of analysis or criticism that seemed of minor significance or relevancy have been excised. Much additional material in the field of sources and bibliography had to be inserted to bring it up to the present, and numerous dates have been verified wherever this has been feasible. Many of the volumes which Dr. Spencer consulted are exceedingly rare, so that it was not always possible to examine the originals. I have added a number of plays and *entremeses* by Luis Vélez which were not among Dr. Spencer's papers, but which are listed in accessible inventories of various European libraries in which they are preserved. During his sojourn in Madrid Dr. Spencer was also able to benefit by the wise counsel and vast erudition of my friend and collaborator, the late Professor Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, to whom he owed much of the information incorporated in his notes.

It would have been impossible to undertake this task without the substantial assistance of various colleagues to whom I here express my indebtedness: to Dr. W. A. Kincaid, who made the first type-

written transcript of all that we decided was useful material; to Muriel R. Allison and to Dr. H. Weber, for reading the copy at various stages of preparation, and to Professor R. L. Grismer, who verified many of the sources or books referred to by the author. To the Board of Research I am indebted for financial assistance in this long task. I have thus done the best I could with material which was partly unknown to me and with which I was often proceeding in the dark. It has turned out to be a more difficult undertaking than any of my own choosing has ever been. No doubt, errors of fact and judgment remain; in appealing to the charity of the critic I welcome all suggestions that may improve this effort.

A brief explanation concerning the disposition of certain material will be germane. Those plays which have been made accessible in more recent years have, nevertheless, been added in briefer form, in order to make the roster of Vélez' *comedias* as complete as possible, and for the sake of uniformity of treatment. All texts and reprints, even of recent date, are available only in large libraries, and the inclusion of the better-known plays may spare the student the irksome task of looking them up. The inconsistency of calling some acts *jornadas* and others *actos* is in accord with the originals that have been followed. No chronological order can be determined for the greater number of these compositions, since no data are available.

Vélez' plays do not seem to me to justify an extensive classification into numerous groups, such as have been attempted for the immense output of his chief contemporaries. There are four autographs extant: *El Águila del Agua, El Conde Don Pero Vélez y Don Sancho el Deseado, El Rey en su Imaginación,* and *La Serrana de la Vera.* Eleven dramas have at the close, in the manner of a signature, his poetic name *Lauro:*

El Amor en Vizcaíno	El Niño Diablo
Amor es Naturaleza	Los Novios de Hornachuelos
El Caballero del Sol	El Príncipe Escanderbey[1]
El Conde Don Sancho Niño	El Príncipe Esclavo
Don Pedro Miago	El Rey Naciendo Muger
El Hércules de Ocaña	Santa Susana

[1] I have made an exception of the play *El Príncipe Escanderbey,* which does not have the name of *Lauro* at the close; but it forms Part I of *El Príncipe Esclavo,* which is claimed by *Lauro; El Príncipe Escanderbey* may thus share the authenticity of Part II.

As such a signature may not always be considered sufficient proof of genuineness, I have attempted to apply all the criteria which point to Vélez as the author, namely, his love of supertypes of hero and heroine, his occasional mingling of *culto* with his speech, his varied verse forms, his use of the *romance* meter, his peculiar wit, his tendency to bring in unexpected and highly spectacular features, such as supernatural appearances and miraculous incidents, superb color in description and narrative, resourcefulness in varying the romantic or *novelesco,* and the frequent use of strange geography and un-Spanish backgrounds with an imaginary atmosphere. Other traits of his eloquent and facile poetic gift will be apparent from the separate reviews of his authentic plays.

The dramatic compositions of Luis Vélez de Guevara have been grouped under the following heads:

I. Comedias novelescas
II. Comedias histórico-novelescas
III. Comedias divinas (de santos, Bíblicas, etc.)
IV. Autos
V. Comedias escritas en colaboración con uno o más otros autores dramáticos
VI. Entremeses y bailes
VII. Comedias dudosas

Only by an arbitrary choice have two of these groups been designated *comedias novelescas* and *histórico-novelescas.* The former could more aptly include everything which Vélez' imagination treated, and, with respect to the *comedias histórico-novelescas,* it is apparent that, if one swallow does not make a summer, neither does the presence of one or more historical characters turn a play into history. If this was often true of the prototype, Lope de Vega, it is even truer of Vélez. This subdivision at least reveals what may have been the author's own conception of a historical play, and so justifies the separation of these plays into a group by themselves. Separate classes contain his *comedias divinas* or *de santos,* and his *autos,* followed by the small group of plays containing *comedias* written in collaboration with others. Although consisting of compositions on widely different themes, these works in collaboration have been kept together. Of Vélez' briefer pieces, such as *bailes, entremeses,* and the like, little is left. The group of *comedias*

dudosas which cannot be definitely ascribed to him but of which some may be his, at least in part, are placed together at the end.

The plan of giving only a condensed résumé of each play has evident shortcomings. Many important and significant details had to be sacrificed for the sake of brevity, and the particular technique displayed in the construction can be, at best, only vaguely guessed. The rehearsal of the plot also takes on a novelistic, narrative character to the detriment of the dramatic incidents. Lack of space has prevented the insertion of many valuable and typical passages; but to include in the analyses all quotations of importance would have greatly increased the bulk of the work.

Every play has been subjected to a uniform procedure as far as this has been practical. The beginning and the close of each play are given, and the first printed edition of the text is mentioned, together with the library in which it can be found. The number of Cotarelo's list is included, and the characters of the *comedia* have been inserted at the beginning of each résumé. Following the plot, bibliographical problems are discussed, the source of the composition is indicated if that could be ascertained, and related plays and imitations are mentioned. Many sources are difficult to detect, especially since there were often none whatever outside of the playwright's imagination.

If this book serves to further a truer appreciation of Luis Vélez' place in the theater of the Golden Age, the work involved will be amply justified. Our poet was, like so many of his contemporaries, a most prolific writer, and admittedly reached a high rank in his profession. The full significance of his dramatic contribution has never been adequately recognized or investigated in detail, and this study may be a step to a clearer understanding of his achievement.

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LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA
(1579–1644)

UNTIL RECENT TIMES, such biographies of Luis Vélez de Guevara as we had were based on a few accepted traditions and unauthoritative assertions. But a diligent search in archives and in the related literature of Vélez' day, conducted by several Spanish scholars, has brought to light some new material. The result now permits a restatement of certain essential features of his life and education; even so, hardly more than a skeleton of his career can be offered to the reader. Briefly, the principal facts are the following:

Luis, second child of Diego Vélez de Dueñas and Doña Francisca Negrete de Santander, was born in the town of Écija, in Andalusia, presumably in the latter half of July, 1579, since he was baptized on August 1 of that year. Both parents were of the middle class and belonged to families that followed the liberal professions. Rodríguez Marín, assuming, on insufficient grounds, that Luis Vélez was a descendant of Don Llorente Vélez de Guevara, "one of the three hundred hidalgos who took Jérez," makes him out a son of *padres hidalgos.*

Luis Vélez de Santander, as our author first called himself, attended school at Écija, and completed his studies at the University of Osuna, where he received his bachelor's degree on July 3, 1596. He then entered the service of Rodrigo de Castro, Cardinal-Archbishop of Seville. While a member of the cardinal's household, and possibly at his suggestion, he is reported to have composed an account[1] of the ceremonies held at Valencia in honor of the marriage of Philip III and Margaret of Austria, in April, 1599.

At this time Vélez decided to try his fortunes as a soldier. He asserts that he spent six years in his country's service, but this must be an exaggeration, for he adds that he was seventeen years of age when he enlisted; yet at seventeen he was still a student at the University of Osuna. He furthermore affirms that he took part in the expedition sent to Savoy and Milan under the command of the

[1] *Las Bodas de los Católicos Reyes de España D. Felipe III y Doña Margarita de Austria celebradas en la insigne ciudad de Valencia* (Sevilla, 1599). No copy of this work cited by Nicolás Antonio (*Bibl. Nova,* II:69) and attributed by him to Luis Vélez de Santander has thus far been found.

Conde de Fuentes, who set out from Barcelona on August 15, 1600. The date of Vélez' return to Spain can only be conjectured. About 1603 he contributed a laudatory sonnet to Agustín de Rojas Villandrando's noted book, *El viaje entretenido,* and a similar composition to Lope's *Rimas* (Seville edition of 1604).

When the court was once more transferred to Madrid (1606), Vélez followed, and the rest of his life was spent in the capital. In 1608, when we next hear of him, he is in the service of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Conde de Saldaña. He has changed his name to Luis Vélez de Guevara, according to the title page of an insignificant laudatory poem in *ottava rima* composed in honor of the young heir to the throne.[2] In the same year the Conde de Saldaña, for services rendered him by his *gentilhombre de cámara,* Luis Vélez de Guevara, granted him four hundred ducats, to be collected after April 10, 1610.

Vélez, who by this time had won some fame as a poet and dramatist and who had formed friendships with many of the leading literary men of his age, was from time to time commissioned to write plays. Of these, *El caballero del sol* was performed on Tuesday, October 10, 1617, the composition having been designed to grace the festivities held in honor of the founding of the collegiate church upon the estates of the Duque de Lerma.

The disgrace of this notorious favorite of the king (1618) was followed by the downfall of the entire Sandoval family to which the duke belonged, and of which Vélez' chief protector, the Conde de Saldaña, was also a member. It is thus not surprising to learn that the poet has abandoned a sinking ship and entered the service of Don Juan Téllez Girón, Marqués de Peñafiel (1621). This promised to be a period of good fortune for our author, but three years later the marquis died, Vélez' annuity as *gentilhombre de cámara* ceased, and he was again in the clutches of his chronic impecuniosity. In 1623 he was appointed, for a brief space, *portero* or gentleman usher of the chamber to the Prince of Wales, then a guest at the Spanish court, and in 1624 he was named majordomo to Prince Charles, Archduke of Austria, who had come to Madrid to visit his royal relatives. The poet was greatly pleased with his new position, because the archduke set a good table, and his major-

[2] *Elogio del Ivramento del serenissimo Príncipe Don Felipe Domingo, Quarto deste nombre:* de Luis Vélez de Guevara (Madrid, 1608) (Bibl. Nac.).

domo shared its excellent fare. But Charles died on December 23, 1624, a victim of his gormandizing, and Vélez once more found himself obliged, according to the custom of the professional hanger-on, to look for another sinecure. He therefore petitioned the king to grant him the position of gentleman of the wardrobe in the royal palace. Instead, in April, 1625, a higher position was given him, namely, that of *ujier de cámara,* or doorkeeper to the royal chamber. The services, however, carried no stipulated remuneration, and Vélez was frequently forced to petition the sovereign for financial support. In February, 1633, he addressed a petition to the *regidor* of Madrid, Don Juan de Tapia, requesting that the four hundred reales which he was to receive in payment for a religious play, or *auto,* composed by him for that year's Corpus Christi festival, be advanced to him, on the ground that he had never before found himself in such straitened circumstances. Fortunately his affairs were somewhat relieved by a monthly pension of two hundred reales granted him by the king, beginning March 21, 1633.

Meanwhile, Vélez had continued writing plays which won for him the admiration and esteem of his contemporaries. Owing in part to the favor which he enjoyed as a dramatist and poet, he was appointed presiding officer of a literary contest held in the palace of the Buen Retiro on February 20, 1637, in honor of the election of the king's brother-in-law, the Archduke Ferdinand, to the imperial crown. On Sunday, the 22d, a play of his was performed in the palace by the dramatic company of Alonso de Olmedo.

In 1641 was published the work by which Luis Vélez is best known to posterity. This is his justly esteemed prose narrative *El diablo cojuelo,* a clever satire on the life and manners of his times, on the character of which the first censor expressed the following opinion: "There is nothing to offend anyone's religion or politics in this book; throughout, the well-known delusions of this world are laid bare with great skill, and in such wise that to grasp them we need not reach beyond the extensive frontiers of our own nation; within it we have all types who by their dreams and their follies can furnish the best material from which to draw the illustrations." This book acquired additional fame among foreigners through Le Sage's adaptation, *Le Diable boiteux* (1707).

In April of the following year (1642) Vélez petitioned the king to be relieved of his duties as *ujier de cámara,* soliciting at the same

time that the office be given to his son, Juan. This request was granted, and Juan accordingly took the oath of office on June 10.

Old age and poverty were now joined against our author, and two years later, on November 10, 1644, his varied and productive life came to a close. He was survived by his widow and three children. His body was conveyed to the church of the Augustinian *Colegio*[3] *de Doña María de Aragón* (founded in 1590); there it was interred in the chapel of the dukes of Veragua, while a large concourse witnessed the last rites in his honor.

Luis Vélez de Guevara deserves a prominent place among the chief dramatists of the first half of the seventeenth century. He derives from Lope de Vega, and points unmistakably to Calderón. He expanded in every direction the Lopean conception of a *comedia,* and his works may be considered the logical outgrowth of the kind of entertainment which Lope had devised. The influence which Vélez exerted on the drama of Calderón is apparent, generally speaking, in certain spectacular elements of Calderón's more pompous or operatic plays, and, more specifically, in his use of some of Vélez' plots; these he revised in his characteristic manner, as can be seen in such examples as *La niña de Gómez Arias* and *Virtudes vencen señales.*

Vélez' forceful genius, his fertile poetic imagination, and his improvising power evidenced by hundreds of plays enabled him to realize the spectacle which he had visualized. Nevertheless, as with Tirso de Molina and others among his peers, his *comedias* were read less and less toward the end of the seventeenth century, and, with the exception of some sporadic issues during the eighteenth century, his dramatic compositions reposed in complete oblivion until a few of them were reprinted in the middle of the nineteenth century.[4] Fortunately, the author's name was kept alive by his widely read tale, *El diablo cojuelo.*

[3] According to Madoz (X:746), this church was demolished to make room for the present Senate building; what became of our poet's remains I have not learned.

[4] A beginning was made with the volume *Comedias escojidas de Luis Vélez de Guevara* (Madrid, 1832), containing *Reinar después de morir* and *El ollero de Ocaña.* Eugenio de Ochoa, in his *Tesoro del teatro* (1838), reprinted *Reinar después de morir;* the B.A.E. included six among the *Dramáticos contemporáneos de Lope de Vega* (Vol. XLV [1858]); and a few more were wrongly included among plays by Lope, Rojas, and Calderón.

Today a very meager portion of his literary remains is accessible, and to peruse all that is left, amounting to some fourscore plays[5] if we include a small group of doubtful compositions, the curious reader must visit numerous libraries scattered over Europe. Moreover, a few plays may have been erroneously ascribed to him which were in reality the product of the pen of his son, Juan, who was also a playwright and consequently introduces an element of confusion into his father's bibliography. Others may have survived listed under strange titles. Vélez made no attempt to collect and print his *comedias,* and his extensive production became the spoil of every editor who foresaw a profit in their publication. They have appeared in the unmethodical and haphazard collections known as the *Varios,* or *Diferentes autores,* and the *Comedias escogidas;* they were slipped into Lope's volumes and issued here and there under the names of the various contemporaries ranging from Lope to Calderón; they saw the light in slovenly, hastily set-up *sueltas,* and of several there exist what may be unique copies.[6]

Vélez took his place among other playwrights at an early age, if we may judge from the praises bestowed upon him by Cervantes, Lope, Montalván, and others.[7] In his *Viaje del Parnaso* (1614), the author of *Don Quixote* lauds Vélez, calling him "quitapesares" (trouble-soother), presumably because of his humorous vein and ready wit, and in the Preface to his *Comedias y Entremeses* (1615) Cervantes signalizes "el rumbo, el tropel, el boato, la grandeza" of Vélez' compositions. It would be difficult to find a better description than "pomp, tumult, pageantry, and grandeur" for those particular plays, which undoubtedly gave Vélez his peculiar reputation and represent the extreme to which he carried the Lopean

[5] Of his own fertility Vélez said in a *certamen poético-burlesco* (1637): "Hartos [consonantes] he sudado en cuatrocientas comedias que he hecho, sin los niños y viejos que son los romances, sonetos, décimas, canciones y otras varias poesías que han corrido de mí como de una fuente agua."

[6] When we resort to the evidence of manuscripts, the confusion is often increased. The authorship may repose upon no securer basis than in the printed copies, for the ascription is sometimes of a later date than the play itself and has been capriciously inserted by a more recent hand. There may even be two or more manuscripts, each attributing the play to a different writer. In a few doubtful plays, the only evidence of authorship is to be found in the combination of style and versification, in the stage technique, and in the subject-matter, in the date of its performance if that can be ascertained, or in definite allusions, and, finally, in some contemporary reference to play or author.

[7] Cf. Cotarelo, *Boletín de la Real Academia,* III, diciembre, 1916, and IV, abril, 1917.

manner. There also remain from his pen a few plays of smaller frame and restrained incident; but the greater number have extensive canvases characteristic of the type known as *comedias de ruido,* that is to say, turbulent and impressive dramas replete with unexpected occurrences and requiring large companies for their production. They must have made exceptional demands on the mechanical and physical capacity of any stage of those days.

Vélez was no doubt aware that he had exaggerated these features at times. In his novel, *El diablo cojuelo,* he inserts an amusing travesty of such romantic elements as are too extravagant to be suitable for the stage, and his criticism might well be applied to some of his own defects. When the hero of his tale, D. Cleofás, and his devil mentor reach a hostelry in Toledo, they find lodged therein a young student given to writing plays. One night when every guest is supposedly deep in slumber, cries of "Fire!" are heard and the whole inn is aroused. The cause of the disturbance turns out to be the student, who has been writing *comedias de ruido* full of blood and thunder. At the moment he was engaged in composing a play entitled *The Burning of Troy.* Having completely identified himself with his characters, he no sooner reaches the incident of the conflagration than he raises cries of "Fire!" The host and his alarmed guests discover him in a kind of paroxysm, foaming at the mouth and still murmuring "Fire." After being somewhat quieted he addresses his intruders as Trojans, admonishing them: "If you are Aeneas and Anchises with your Penates, you are too late, for Ilium has been burned to ashes. Priam, Paris, Polixena, Hecuba, and Andromache have paid their fatal tribute to Death, and Helen, the cause of all the mischief, has been carried off captive by Menelaus and Agamemnon, and the worst of it is that the Myrmidons have seized the Trojan treasure." The title of the play, the author explains, is *"A Trojan Tragedy: the shrewdness of Sinon, the Greek horse, the adulterous lovers, and the possessed (endemoniados) kings.* Enter first into the patio [stage] without preliminary music the Palladium and inside of it four thousand Greeks at the very least, armed cap-a-pie. 'But how,' remonstrated a bystander, 'can the whole of that machinery enter any patio or coliseum to be found in Spain, or even into a bull-ring?' 'That is easy,' replied the poet: 'tear down the walls of the theater, and a couple of blocks adjoining, to make room for my contraption,

the most portentous and novel that any theater has ever seen.' " Perhaps Vélez was here giving voice to the sentiments and opinions secretly entertained by some unhappy impresario whose ingenuity was taxed to perform one of his extravaganzas.

The essence of the creation of Lope, and especially of Calderón, has been characterized as purely Spanish, but nothing could be more Peninsular than the work of Vélez. Precisely in the portrayal of his supermen and superwomen he gave definite expression to thoroughly Spanish traits. Here we find a number of qualities which must have appealed strongly to his audiences. The rude or primitive details which he painted in such characters as *La serrana de la Vera, La barbuda,* and *El niño diablo* could well have been inspired by certain qualities of the Spanish people of the Hapsburg days. This is no stricture on the Spanish masses, for the same uncultivated and savage traits are apparent in the English public that crowded the pit in Elizabethan times. There can likewise be no doubt that Vélez, a thorough Spaniard himself, projected upon his favorite dramatic personages some of the ungoverned dynamic qualities of his own nature. To fill out the generous outline of his heroic conceptions he took his material wherever he found it of suitable dimensions; he magnified it after the manner of an impresario who exaggerates certain bits of stagecraft in order to convey the desired impression as forcibly as possible to the people on the other side of the footlights. As a result, his combinations have the atmosphere now of a romance of chivalry, now of imaginary stories of adventure, tempered with the naïveté of a fairy story in which certain details are permissible because they stir the imagination of the audience. Other themes which fit admirably into his heroic mold are patriotism and praise of Spain (*El alba y el sol*), the glorification of the true Faith and the overthrow of its enemies (*Juliano apóstata*), and the sacrifice of self or family for King or State (*Más pesa el rey que la sangre*). The wide scope of Vélez' plays likewise explains why his art, expanding the tenets of Lope, has discarded all shackles imposed by any classical conceptions of time, place, or action. Untrammeled by such theories of dramatic art, he held all epochs to be grist to his mill. Ancient plots with a pseudo-classic atmosphere were successfully disguised in the garment of Hapsburg culture. Early Christianity and the Reconquest, Renaissance themes, such as Tamerlaine, which engaged the pen of

Marlowe, the near Orient, Constantinople, Africa—all suggested to him plots replete with romantic incident.

Among the most impressive and spectacular themes are his plots with an ancient Spanish background, such as *Los fijos de la Barbuda, El diablo está en Cantillana,* and *La romera de Santiago.* Vélez also shows skill in embroidering a popular ballad or tradition, or folklore, as in *El príncipe viñador* or *La niña de Gómez Arias.* Among the best of his *comedias novelescas* are *La serrana de la Vera, La luna de la Sierra,* and *El embuste acreditado y el disparate creído.* Some are based on themes or stories which are the common property of European literature, such as *El rey en su imaginación, Amor es naturaleza,* and *El rey naciendo mujer.* The challenge of his *comedias histórico-novelescas* to history does not lessen their dramatic interest, even though they are, for the greatest part, romantic and imaginative. Some derive from pseudo-historical, genealogical, or legendary themes, or paint the valor and heroism of individual characters. Others have as their leitmotif the pride or the arrogance of the protagonist, or the poignant turn of fortune's wheel. The prestige of such names as Attila, called the Scourge of God, King Desiderius at the siege of Rome, Don Álvaro de Luna and his tragic fall, Alfonso VIII and his clandestine entrance into Toledo, lends to Vélez' *comedias históricas* sufficient authority to make them pass muster before a public wholly indifferent to historical fact.

Vélez' religious plays won him widely voiced approbation and helped to give him, while still a young man, the reputation that he was to preserve throughout his long career as playwright. In 1616 he was mentioned as an acknowledged master in composing *comedias de santos* and *autos sacramentales,* and it was indeed high praise that he was considered a worthy competitor in this field of Lope himself. His religious plays are noteworthy for their prophecies and dreams, their apparitions of heaven and hell, their wonder-working personages, and miraculous incidents which held a credulous public. Their sudden and spectacular effects were as novel and entrancing then as they seem extravagant or melodramatic today. The plots based on stories from the Bible are not precisely stirring, but they clearly reveal the naïve faith and simple piety of the listeners.

Vélez revised some of the compositions of others to make a play

of his own. This constitutes a peculiar kind of collaboration with an unsuspecting fellow-playwright, but it was extensively practiced by all his professional colleagues. In respect to his indebtedness to Lope de Vega, it is significant that Vélez frequently built upon his great contemporary, whom he resembles in rapidity of action, in facility of verse production, in quick change of scene and, notably, in his intuition concerning the popular taste. This resemblance to Lope is pointed out in later pages of this book.

Vélez' interests lay in development of the action rather than in well-rounded portrayal of character. He was either incapable of or indifferent to detailed psychological analysis. This explains the fact that the personages whom he can most successfully present are the heroic on a supernormal scale, and the comic in an unusual number of humorous types. The heroic are impressive for their valor, their exalted sentiments, their virtues of loyalty and steadfastness in times of need, or for their primitive and savage traits as exhibited in their revolting crimes and atrocities, their base and ignoble sentiments, their defiance of God and religion, and their disregard of all law. The comic characters are marked by their resourcefulness in coping with unexpected situations and their farcical words or actions, which must have had a popular appeal. Furthermore, their ready wit, their cowardly fear for their own well-being, and their gift of repartee are a happy leaven in many a play otherwise remote from modern taste.

Among the personages in Vélez' extensive world may be noted the usual roster of kings and queens, gallants and maidens in love, knights and gentlewomen, who were all indispensable in the development of the accepted comedy of intrigue. To create a pastime for the public was his aim, and if the declamatory powers of the actors did justice to the sonority of his verse, and the story and action reaped the applause of a contented pit, Vélez must have felt that his efforts were crowned with the desired reward.

A few details of our author's appearance, which have been inferred from casual references to him by his contemporaries, may serve to bring him nearer to the reader of today. He was probably tall in stature for a Spaniard, a trait in which his son, Juan, resembled him. He was of a restless and active disposition, and his wit was quick and caustic. His facile pen was a dangerous instrument, enjoyed as much by his friends as it was feared by liter-

ary rivals, who were legion in those days when so many writers scrambled for the protection of a Maecenas and snatched at the bounty tossed to their eager hands. We may happily record here that Vélez' greatest contemporary, Cervantes, in the *Viaje del Parnaso,* speaks affectionately of him, as of a personal friend:

> Topé a Luis Vélez, lustre y alegría
> y discreción del trato cortesano,
> y abracéle, en la calle, a medio día.

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2. An autograph letter addressed by Vélez to the *regidor* of Madrid, D. Juan de Tapia, dated February 10, 1633, in which the writer begs that the remuneration for that year's dramatic composition be advanced him (Municipal Archives of Madrid, Class 16, II:196; published by D. Cristóbal Pérez Pastor in *Bibliografía madrileña*, III:512).

3. A letter addressed to D. José de Pellicer by Vélez' son Juan, dated October 20, 1645, in which several details of the poet's life are given, the accuracy of which leaves much to be desired, published by D. Antonio Paz y Melia in the *Revista de Archivos*, VII:129 (1902).

4. Biographical documents relative to Vélez and members of his family published by Pérez Pastor in his *Bibliografía madrileña* (III:499–515); also in his *Noticias y documentos relativos a la historia y literatura españolas* (I:289).

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6. Pedro José Suppicio de Morães' *Colleção de apothegmas* (Lisbon, 1733), Part II, Book III, which records several of Vélez' witty sayings.

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8. A. Bonilla y San Martín, "Más Diabluras," in his *Anales de la literatura española* (1904), p. 193; Professor Bonilla has also printed a critical edition of *El diablo cojuelo* (Vigo, 1902; ed. 2, revised in the *Bibliófilos madrileños* [1910]), with an Introduction and Notes.

9. D. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, "Luis Vélez de Guevara y sus obras dramáticas," *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, III, *cuaderno* 15 (1916); IV, *cuadernos* 17, 18, 19 (1917).

10. J. Gómez Ocerin, "Un nuevo dato para la biografía de Vélez de Guevara," *Revista de Filología Española*, IV (1917).

11. Prologue to Rodríguez Marín's edition of *El diablo cojuelo* (*Clásicos castellanos* [Madrid, 1918], XXXVIII).

12. J. Hurtado y Angel González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura española* (ed. 3; Madrid, 1932), pp. 651ff. and 1069. The assertion of the authors: "casi todas las comedias [de Vélez] derivan de otras de Lope de Vega sobre el mismo asunto," is an entirely unwarranted generalization, as only a small part of Vélez' compositions was available to them.

13. *Teatro antiguo español, textos y estudios,* I: Luis Vélez de Guevara, *La serrana de la Vera* (R. Menéndez Pidal y María Goyri de Menéndez Pidal, 1916), and III: *El rey en su imaginación* (J. Gómez Ocerin, 1920); Luis Vélez de Guevara: *Los novios de Hornachuelos,* edited with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary, by J. M. Hill and Frank O. Reed (1929), with selective bibliography.

14. Mérimée and Morley, *History of Spanish Literature* (1930), pp. 361 and 394ff.

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I. COMEDIAS NOVELESCAS

[1]

A LO QUE OBLIGA EL SER REY

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Abr. ¿A estas horas sin dormir?
bien pudiéramos los dos
jurar de grullas, por Dios.

[LAST LINES]

Abr. y *a lo que obliga el ser Rey*
de esta materia se acabe
sin muerte, ni casamiento;
que ha sido dicha notable.

First published in *Nuevo Teatro de Comedias varias de diferentes autores, Décima parte* (Madrid, 1658), which is in the Biblioteca Nacional. The *suelta*, in Schaeffer's library, is now in the library of the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, Sammelband XLV, No. 5. (Cotarelo 1.)

CHARACTERS

Don Ximen de Vargas.
Abril, *gracioso.*
Don Alonso el Sabio, rey mozo.
Seis ladrones.
Doña Hipólita de Lara.
Laura, criada, *graciosa.*
Don Nuño, conde de Lara, viejo.
Doña Violante, reina.
Don Felipe, infante.
Ortún, criado.

JORNADA I

D. Ximen de Vargas Manrique is enamored of Doña Hipólita, daughter of the count of Lara. Although informed by his lackey, Abril, that the king, Alfonso the Learned, is also paying her court, he refuses to credit the report, inasmuch as Burgos is then making preparations to receive Doña Violante of Navarre as queen of Castile.

The king, however, is really infatuated with Hipólita, and is soon after rescued by Ximen from a band of robbers who attacked him on his way to her house in disguise. Hipólita grants him an interview, and Ximen is appointed to stand guard at the door while his sovereign is within. The unhappy lover's suspicions are thereby awakened, and, despairing of his mistress' fidelity, he leaves his post.

Hipólita, however, has summoned the king in order to request him to discontinue his unwelcome attentions; such conduct is not

only inconsistent with his appelation of "Sabio," but, if persisted in, will prove ruinous to her reputation. Interrupting their interview, Hipólita's father, Count Nuño de Lara, enters and reproves both his daughter and the king for meeting under suspicious circumstances. The king replies that he has come to arrange for the marriage of Hipólita with D. Ximen (for whom she has just confessed her love), and that it is his wish that he and the queen be the sponsors at the wedding, which he desires shall take place at the same time as his own with Doña Violante.

After the departure of the king and the count, Ximen, with joy, bursts in upon Hipólita. Having entered the house in order to see what was happening, he has overheard all from his place of concealment. Hipólita is angry with him for his lack of trust in her, and bids him follow the king without delay lest he offend her again.

Doña Violante, meanwhile, complains to the infante, D. Felipe, of the king's neglect, and expresses her fears that certain rumors of his attachment for Doña Hipólita are true. The infante defends the king, saying that such love adventures, on the eve of marriage, are hardly worthy of credence, especially in view of Alfonso's reputation for sagacity and wisdom. The king enters and introduces Ximen and Hipólita to his bride, who with difficulty conceals her jealousy when she hears her future husband speak of her rival in terms of praise. The two couples depart for the marriage rites.

Jornada II

After the marriage ceremonies, life at court is made difficult for Ximen and Hipólita because of the queen's enmity and her violent dislike of them. The aged count, Hipólita's father, is insulted by the infante, brother to the king, who intimates that Hipólita is the king's mistress. The old man is greatly alarmed, and, fearing it may be true, bids Ximen look to the preservation of his honor. The young husband's suspicions are again awakened, and he cries out against the king for thus ignobly rewarding his many services. The king overhears him, and, learning the cause of his distress, quiets his fears by counseling him not to put faith in idle rumors of the truth of which he has no proof, adding that everyone in high position is subject to envy, malice, and slander.

However, Ximen sees Abril soon afterward hand a letter to Alfonso, which the jealous husband assumes to be from Hipólita;

in reality, it is a challenge from the count to the infante that the king has intercepted. The queen, too, has been a witness of the episode, and Alfonso, noting the general agitation, asks her and Ximen to read the letter together.

JORNADA III

This they do at once but, inasmuch as the contents confirm the previous suspicions of Ximen and the queen, he is unable to read it through, and she leaves her royal spouse in anger. The king reads the letter and realizes that both the queen and Ximen have reason to be perturbed since the count, crediting the rumors that he has heard against his daughter's honor, holds her guilty. Alfonso is vexed at his brother for having spread these false reports, and the brother, on hearing of the mischief he has caused, is filled with regret and promises Alfonso to make amends.

Ximen, after a prolonged internal struggle, concludes that idle gossip should have no weight since he has not actually seen anything detrimental to his honor. But Hipólita, who has learned of his doubts, questions the devotion of one who has so little faith in her. She adds that the only way in which he can restore his honor is to slay her, and, when he refuses, says that she will kill herself with his sword. The king overhears her and orders her to desist. He adds that it is a king's duty (*A lo que obliga el ser rey*) to clear the reputation of noble subjects in such undeserved plight. When asked to name the person responsible for circulating the false reports against Hipólita, the queen, much to the reader's surprise, lays the blame on a courtier, D. Vela, who acknowledges his guilt, saying that he was jealous of the favor shown at court to the count of Lara.

The king orders D. Vela to post a royal decree in Burgos to the effect that Ximen has been created an admiral and the count of Lara a constable, and both are advised to leave the court and live on their estates; the infante is given the office formerly held by Ximen.

A LO QUE OBLIGA EL SER REY in its first known edition was ascribed to Vélez. A seventeenth-century manuscript copy in the Biblioteca Nacional, No. 16843, from the Osuna Library, attributes it to Calderón, as does another manuscript copy of the seventeenth century,

likewise in the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 16029), but a different handwriting on the first page of the text says: "es de guebara y se halla en la Parte 10 de Varias."[1] La Barrera[2] does not class it among the plays of Vélez published as *sueltas,* but Rennert mentions a *suelta* in the Munich library and says that it is a fragment from what was a volume of miscellaneous *Comedias,* fols. 21–39, formerly in the library of J. R. Chorley, in which it is ascribed to Lope.[3] *A lo que obliga el ser rey* was performed at Madrid by the company of Roque de Figueroa on March 28, 1628.[4] The argument of the play is purely *novelesco.*

[1] Paz y Melia, *Catálogo,* pp. 7–8.
[2] *Cat.,* p. 467.
[3] *Rev. Hisp.,* XXXIII: 138.
[4] H. A. Rennert, "Notes on the Chronology of the Spanish Drama," *Mod. Lang. Rev.,* II:332.

[2]

COMEDIA SEGUNDA DE

LOS AGRAVIOS PERDONADOS

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Rey. ¿Quién puede a tal fiesta y día
resistir, si el pecho estrecho

[LAST LINES]

Fabio. Perdonen mis convidados
si el convite ha sido ruin
para que fueron llamados;
que segunda vez dan fin
los agrauios perdonados.

Manuscript 15067 (17th-century copy), Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 2.)

CHARACTERS

Fabio.	La infanta Leonora.	Claudio.
Ardenio.	Un secretario.	El duque Fabio.
Un arzobispo.	Conde Octavio.	Un paje.
El rey Eduardo.	Laura.	Cuatro jueces.
Celia.	Julio, lacayo.	Criados.
Astolfo.	El marqués Clenardo.	Un músico.
El duque Ricardo.		Guardas.

JORNADA I

At the wedding of Celia, daughter of an English duke, and Astolfo, son of the king of Scotland, Celia's brother, Fabio, falls in love with a picture of Leonora, his brother-in-law's sister. His infatuation leads him to the court of Scotland, where, shortly after his arrival, he rescues the object of his passion from Richard, duke of Orléans, who is about to abduct her against her will. Richard is killed in the skirmish, but the incident wins for Fabio the gratitude and love of Leonora.

Richard's cousin, the marquis Clenardo, is promised the hand of Leonora by her father if he will prevail upon the king of France to desist from preparations to wage war on Scotland in order to avenge his son's death. When Clenardo tells Leonora of this compact with her father, she thinks it best to conceal her real feelings; pretending to accept his offer, she asks for a three months' post-

ponement of the marriage. Fabio has been a silent witness to this bit of statecraft, and, thinking his mistress really guilty of duplicity toward him, he slaps her in his rage and challenges the marquis to a duel.

JORNADA II

As a result of this insult inflicted by her beloved, Leonora falls ill and is only cured when Fabio, in the disguise of a mad shepherd, explains that he struck her in the belief that she was unfaithful to him and humbly begs her pardon for the insult he has offered her.

Clenardo, meanwhile, finding that Fabio has steadily avoided him, decides to avenge himself by slandering Celia, his rival's sister. This he accomplishes by intimating to Astolfo that his wife is guilty of infidelity. The jealous husband lends a ready ear to this false report, and Celia is arrested and imprisoned.

JORNADA III

The accused is given thirty days in which to prove her innocence; if within that period no champion appears in her defense, she will be condemned to death. On the eve of the expiration of the period, three champions appear to defend her, the duke her father, Fabio, and Leonora. She is told to choose among them and elects her brother, Fabio. In the ensuing contest Clenardo is defeated, and he confesses that he slandered Celia in revenge for the blow which Fabio gave Leonora in his presence. Leonora avenges herself upon Clenardo by plighting her troth to Fabio.

LOS AGRAVIOS PERDONADOS is evidently a second part, as the lines indicate:

> que segunda vez dan fin
> *Los agrauios perdonados.*

The opening scene is perplexing and confusing; the relationships between the principal characters are far from clear. Fabio is nephew of the king of Scotland and grandson of the king of England. Astolfo is nephew of the king of England, whereas the duke, father of Celia and Fabio (and son of the king of England?) is vaguely connected with the king of Scotland. In vain one endeavors to unravel this tangle. Such confusion would indicate that the present manuscript was inaccurately copied from some other manuscript, or perhaps from a poorly and carelessly printed copy, al-

though such discrepancies are not found even in those plays of Vélez which were printed as *sueltas*. The fact that we are dealing with a second part may explain the mystery, and the present confusion may have arisen from an attempt to alter the play so that the second part might be presented independent of the first part. The whole play is obviously a work of the imagination, containing many well-known themes of fiction and the theater, such as the hero's falling in love with a picture of the heroine, abduction, revenge, and false accusations of infidelity.

La Barrera[1] lists the play, both the first and second parts, as a *suelta*. The dates of composition and publication have not been ascertained. There is an anonymous manuscript (No. 15099) in the Biblioteca Nacional entitled *Los Agravios castigados,* but it bears no relation to the present drama.

[1] *Catálogo,* p. 476b, "*Los Agravios perdonados,* primera y segunda parte."

[3]

AMOR ES NATURALEZA

[DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA]

[FIRST LINES]

Carl. Aspiró a estrella el ñeblí,
y luego sobre la espuma

[LAST LINES]

Desta suerte escribió *Lauro*
que *Amor es Naturaleza,*
pidiéndoos perdón, Senado,
y acabando la Comedia.

This *comedia* has had several impressions as a *suelta* (18th century), in all of which the authorship is ascribed to Montalván (Bibl. Nac.; Schaeffer, XXI). The concluding verses given above make *Lauro,* the poetic name of Vélez, the author; since the play is more in Vélez' than in Montalván's manner, we may assume that Vélez is the author. (See G. W. Bacon, *The Life and Dramatic Works of Dr. J. P. de Montalván* [1912], p. 434; omitted by Cotarelo.)

CHARACTERS

Carlos, duque de Milan.	Apolo, duque de Mantua.	Laura.
César, marqués.	Alpino.	Leda.
	Alfreda.	

ACTO I

While Carlos, duke of Milan, is hunting in the mountains with his friend, the marquis César, he comes upon some peasants, one of whom informs him that near by dwells a monster whose savage disposition only music can soothe:

Un monstruo, que no sabemos
si es salvaje, o si es salvaja,
porque trahe siempre el cabello
tendido sobre la cara,
y viste pieles de lobos
cervales, que el mismo mata.

Carlos accompanies the peasants in order to seize the monster and take it captive to Milan.

This wild creature, once it is duly soothed by the power of music, turns out to be a woman, Alfreda by name, with whom the duke

falls in love, and who, in turn, passionately returns his affection. At this, Carlos can only conclude:

que el amor
es naturaleza en todo.

Alfreda favors her lover with her life history. An old man who had acted as both father and tutor to her, revealed to her that she had been reared in a cave in the forest and suckled by a wolf. He told her, also, that her name concealed some mystery which time alone would reveal. One day, a young manservant of her guardian attempted to make love to her. This so enraged her that she tore him limb from limb, and in her frenzy, in spite of the protestations of her guardian, she fled to a neighboring region. Every man who there crossed her path met death at her hands. On seeing Carlos she had not experienced this savage desire to kill, but had fallen prey to gentler emotions, whence she infers:

que es, sin duda, el amor naturaleza.

Accordingly she follows the duke, without more ado, to Milan.

Acto II

Apolo, duke of Mantua, comes to Milan in order to arrange for a double marriage between himself and Laura, Carlos' sister, and between Carlos and Apolo's own sister, Leda. On seeing Alfreda in the ducal palace, he falls in love with her beauty, but she disregards his attentions. This conduct on the part of Apolo so complicates the situation that Laura becomes offended by his inconstancy. Alfreda is made almost uncontrollably jealous, and Carlos becomes obstinate in his determination to marry none other than Alfreda.

Carlos is now warned anonymously that, unless he marry Leda on that very day and send Alfreda back where he found her, another will be elected duke of Milan in his stead. Alfreda also receives word that her guardian, who has learned of her presence in Milan, has been stricken with paralysis and wishes to see her. He has secrets of great importance to communicate to her. Dominated by her passion, she refuses to obey his summons, preferring to remain with her lover. She subsequently learns from Carlos of the threatening missive that he has received. When he suggests that she absent herself for a short time only, her savage nature revives, she accuses Carlos of neglect and inconstancy and leaves the palace with the intention of resuming her former life.

ACTO III

In her former abode she meets her guardian, Alpino, and learns from him that her father, who was duke of Milan, was killed by traitors, as was also his wife, the duchess, who survived only long enough to give birth to a child. Alpino had come upon the duchess just as she was about to be delivered. He had taken the child, a little girl, and brought her up secretly. The old man's story is interrupted by the abrupt exit of Alfreda, who hears outcries near by.

Meanwhile, Carlos, distraught by the sudden disappearance of his beloved, leaves his home to search for her in the mountains. After some fruitless wandering he encounters her, but she, having determined to slay him, will not listen to his protestations of love. At this critical moment the sudden sound of music softens her mood, but her jealousy bursts out afresh when she discovers that he has in his possession Leda's portrait, a token which his sister, Laura, has given him in the hope that it will cure his passion for Alfreda.

With matters at this pass, a band of men, which has been sent to arrest Alfreda, comes upon the scene, but Carlos swears that none shall harm her. When the men nevertheless attempt to kill her, Alpino suddenly appears and informs them that they are about to slay the true duchess of Milan, and that Carlos, who has hitherto been considered the lawful heir, is in reality his own son, he himself being the marquis of Alpino.

In conclusion, Alfreda, as duchess of Milan, decides to marry Carlos, and she betrothes Apolo to Laura and César to Leda.

THE ARGUMENT OF THE PLAY, as the preceding analysis indicates, can lay no claim to originality; it is merely a dramatic treatment of the age-old themes of concealed identity and the interchange of children at birth. They are used, also, in *El rey en su imaginación* (p. 98). The singular revenge taken by a woman, either from real or fancied wrongs, on all members of the opposite sex who cross her path, is also in no wise unique. Vélez made this the leading motif in two other plays; namely, *La serrana de la Vera* (p. 115) and *La montañesa de Asturias* (p. 196). Modern critics may be inclined to see in the elemental savagery of this and similar strange plots an expression of the dynamic but primitive traits of the author. It certainly manifests a peculiarly cynical conception of the innate

character of women, which, however, was rather common in the satirical writers of his times.

Amor es naturaleza is by no means dull reading, as the play is vigorous, spirited, and full of action. But this is its chief merit, because the characters are not given sufficient individuality and the intrigue verges on the conventional. The language, too, is *culto* to a marked degree.

[4]

LA GRAN COMEDIA

LOS AMOTINADOS DE FLANDES

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Con. Flamenca de Barrabas,
¿qué me quieres?
Isab. Español,
si sabes que sigo el sol,
¿para qué me apuras más?

[LAST LINES]

Con discursos tan humildes,
por ser la pluma tan corta.

First published in *Parte treinta y una de las mejores comedias que hasta oy han salido* (Barcelona, 1638); Ticknor library; Schaeffer; and again in *Quinta parte de comedias escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1653, 1654); often republished as a *suelta;* Bibl. Nac. Performed in Madrid by Roque de Figueroa's company, September 25, 1633.[1] (Cotarelo 6.)

CHARACTERS

Archiduque Alberto.	Capitán Olivera.	Sabina, labradora.
Conde de Fuentes.	Un alférez.	Conde Mauricio.
Don Diego de Silva,	Gonzalo.	Felipe de Nasao.
del hábito de Santiago.	Isabela.	Soldados.

JORNADA I

Delay in receiving their pay has caused the men of Don Diego de Silva, an officer in the army of Philip II in the Netherlands, to mutiny. They attempt to kill him, but his courage wins their admiration and they spare his life.

He meets Doña Isabela, a young woman who, because of her love for him, has followed him to the wars. She tells him of her devotion, but on learning that he loves another she seeks redress.

JORNADA II

Don Diego is prevailed upon by Gonzalo, one of his men, and a go-between in the service of Doña Isabela, to be less harsh in his

[1] Rennert, "Notes on the Chronology of the Spanish Drama," *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, II:333.

demeanor toward her. Accordingly, when next he sees Doña Isabela, he feigns love for her and is about to embrace her when the count of Fuentes surprises him. Isabela retires, but not so far that she cannot overhear their conversation. The count chides Don Diego for making love to a peasant girl as, from her dress, he judges Isabela to be. Don Diego begs leave to explain and the count grants the request. He begins the story of an earlier love adventure with a woman whose name he does not mention; but important news brought by one of the captains interrupts his narrative and calls him to immediate military duty.

After his departure Doña Isabela comes from her hiding place, and asks permission to continue Don Diego's interrupted tale. Her request is granted after no slight astonishment on the part of the count, who thinks her a presumptuous peasant girl. She gives him to understand that she is the lady to whom Don Diego referred and weaves a web of plausible falsehoods, concluding with the statement that there is a plot against the life of the archduke Alberto, of which she had learned while a prisoner of one of the conspirators, Don Diego's rival. In recompense for this (false) information the count promises that she shall be married to Don Diego.

Several people now appear on the scene with memorials for the archduke. As Doña Isabela has just stated that one of the memorials contains poison, the count requests her to indicate its bearer. This sudden challenge to corroborate her recent charges takes her by surprise, but her ingenuity does not fail her. She points out a certain old man as the guilty one, and makes her escape from an embarrassing situation.

The old man is charged with attempting the life of the duke, but is vindicated, as he proves to be the bearer not of a poisoned missive but of an offer from some citizens of Brussels to pay the mutinous soldiers until money can be sent by the king. The memorial also blames the count for the heavy taxes laid upon them, a declaration which inclines the archduke to think that Isabela's accusation against the old man was a ruse to keep the archduke in ignorance of the count's methods of government. He chides the count, who, fired with a generous impulse, offers his own plate to the mutinous soldiers to cover their expenses until their pay arrives. The soldiers, touched by this generous act, refuse his offer and pledge themselves to serve him faithfully in the campaign.

JORNADA III

Sabina, a bearer of important messages for the Dutch forces, is taken captive by the Spaniards. She becomes a traitor to her people and gives the count much valuable information, which enables the Spaniards to win a victory over the Dutch. The play ends with the betrothal of Isabela and Don Diego, who suddenly experiences an overpowering love for the woman who had shown him such constant devotion.

THIS PLAY has little merit. The second act is by far the best; the last act drags and is a wearisome appendage to the theme of the first two. The play would have greater unity had it ended in a settlement of all difficulties with the mutinous soldiers, and were some preparation made in previous scenes for Don Diego's sudden and surprising declaration of love for Isabela. The second act contains two good scenes: that which depicts the old man wrongfully accused of plotting the archduke's death, and that in which the count wins over his mutinous men by his generous offer of aid.

The argument of the drama is purely fictitious. There is no reference in contemporary histories to a mutiny of the men of one Don Diego de Silva's company in 1595.[2] Similar uprisings of the Spanish soldiers in the Netherlands were common in those days; Vélez saw the dramatic possibilities in such events, and availed himself of them.

[2] The letter found in the possession of Sabina (Act III) is dated October 4, 1595. This date might well be an anachronism on the part of the author even if the rest of the story were based on fact. For an account of events of that period in Flanders, see *Las Guerras de los Estados Baxos desde el año de mdlxxxviii hasta el de mdxcix*, por D. Carlos Coloma, cauallero del Abito de Santiago, en Amberes, en casa de Pedro y Juan Bellero, 1625; *Las Guerras de Flandes desde el año de mil y quinientos y cincuenta y nueve hasta el de seiscientos y nueve*, por Don Francisco Lanario y Aragón, Duque de Carpiño, en Madrid, por Luis Sánchez, Impressor del Rey N. S. Año 1623.

[5]

EL CAVALLERO DEL SOL

COMEDIA FAMOSA

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Lau. Una notable Nave en la ribera
ha dado fondo, y della salta aora

[LAST LINES]

Lis. Desta suerte *Lauro* acaba
el Cavallero del Sol,
siendo dueño de Diana.

First published as a *suelta* without date—"Con licencia: En Sevilla, por Francisco de Leefdael, en la Casa del Correo Viejo"; Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 11.)

CHARACTERS

Armindo.
Febo, príncipe de Ingalaterra.
Artenio, ayo.
Adonis, príncipe de Tracia.
Paris, príncipe de Siria.
Píramo, príncipe de Dalmacia.
Florisel, príncipe de Hungría.
Diana, princesa de Nápoles.
Lisardo, rey de Ingalaterra, viejo.
Don Roque, caballero español.
Narcisa, dama.
Nise, dama.
Merlín, *muchacho gracioso.*
Lauro, pescador.
Un postillón.

JORNADA I

Febo, prince of England, on arriving at Naples, accompanied by his attendant Artenio, learns that the beautiful Diana, princess of the kingdom, persistently rejects the numerous suitors for her hand. Febo, too, it seems, is unwilling to marry following the death of his beloved, his *Sol* (Sun), for which reason, indeed, he has fled from England. When he meets Diana surrounded by her many admirers, he conceals the fact that he is a prince, telling her that he is an English knight who, after losing his beloved Sol through death, in order to avoid marrying another has left his native land in a ship draped in black, with the Sun as emblem. He is therefore called the Knight of the Sun. Finally, he gives notice that forty days thereafter he will maintain in open tournament the unsurpassable beauty of Sol.

Meanwhile, a Spanish knight, Don Roque, with his servant, Merlin, comes to Sicily; he hears of the challenge of the Knight of the Sun and determines to enter the tournament. Diana falls in love with Febo, but because of her jealous resentment of his constancy to Sol, she treats him in the most capricious fashion. At one moment she orders him to be gone on pain of death, then bids him see her every day. These sudden changes naturally bewilder him.

Jornada II

At a poetical tournament Diana seeks to awaken Febo's love by making him jealous of other suitors. She is partly successful, but he remains true to his first love, and she angrily bids him leave. When about to make his departure, he reveals his identity to her, whereupon she bids him stay until the tournament and confesses her love for him. He replies that he must remain faithful to the memory of Sol.

Soon after, Febo learns that Paris, one of Diana's suitors, aided by several others, has made off with her in a ship on which she was coming to pay him a visit on board his own vessel. This news awakens his jealousy and love and he determines to win her for himself; the new love has supplanted the old.

Jornada III

Paris and the other suitors, having disembarked, decide to fight to the death for Diana, the last one surviving to claim her for his bride. They begin fighting, but a dreadful storm accompanied by sudden and overpowering darkness interrupts them. Febo rescues Diana from her unpleasant situation, but, having repented of his sudden love for her, reiterates his faithfulness to the departed Sol. Diana is swayed by conflicting emotions, but determines to follow him either until she dies or he falters in his constancy to Sol.

Febo encounters a wild animal in the woods. He is about to overtake it when it transforms itself into a vision of Sol, who bids him marry Diana in order to give future rulers to England. Such a behest the faithful lover cannot but obey. Setting sail with Diana on the ship of the Sun, he arrives safely in England, where he claims her for his bride.

As may be seen from this short summary, the argument of this play echoes the extravagances of the romances of chivalry. The

incidents of the *comedia* are dull and highly improbable, the characters are conventional in the extreme, and the language is stilted, pedantic, and abounding in far-fetched similes and numerous traces of *culto*. The argument is not, as the title would lead one to expect, taken from the romance of chivalry which deals with the exploits of *el Caballero del Febo* and his brother Rosicler,[1] but is probably of the poet's own invention. The play reveals once more how deeply ingrained in the Spanish people was their appreciation of fantastic, romantic themes, and justified Cervantes, even as late as the year of his death, in turning the shafts of his wit against these childish plots.

El Caballero del Sol was written to commemorate the dedication of the collegiate church of Lerma, and was performed by members of the household (*criados*) of the count of Saldaña, on Tuesday, October 10, 1617. An account is given by Pedro de Herrera:[2]

Representóse por la tarde en el Parque vna Comedia, parte de fiesta del conde de Saldaña....

Fué la Comedia de Luis Vélez, intitulada *el Cauallero del Sol*, imitando acción de libro de Cauallerias.....

Por varios casos, los Principes y personajes de la Comedia se hallaron juntos a celebrarles (i. e. a Febo y Diana) casamiento en que tuuo fin, auiendo en scenas della singulares pasos de amores, desesperaciones, zelos, y desengaños de mucho enredo, todo agradable, por apacible, è ingenioso. Bien se conoce lo son las obras de Luys Vélez: y assí puede creerse, quánto se esmeraría en ésta, por seruir en tal ocasión al Conde, de quien es ordinario familiar, fauorecido, y estimado, por sus buenas artes.

That the composition was favorably received is evident from the record still extant of the agreement, dated Madrid, January 30, 1618, between Don Juan de Vidaurre de Orduña, on the one hand, and Juan Bautista Rodríguez and Matías González, on the other, for presentation of it, "in the near future," by the company of Baltasar de Pinedo at the home of Juan Gaytán de Ayala.[3]

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[1] *Espeio de Principes Y Cavalleros. En el qval, en tres libros se cuentan los immortales hechos del Cauallero del Febo, y de su hermano Rosicler, hijos del grande Emperador Trebacio,* por Diego Ortuñez de Calahorra, natural de la Ciudad de Nagera (Zaragoza, 1562); *Segunda Parte,* por Pedro La Sierra (Alcalá, 1580); *Tercera y Quarta Partes,* por el Licenciado Marcos Martínez (Alcalá, 1589).

[2] "*Translación del Santíssimo Sacramento a la Iglesia Colegial de San Pedro de la villa de Lerma* (Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1618), pp. 29–33: *Celebridad del día siguiente en que se representò en el Parque vna Comedia del Conde de Saldaña.*"

[3] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos acerca del histrionismo, etc.* (Madrid, 1901), p. 164.

In Alonso de Olmedo's *Entremés de los títulos de comedias,* verse 134, reference is made to a play entitled *El Caballero del Febo.* This may be an allusion to Vélez' *El caballero del sol,* for if a *comedia* with the title *El Caballero del Febo* ever existed, it is unknown today.[4]

An *auto sacramental* with the title of *El Caballero del Febo* is ascribed to Rojas Zorrilla in *Navidad y Corpus Christi,*[5] but to Montalván in two manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nacional and also in another manuscript in the ducal library at Parma.[6] It is entirely different from the argument of Vélez' play.

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[4] Restori reprinted this *entremés* by Olmedo in *Piezas de títulos de comedias* (Messina, 1903), p. 185.

[5] Madrid, 1664.

[6] Paz y Melia, *Cat.*, p. 67b, No. 440; Cotarelo y Mori, *D. Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla,* p. 244; Restori, "La Collezione CCIV. 28033 della Biblioteca Palatina-Parmense," *Studj di Filologia Romanza* (Roma, 1893), VI:87.

[6]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

ZELOS, AMOR, Y VENGANZA

DE LVIS VÉLEZ DE GVEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Arroja el esquife al mar,
pilota, amaina, echa el ferro.

[LAST LINES]

y tenga fin la Comedia,
exemplo de que en el mundo
no ay mal que por bien no venga.

Printed in *Segunda parte de comedias escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1652); Bibl. Nac.; Restori, *Studj, etc.*, VI: 117 (650, lxx). (Cotarelo 14.)

CHARACTERS

Rey de Nápoles.	Velardo.	Almirante.
Enrique.	Melebeo.	Arsindo, duque.
Carlos, galán.	Coridón, criado de Carlos.	Federico.
Esperanza, hermana suya.	Rosaura, reina de Cicilia.	Dos soldados.
Inés, labradora.	Cintia, dama suya.	Dos pescadores.
Alcino, villano viejo.		Menandro.

JORNADA I

Rosaura, queen of Sicily, while on her way to marry the king of Naples learns from her cousin, Duke Arsindo, that the king is paying court to a noble lady of royal blood, Esperanza by name, who is beloved, also, of Arsindo. Infuriated at this news, she resolves on vengeance and seizes the first available opportunity to have Esperanza captured and brought on board her ship.

JORNADA II

When the king hears of the abduction, he sets out for Sicily to be avenged on the queen. Upon his arrival he sends Carlos, Esperanza's brother, on an embassy to Rosaura, saying that, if the captive is not delivered up, he will declare war on Sicily. In reply to his companions' fears for his safety on this dangerous errand (for Rosaura is considered a cruel and treacherous woman), Carlos replies:

ya no aurá mal que por bien no venga.

Carlos, after delivering his message, is held prisoner by Rosaura, who falls suddenly and violently in love with him. In order to test his character, she offers to make him her general and reward him in many ways if he will enter her service. He refuses, and she, in admiration of his loyalty toward his sovereign, sets him free. On leaving him she half reveals her love by saying:

> no hay mal que por bien no venga;
> que a veces las grandes dichas
> vienen por desdichas grandes:
> harto te he dicho: adiuina.

Carlos, quite bewildered by the turn that events have taken, cannot believe that she really loves him.

That night the king in disguise comes to Rosaura's palace and, meeting the queen, who does not make herself known to him, learns from her that a marriage has been arranged between Arsindo and Esperanza, to which Esperanza has consented. The king is in despair, and Rosaura promises that, if he will come to the palace the following morning, she will endeavor to prevent the marriage. When the king comes the next day, Rosaura nobly surrenders Esperanza, and he, in gratitude for her generosity, says that she may claim Carlos as a husband, since, by the betrothal of his sister to a king, Carlos' rank is raised accordingly. As for Arsindo, he is betrothed to an old love, Cinthia.

THE COMEDY IS GRACEFUL and pleasing and is further enhanced by many passages of rare poetic beauty. The last two acts are by far the best; the first act, having little action, often drags. These shortcomings are amply atoned for in the later scenes of the play. According to Emilio Cotarelo: "Parece más bien obra de Lope de Vega."[1] The date of composition is not known. Its subtitle is *No hay mal que por bien no venga.*

There is also a play of this last title by Guillén de Castro, known by the title *Dido y Eneas* (Valencia, 1625), and another by Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza, with the subtitle *Don Domingo de Don Blas.*[2] The argument of both these plays is entirely different from that of Vélez' *comedia.*

[1] *Boletín de la Real Acad.*, IV:276.

[2] Printed in *Laurel de Comedias. Quarta parte de diferentes autores* (Madrid, 1653). A recast of this play made by Don Antonio de Zamora, was published in *Ameno jardín de comedias* (Madrid, 1734); see the edition of Alarcón's drama by A. Bonilla (Madrid, Ruiz Hermanos, 1916).

The same is true of the following three plays in manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional: Manuscript 16699: *La gran comedia de no ai mal que por bien no benga.* De Dn. Fernando Rodríguez. Eighteenth-century copy. Manuscript 16886: *No ay mal que por bien no venga.* Incorrectly ascribed to Alarcón on page one of the text, in a modern hand. It is different from Alarcón's play. Seventeenth-century copy. Manuscript 16511: *No hay mal que por bien no venga: o sea El Conde de Montalto. Comedia en quatro Actos.* Anonymous. With censures dated Cadiz, 1801. D. Manuel Tamayo y Baus' *No hay mal que por bien no venga,* performed for the first time at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela,* on December 23, 1868, is also on an unrelated theme, taken from a French play.

[7]

EL CERCO DEL PEÑÓN DE VÉLEZ

Comedia Famosa, por Lvis Vélez de Guevara

[FIRST LINES]

Abcid. Este, noble Citadaf,
es aquel Peñón de Vélez

[LAST LINES]

Ivan. Y aquí se acaba *el Peñón*
de Vélez de la Gomera.

Printed in *Doze comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio. Parte veynte y nueve.* En Guesca por Pedro Blusón. Año de 1634; Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 17.)

Characters

El alcaide del Peñón.	Teodora, dama.	Alf.
Don García de Toledo.	Chacón.	Abcidalf.
Don Lope de Figueroa.	Adalifa, mora.	Audalla.
Juan Gómez Cabeza-del-Buey.	Julio Adorno.	Alí (*sic*).
Carrasco, soldado.	Moros.	Morato.
	Citadaf.	

Jornada I

In the siege of the Christian fortress of Vélez de Gomera by the Moors, several Moors have been taken captive. Among these is Adalifa, daughter of a Moorish alcaide, Zulema. Adalifa, who is disguised as a man and calls herself Celín, is given as a slave to the valiant soldier, Juan Gómez Cabeza-del-Buey.

News is brought to the besieged that a large Moorish force is marching against the fort. At almost the same time a Christian armada lands its forces, headed by Don Lope de Figueroa, Don García de Toledo, and Captain Julio Adorno.

Jornada II

Julio Adorno encounters Teodora, whom he has seduced on a promise of marriage and who, disguised as a man, has followed him to the camp. They become reconciled, and are embracing each other, when Juan Gómez sees them. Shocked at their actions, he threatens to expose them: Teodora, be it remembered, is in man's dress. To complicate matters, Teodora meets Celín (Adalifa, whom she takes

for a man) and falls in love with her. Celín has already bestowed her affections on Juan Gómez, to whom she reveals her passion at the earliest opportunity, greatly to his horror, for she neglects to add that she is a woman.

Juan Gómez is severely wounded in battle while making a heroic stand against the enemy. In his convalescence he is visited by the *alcaide* and several of the officers, who, as an expression of their admiration for his great prowess and valor, bring him gifts and bestow honors upon him. He receives them with noble dignity in spite of the poverty and neglect in which he lives, for his pay is small and he does not always receive it.

Jornada III

Teodora confesses her love and discloses her identity to Celín. Celín does not confess that she, too, is a woman, but permits the embraces of Teodora, greatly to the disgust of Juan Gómez, who happens to witness the lovemaking. Thereupon each of the women takes him aside in turn and acquaints him with her history.

Zulema comes to the Christian camp to discuss his daughter's ransom. While the Christian leaders are engaged in counsel, Citadaf, Adalifa's betrothed, bursts in upon them and challenges them to single combat. Juan Gómez accepts his challenge and defeats him. The Moors raise the siege, and agree to a twelve years' truce with the inhabitants of the fortress. Citadaf and Adalifa (Celín) are reunited, also Julio and Teodora, and Moors and Christians celebrate the occasion by a tournament.

Juan Bautista Diamante reworked Vélez' play under the title of *El defensor del Peñón,* published in his *Comedias* (Madrid, 1670). This is a fusion of many themes that may be found in the drama of the Golden Age; only the presence of the Moors and a general acquaintance with certain external aspects of their peculiar civilization could have made this mingling of romantic episodes as acceptable to the Spanish public as it seems remote and unnatural to us. Theatrical puzzles became popular; disguises, seductions, deeds of valor, duels and combats, separations and reunions, and many similar incidents never wearied the public, and Vélez acquired quite a reputation for his peculiar adeptness in satisfying the groundlings with this type of extravaganza.

[8]

EL CONDE DON PERO VÉLEZ Y DON SANCHO EL DESEADO

[DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA]

[FIRST LINES]

Blan. Dadme una silla, y después
dexadme a solas, Leonor

[LAST LINES]

Con. fin cõ esto dãdo
al cõde dõ pero vélez
y don Sancho el deseado.

Autograph manuscript with signature on first leaf; Bibl. Nac. (Sig. R-III, 13); also seventeenth-century MS (No. 16577) in which it is ascribed to Lope. (Cotarelo 18.)

CHARACTERS

Doña Blanca, infanta de Castilla.
Doña Leonor, dama.
Doña Elvira, dama.
Don Sancho el Deseado, rey de Castilla.
El Conde don Pero Vélez.
Martín, *lacaio gracioso.*
Don Nuño Ladrón, tío del conde.
Don Manrique de Lara.
Ordoño.
Guardas.
Bartolo.
Pelayo.
Ursula.
Gila.
Ortelanos.

ACTO I

The infanta, Doña Blanca of Castile, confesses to Doña Elvira, one of the ladies of the court, her love for the valiant and noble courtier, Don Pero Vélez, count of Oñate, the favorite of Don Sancho el Deseado. Don Pero also secretly loves Doña Blanca, but he is beneath her in rank. Moreover, arrangements have been made that she shall marry the king of Navarre, and Sancho is to marry the king's sister. Don Pero Vélez is entrusted by the king with the mission of presenting to Blanca a picture of her destined husband. When Blanca has duly praised the portrait of her betrothed, and Pero Vélez has echoed her praises, she asks him if he loves anyone. He replies in the affirmative, but adds that the lady is of so high a station that he dare not think of her. She bids him be brave and self-confident; such qualities are necessary in love and war. She

also intimates that he need not fear to aspire too high, for love is all-powerful to equalize rank and fortune:

fiad mas en v[uest]ra gala;
que amor, por dios y por fuerte,
tiene el poder de la muerte
que todo, conde, lo iguala;
y no os cause marabilla
quando fueramos los dos
vn vasallo, como uos,
y vna infanta de Castilla.

She urges him to plead his suit before her, saying that it will help to banish her customary melancholy:

meted una petición,
presentando v[uest]ra fee
y v[uest]ro amor por testigos,
para lo que pretendeys;
que yo pienso que hallareys
los juëzes muy amigos.

She leaves him hardly crediting his good fortune and overjoyed to be able to express his love.

Meanwhile, Pero Vélez' uncle, Don Nuño Ladrón, speaks with the king of the advisability of getting his nephew suitably married; when the nephew hears of these negotiations, he is naturally much opposed to the suggestion.

Leonor, one of the ladies of the court, on meeting Don Pero, tells him that she has been offended by him. He is surprised at this, being unaware of having given her any just cause for resentment. The infanta just then approaching, Leonor replies that she will explain later. Blanca congratulates Pero upon his coming wedding, adding that the bride is said to be very beautiful and of high repute. He replies that he is determined not to marry, and hands the infanta a paper containing

lenguas mudas que hablarán
por mí, espías que dirán
de mi paz y de mi guerra;
vitoria, amor; que ya estamos
sobre la más alta almena.

She asks if the message is meant for her, censures severely his boldness and temerity, tears the paper into small pieces and, in a fit of anger, leaves him. Don Pero, greatly perplexed and bewildered by her inconsistent behavior, concludes that he had misunderstood her in their earlier conversation. He now has an interview with his uncle, Don Nuño, and reproaches the old man severely for arranging to marry him off against his inclination, and so incurs his uncle's anger and resentment. When next he meets the infanta he is sad and melancholy, which leads her to inquire the cause of

his despondency. He ascribes it to the manner in which she tore up his recent letter; greatly to his astonishment, she bids him write another and not lose heart.

Acto II

Meeting Doña Leonor soon after, Don Pero asks her in what way he has offended her. She replies that he has given the king to understand that she has granted him favors, to which he answers that there are traitors and envious people at court who might well spread such a report. She says that Don Manrique de León is such a person, but Pero Vélez cannot believe him guilty of such an offense. From Doña Leonor's speech and attitude, he realizes that she is indirectly making love to him, but he pretends not to understand. Nevertheless, he promises her that he will say nothing of the matter to Don Manrique.

The infanta learns from Martín, the count's lackey, that his master is in love with some lady, whom Martín believes to be Doña Leonor. At this news Blanca falls a prey to jealousy, and when Don Pero musters up sufficient courage to speak to her of that which is nearest his heart, she refers to the rumor that he is in love with Doña Leonor, the truth of which he denies. She asks who wrote the note which she had seen Martín hand him some time ago. He says that he does not know because he has not had time to open it. She asks to read it and is about to do so when the king enters and commands her to hand the letter over to him. The letter proves to be a challenge from Don Manrique, who imagines that the count has done him some wrong. The king exclaims against court intrigue, jealousy, and ingratitude, inasmuch as the count has just spoken to him in the interest of Don Manrique's advancement at court. He does not acquaint either the count or the infanta with the contents of the letter and only partly satisfies the infanta's curiosity by letting her see the signature.

Don Pero leaves to accompany the infanta to her apartment, and Don Manrique enters in search of him. He meets the king instead, who reproaches him for his jealousy of the count. Don Manrique replies that he is not envious of him, but has other grievances against him. When he learns that Don Pero has been instrumental that very day in his advancement at court, he confesses that he has been too hasty and credulous in his judgment of the count,

and desires the earliest opportunity of begging his pardon. Moreover, we learn from a statement made to himself in an aside that Doña Leonor is responsible for the mischief already done.

Meanwhile, Don Pero is worried about the contents of the letter, fearing it may be a challenge from Don Manrique which the king has kept from him. This suspicion is confirmed when he meets his uncle, who tells him his honor is at stake if he will not meet Don Manrique. The count sets out at once in search of Manrique, but meets Leonor, who makes him promise not to reveal to Manrique what she has told him. She further insists that he give her his hand in token of good faith. Blanca witnesses this final action and, attributing it to different motives, is again inflamed with jealousy.

On meeting Don Manrique soon after, the count suggests that they go to the park and fight, but Manrique replies that he has no longer any cause for offense. Don Pero asks him who had aroused the hostility which he had lately expressed and Manrique answers that it was Doña Leonor. At this the count exclaims against the extremes to which infatuation will make a gentlewoman go. In a following scene, Don Pero, alone with Blanca, declares his love for her. She rebukes him for his presumption, but when he declares his intention of leaving the court, she confesses her love for him, and he is finally convinced of her sincerity.

Acto III

At the celebration of the saint's day of the king, which is also the feast of St. John, King Sancho learns from Don Manrique de Lara of Don Pero's love for the infanta. Considering this an affront to his honor, he decides to have both the count and his sister killed. Don Pero is subsequently troubled by the cool reception which the king gives him, his apprehensions having been already aroused by various bad omens which he had made note of, that same day. His fears are increased when he hears several of the merrymakers singing the following verses:

que la noche le prendieron
de San Juan, madre,
a la gala de los condes,
la flor de Oñate;
que la noche le prendieron
del Señor S. Juan;
—las hermosas damas,
las hermosas damas,—
al conde galán
de San Juan, madre,
a la gala de los condes,
la flor de Oñate.[1]

[1] (*See bottom of page 30 for footnote.*)

The king, who has witnessed the scene in which Pero Vélez takes leave of Blanca, has him arrested and conducted to prison. From outside the walls there comes to the prisoner the following *romance* which voices his recent misfortunes:

Alterada está Castilla
por un caso desastrado;
que al conde don Pero Vélez
hallaron dentro en palacio
con una hermana carnal
de don Sancho el Deseado;
doña Blanca era su nombre,
de la hermosura milagro;
mándale prender el rey
y poner a buen recado;
toda la corte le llora,
que era de todos amado;
sentencialle quiere a muerte
sin escuchalle don Sancho,
emparedando primero
a doña Blanca en su cuarto.

The people rise in protest against his imprisonment and death sentence. The king yields to the popular uprising, comes to the prison, and bestows upon him the hand of the infanta.

THIS IS A PLEASING and graceful comedy, with many interesting and entertaining incidents, woven together into a well-constructed plot. Although the theme was popular and well known, Vélez has avoided all that is commonplace and has so treated it that our interest is held to the close, thus creating a composition of genuine merit.

The argument is taken from a *romance* first published in the *Rosa Gentil* of Timoneda (1573). As there printed, it is a revision by that editor, or some other versifier, of an originally popular ballad. This *romance* runs as follows:

Alterada está Castilla—por un caso desastrado;
Que el conde don Pero Vélez—en palacio fué hallado
Con una prima carnal—del rey Sancho el Deseado;
Las calzas a la rodilla—y el jubón desabrochado;
La infanta estaba en camisa—echada sobre un estrado,
Casi medio destocada—con el rostro desmayado;
De modo que estaba el rey—suspenso y muy alterado.

[1] This is an interesting variant of the old popular *cantarcillo:*

De noche le mataron
al caballero,
la gala de Medina,
la flor de Olmedo,

upon which Lope's *El Caballero de Olmedo* (Part XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641; *Acad.*, X:149–185 [1899]) is based. On this same theme there is a play of disputed authorship (MS Bibl. Nac., dated 1601) reprinted by Adolf Schaeffer in *Ocho comedias desconocidas* (Leipzig, 1887), I:263–338; and a burlesque by D. Francisco Antonio de Monteser to be found in *El mejor de los mejores libros que han salido de comedias nuevas* (Alcalá, 1651).

En fin, por darle castigo—a muerte le ha condenado.
Los grandes dicen que cese—el juicio acelerado;
El caso pide castigo,—no lo permite el Estado,
Porque es el conde en Castilla—gran señor emparentado;
De suerte que por el Rey—fué el juicio conmutado
De darle perpetua cárcel,—para lo cual fué llevado
En el castillo de Ureña,—adonde fuera entregado
A Peranzules Osorio,—merino mayor llamado;
Y con gran solemnidad—juramento le han tomado
Que no le muestre a persona—sino al Rey o a su mandado;
No le den cosa ninguna—donde pueda estar echado,
Y de cuatro en cuatro meses—le sea un miembro quitado,
Hasta que con el dolor—su vivir fuese acabado.[2]

This should be compared with the *romance* previously quoted which reaches the count's ears while he is in prison. Vélez has eliminated the coarseness found in the *romance,* and, instead of the cruel and savage revenge taken by the king, has substituted for the count's imprisonment and condemnation to death, his pardon and the bestowal upon him of the hand of the infanta. As pointed out by Menéndez y Pelayo,[3] this ballad, except for the part which relates the cruel ending, treats of the same theme as do the *romances* on conde Claros, Gerineldo, and Vergilios. There is a fragment of another *romance* on the subject of count Vélez, found in the third part of the *Silva* of Saragossa, which Menéndez y Pelayo has reprinted in an appendix to the *Primavera.*[4]

The oldest known version of this particular *romance,* however, is to be found in a manuscript of the middle of the sixteenth century (Sig. F-18 of the Biblioteca Nacional), printed in Bonilla y San Martín's *Anales de la literatura española, años 1900–1904* (Madrid, 1904), p. 32:

Alabose el Conde Vélez,—en las cortes se alabó,
que no ay dama ni donzella—que le negase su amor,
si no fuera el de la ynfanta,—que no se lo demandó,
que, si se lo demandara,—no le dixera de no;
mucho pesó a los galanes,—quantos en la corte son,
mucho mas pesó a don Bueso,—que adamaba nuevo amor:
"vna amiga tengo, el conde,—de quinze años, que más non,
que, si tu me la engañares,—sacasesme el coraçón,
y, si no me la engañases,—que quedases por traydor":

[2] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos,* XII:85.
[3] *Ibid.,* XII:85–86.
[4] *Ibid.,* IX:189.

—"para eso que dizes, Bueso,—menester has fiador;"
todos fian a don Bueso,—quantos en la corte son,
y el traydor del conde Vélez—no hallaba fiador,
si no fuera vn infante,—hijo de vn padre traydor;
ese fió al conde Vélez,—en dos quentos, que más non.

A variant of this version is found among the *Romances castellanos tradicionales entre los Judíos de Levante.*[5] A play attributed to Lope, with the title of *El Conde D. Pedro Vélez,* was included in a volume of *comedias* by Lope de Vega and others, printed at Sevilla, without a publication date.[6] It is listed (fols. 95–118) in one of the *tomos colecticios* or made-up volumes originally in the Osuna Library (vol. 132),[7] and seems to be identical with the autograph manuscript of Luis Vélez now in the Biblioteca Nacional.

This autograph bears neither censure nor approbation of the ecclesiastical authorities. That the play was written in 1615, or shortly after, may be deduced from the fact that in the heading of each act the author introduces, according to custom, the names of members of his family. Thus, on the first page of Act I, after the invocation, "Jesús María y Joseph," he gives the names Luis, Ursula, Francisco, Juan, and Antonio, and in the introductions to Act II and Act III he adds the name of Ignacio. His daughter, Ana Ignacio Josefa, was born April 15, 1615. Would the omission of her name in the heading of Act I indicate that the play was written about the time of her birth, or that Act I was written before her birth, whereas the last two were composed subsequently? However that may be, the inclusion of the name of his second wife, Ursula, may be taken as fairly good evidence that the play was written prior to her death, which probably occurred after 1615, and before his subsequent marriage to Doña Ana María del Valle, in April, 1619; to the critical reader it would seem indelicate to show such marked regard for the memory of the dead in the presence of the living.

[5] *Ibid.*, X:311.

[6] La Barrera, p. 683b; see Rennert, "Bibliography of the Dramatic Works of Lope de Vega,"*Rev. Hisp.*, XXXIII:34–36, 47, note 1, and 159; Paz y Melia, *Cat. de piezas del teatro manuscritas* (Madrid, 1899), p. 106a, No. 670.

[7] This rare volume is now in the University of California Library. See v. Schack, *Geschichte der dram. Lit. u. Kunst in Spanien,* III, Nachträge, p. 42, also Rennert, "Bibliography," *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXIII:38, note 1. The late Adolfo Bonilla found it in a bookshop and described it in *Miscelânea de estudos em honra de Da. C. Michaelis de Vasconcellos* (Coimbra, 1933), p. 101: "Sobre un tomo perdido de L. d. V."

[9]

LA CORTE DEL DEMONIO

Comedia Famosa de Lvis Vélez de Gvevara

[FIRST LINES]

Mat. El gran Nino, Primero
deste nombre, por la gracia

[LAST LINES]

y mandándome que os pida
perdón de las faltas todas;
que a Dios quien perdona imita.

Printed in *Parte veinte y ocho de comedias nuevas de los mejores ingenios desta Corte* (Madrid, 1667); Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 22.)

Characters

Nino, rey de Nínive.
Jonás, profeta.
Matachín.
Un criado de Nino.
Un piloto.
Semíramis, reina.
Irene.
Músicos.
Dos marineros.
Lucero, príncipe de Tartaria (es el Demonio, con su disfraz).
Israelita.
Voz de Dios.
Gala, dama.
Dos alabarderos.
[Luna, hermana de Lucero.]

Jornada I

Nino, king of Nineveh, is in love with his mother, Semíramis, who returns his unnatural affection. Lucifer, calling himself prince of Tartary, and his sister, Luna, come to Nino's court on the pretext of seeking his aid against a three-headed monster that has forced them to flee from their kingdom. Lucifer counsels Nino to make a law whereby near blood relations may intermarry, stating that he wishes to marry his twin sister, Luna. Luna makes Semíramis jealous because of Nino's attentions to her, and she plots to make Nino jealous because of Lucifer's interest in Semíramis. Semíramis, complaining that the air of Nineveh does not agree with her, asks Lucifer to carry her off secretly to Babylon. Lucifer replies that nothing can induce him to be false to his friend, Nino. Nino overhears this last remark and, thinking that Lucifer has just refused to be false to him in matters of love, becomes suspicious of the relations of Semíramis and Lucifer, which he thinks have been established as an act of retaliation on his mother's part for Nino's attentions to

Luna. All this Lucifer and Luna do in order to conquer Nineveh, and make of it the devil's court.

JORNADA II

Lucifer rejoices at the wickedness that he has instigated in the hope that Nineveh will be destroyed by fire and the race of men swept off the face of the earth. The prophet, Jonah, now attempts to slay Nino while he is sleeping. Nino, awaking, pursues him. Lucifer gives chase, too, and brings back the prophet's garment as evidence of his death, telling Nino that the prophet has been cast from a cliff into the sea. Jonah, however, is not dead but is urged by a Voice to preach repentance to the people of Nineveh, who will be destroyed if they do not repent within forty days. While hesitating whether or not to obey the Voice, he meets Lucifer disguised as a traveler, who tells him that the wicked inhabitants of Nineveh will kill him if he enters their city. He also counsels him to seek safety by ship in Tarsis, which advice Jonah is only too glad to accept.

In the midst of the celebration of the marriage rites of Nino and Semíramis, and of Lucifer and Luna, a dreadful storm arises and an earthquake shakes the city, which is left in darkness. Lucifer knows that the storm is sent because Jonah has disobeyed the Voice, and he tells Luna that they must prevent Jonah's reaching the shore.

JORNADA III

Jonah, meanwhile, on board the ship bound for Tarsis, realizes that the great storm is the result of his disobedience and begs the mariners to throw him overboard. Convinced by his arguments, they comply with his request; he is at once swallowed by a whale, and the storm ceases.

In the merrymaking at Nineveh every kind of license abounds. Suddenly Jonah appears. He has been cast upon the shores of the city from the belly of the whale, and he straightway preaches repentance to the inhabitants. Nino and Semíramis with the entire populace are moved to contrition by Jonah's preaching and by the miracle which they have witnessed, much to the anger of Lucifer and Luna, who lay all the blame on Jonah. Jonah builds himself a hut outside the city and goes tranquilly to sleep within, awaiting the city's destruction. But Jehovah awakens him by overturning his hut and tells him that he has pardoned Nineveh because of its sincere penitence.

Lucifer and Luna, meanwhile, seeing their efforts to ruin Nineveh frustrated, sink into hell, Lucifer swearing that Nineveh shall yet be his and that he will persecute Jonah until the prophet's own people stone him to death.

LA CORTE DEL DEMONIO abounds in the spectacular and the unexpected, and savors greatly of melodrama. Lucifer and Luna are well depicted; proud, beautiful, wicked, and defiant, they interest us and hold our attention. Their repeated efforts to make Nino and Semíramis jealous could well be omitted, as they have no real bearing on the plot. The date of composition cannot be stated.

The *Catálogo de los Señores Obispos que han occupado la silla pontificia de la ciudad de Plasencia* (MS, *Real Academia de la Historia,* fols. 250ff.) gives the following account of two religious presentations entitled, *Naufragio de Jonás profeta* and *Penitencia de los Ninivitas:*

Año de 1578, día de *Corpus Christi,* hizo el Obispo Fr. Martín de Córdoba la traslación del Santísimo Sacramento de la iglesia vieja a la nueva. El día siguiente, muy de mañana, comenzó el Obispo la misa de pontifical, y acabada, salió una solemnísima procesión con diversidad de danzas, máscaras y invenciones . . . Llegados a la plaza, pasó por un arco triunfal que la ciudad mandó hacer, y en lo alto muchas banderas y gallardetes de seda. Luego se llegó a los balcones y miradores que la iglesia con grande costa tenía hechos, en los cuales, y en las ventanas y tejados, había tanta gente, que hacía forma de teatro. En medio de él estaba un gran tablado, que parecía hecho para muchos días, y en lo alto un mar de sesenta pies de longitud y veinte de latitud, con abundancia de agua que con mucho artificio habían hecho subir allí. En el mar estaba una muy lucida nave, con sus velas y jarcias, de tanta grandeza que estaban dentro muchos marineros y pasajeros vestidos de librea. Aquí se representó el *Naufragio de Jonás profeta,* y se vió la nao ir por el agua, en la cual hubo gran comoción y tormenta con artificio de pólvora que debajo del tablado se encendió. Representóse también la *Penitencia de los Ninivitas* por la predicación de este profeta, con mucha diversidad de cosas. Acabada la representación, la procesión dió su acostumbrada vuelta; y venida a la iglesia, se puso al Santísimo Sacramento descubierto en el altar, con muchas hachas, y guarda de capellanes de día y de noche, y estuvo así toda la octava.[1]

[1] See Manuel Cañete's edition of Micael de Carvajal's *Tragedia llamada Josefina* (Madrid, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1870), Introduction, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv. The same extract is found in Cañete's *Teatro español del siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1885), pp. 227–230. This *auto* was probably the same as that acted at Sevilla by Alonso Velázquez in 1598; see Sánchez Arjona, *Noticias referentes a los Anales del Teatro en Sevilla* (Sevilla, 1898), p. 97. An *auto* on Jonah was performed at Madrid in 1620; see Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos,* ser. 2, p. 48.

The *Naufragio de Jonás profeta* and the *Penitencia de los Ninivitas* may be considered as two episodes of a single religious drama: *Naufragio de Jonás profeta, y penitencia de los Ninivitas.* The authorship is unknown. This is probably the first dramatic treatment of the Jonah story in Spanish. La Barrera (*Cat.*, p. 513a) lists a piece entitled *Historia Ninivés, Tragicomedia en cuatro actos, con prólogo, coros y entreactos; en verso y prosa; y en castellano, latín y portugués,* by Padre Hernando de Avila,[2] which, to judge from the title, is on the same theme. An autograph copy of Gaspar de Mesa's *Auto de Ninibe y su conbersion,* with a license dated May 28, 1597, is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional (MS 2298).[3] As in *La corte del demonio,* the wickedness of Nineveh in this *auto* is attributed to the instigation of the devil. Satan says to Lucifer (fol. 6b):

Yo con mi sagacidad
haré gran rey sin segundo;
que esta famosa cibdad
por ejemplo de maldad
quede puesta por el mundo.

License and wickedness soon have full sway in the city and the public crier proclaims to the inhabitants (fol. 9a):

sepan todos los vecinos
de ninibe naturales
que las fiestas vacanales
por ocho días continos
se celebran; por ser tales
mandase la livertad
a varones y mujeres
para la sensualidad,
y que toda esta cibdad
hagan vayles y placeres,
y mandase pregonar
por que venga a noticia de todos.

God (*Dios padre*) takes pity on them, and determines to send his prophet, Jonah, to warn them that, if they do not repent, they will be destroyed. The rest of the argument follows the well-known biblical story.

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[2] *Codice de sus obras dramáticas, en 8°, letra del siglo XVI. Fue de la librería de B. J. Gallardo; pertenece al señor Sancho Rayón.* See La Barrera, *Cat.*, p. 513a; see also *La Rosa Alejandrina*, p. 290 below.

[3] This is possibly identical with the anonymous *auto, Ninive y su conversion,* listed by La Barrera, *Cat.*, p. 598a.

Vélez' play is indebted mainly to Lope's *La ciudad sin Dios,* which, under the title of *El Inobediente, ó la ciudad sin Dios,* was printed in *Escogidas,* II, attributed to Claremonte.[4] Nineveh, the *Ciudad sin Dios,* is given over to every manner of wickedness. The king, Danfanisbo, has his favorite, Macaria, proclaimed a goddess and worshiped by his subjects. Danfanisbo also sanctions the commission of the most atrocious crimes, and himself enters into incestuous relations with his sister, Petronia. In the midst of this unnatural state of affairs, Jonah, after vainly endeavoring to evade Jehovah's commands to preach repentance to the inhabitants of the abandoned city, arrives on the scene and by his admonitions saves Nineveh and its inhabitants from destruction. Jonah's part in the play is substantially the same as in Vélez' *comedia.*

Vélez has given different names to the rulers of Nineveh by placing the action in the reign of Nino (or Ninyas) II and his mother, Semíramis. Many legends were current from the time of Greek and Roman historians about this famous Assyrian queen. These were incorporated by Boccaccio from various sources in his *De claris mulieribus* (chapter on Semíramis). The following extract is from a Spanish translation of this work:[5]

Esta vellaca muger ensuzio con vna sola suziedad: ca encendida entre otras de vna continua comezon de luxuria, la desuenturada (segun se cree) se dio a muchos & entre sus enamorados se cuenta su mesmo hijo, mancebo de muy hermosa disposicion: el qual despues de auerse echado con su madre & auido parte con ella por lugar no deuido, cosa por cierto mas abominable & bestial que humana, mientra ella sudaua peleando contra los enemigos en el campo, estaua el con la pierna tendida ocioso en el talamo & estrado . . . De la qual amanzillada semiramis pensando de quitar con astucia lo que auia con su dissolucion ensuziada, dizen que hizo aquella insigne ley: en donde permitia a sus subditos que acerca las cosas de la sangre & apetitos de luxuria, hiziessen lo que les pluguiesse . . . Empero otros scriuen que como se ouiesse enamorado de su hijo, & siendo ya de edad prouecta se ouiesse echado con el, despues de auer reynado treynta y dos años la mato. De los quales discuerdan otros, afirmando que ella mezclo crueza con la luxuria, & dizen auer ella acostumbrado que a los que llamaua para cumplir sus carnales apetitos & el huego de su

[4] Reprinted in *Acad.,* III:519–556. Chorley considered this a recast of Lope's *La ciudad sin Dios.* A play with this title, different in some respects from *El Inobediente,* was published as by Lope in a *Parte XXVI extravagante,* 1632–33, of Lope's *comedias.* See Rennert-Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega,* p. 470.

[5] *Libro de Juan bocacio que tracta de las illustres mugeres* (Sevilla, Jacobo Cromberger, 1528), Fol. VII of the chapter entitled "De Semíramis, reyna de los assirios," which comprises Fols. VIa–VIIb of the text. Brit. Mus. and Hisp. Soc. (First edition; Zaragoza, 1494.)

dissolucion & desseos desordenados, por encubrir su maldad luego despues de auer passado sus deleytes con ellos, mandaua matar los. Empero auiendo se algunas vezes empreñado, descubrio con el parto sus dissoluciones. Para lo qual excusar, dizen publico aqella excellente ley: de que poco ante fize mencion. E aun que paresca que encubrio vn poco la dissolucion del fijo, no pudo empero quitar le la saña. El qual o por que viesse otros auer auido parte con su madre como el, o por que ouiesse verguença de la dissolucion de su madre, o se espantasse de que de tal ayuntamiento nasciessen fijos para suceder en el imperio, movido de yra mato a la vellaca reyna.

It is quite possible that Vélez may have drawn from this account for his character of Semíramis. However, the queen was also the protagonist of a wearisome tragedy by Cristóbal de Virués entitled, *La gran Semíramis*.[6] Each *jornada* deals with a distinct and important episode in the life of the queen, the third, which is also the last, describing her unnatural incestuous love for her son, Zameis Ninias, and her death by his hand in his horror and disgust at her amorous advances. This play may have been known to Vélez, but there is, happily, no direct imitation of it on our author's part.

Lope in *El Peregrino* (1604) lists an unknown *La Semíramis;* but he occasionally confuses the titles of his own plays, and the composition may be identical with his *La ciudad sin Dios.*

In Calderón's *La gran comedia de la Hija del Ayre (1ª y 2ª Parte)*,[7] the leading character is Semíramis. She is represented as a very ambitious person, stopping at no crime to satisfy her lust for power, but no mention is made of her incestuous love for her son. The second part was recast by José Echegaray, *Semíramis ó la hija del Aire, 2ª parte. Drama en tres actos, y en verso por D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca, arreglado y refundido por José Echegaray* (Madrid, Imprenta de Evaristo Odriozola, 1896).

Nino II: Tragedia escrita en francés por Mr. Brifaut. Traducida al castellano por Don José Joaquín de Mora, y representada en el teatro del Príncipe en la noche del 2 de junio de 1818[8] has an entirely different plot from any of the foregoing plays on Semíramis and her son, Nino.

[6] *Obras trágicas y líricas del Capitán Cristóual de Virués* (Madrid, Alonso Martin, 1609). *La gran Semíramis* is included in fols. 1–44 of the text. There is an accessible reprint (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1858); see especially Cecilia V. Sargent, *A Study of the Dramatic Works of Cristóbal de Virués* (New York, 1930).

[7] Both parts in *Tercera parte de comedias de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid, Domingo García Morras, 1664).

[8] Thus reads the title in an edition published in Madrid, Imprenta de Repullés, without date. The year is, in all probability, 1818.

[10]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

EL DIABLO ESTÁ EN CANTILLANA

DE LUIS VÉLEZ

[FIRST LINES]

Rey. Ninguno quede conmigo,
sino es Don Lope Sotelo.

[LAST LINES]

Rod. Dando aquí,
porque a sus casas se buelvan,
del diablo està en Cantillana,
Senado, fin la Comedia.

First printed in *Parte diez y seys de comedias nuevas, y escogidas de los meiores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1662); Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 27); also a *suelta* (Sevilla, s.a.; Schaeffer, XXXIII; B.A.E., XLV).

CHARACTERS

El rey don Pedro.	Don Sancho.	Dos Alcaldes.
Don Lope Sotelo.	Don García.	Doña Esperanza.
Perafán de Ribera.	Don Álvaro.	Doña María de Padilla.
Don Juan de Ribera.	Rodrigo, lacayo.	Leonor, criada.

JORNADA I

King Peter the Cruel, infatuated with the beautiful Esperanza de Ribera, a native of Cantillana, informs her lover, D. Lope Sotelo, that the lady must be given up to him, and that he must have, moreover, a letter in her handwriting admitting him as a suitor. The disconsolate lover informs his mistress of the king's designs, and is all the more distressed when the king, in furtherance of his plans, finds a pretext to visit Perafán, Esperanza's father. The true motive of his visit is appreciated by D. Lope's servant, the *gracioso,* Rodrigo, who remarks to one of his companions:

Voy muy grave con el Rey,
y pienso que por tu ama
desde esta noche ha de andar
el Diablo en Cantillana.

Jornada II

In compliance with Lope's request, Esperanza writes to the king, but Lope cannot bring himself to read the letter, so is unaware of the contents. He delivers the message to the king, who, infuriated by Esperanza's refusal to admit any suitor other than D. Lope, takes revenge by banishing him to Archidona.

Esperanza is disconsolate on hearing of the fate of her lover, but he soon appears in person to comfort her. His visit is made entirely safe because of certain rumors of a dreadful ghost that has been seen walking by night in the neighborhood of Cantillana. All the inhabitants of the town are so terrified that the streets are well-nigh deserted. Lope counsels Esperanza to gain time for them by feigning to encourage the king, since their happiness depends on it, and promises that he will come to see her every night.

Jornada III

Several of the villagers of Cantillana, wishing to lay the ghost that is disturbing their peace and quiet, come forth one night with weapons and religious incantations, but to no purpose: at the first noise that is heard all take to their heels in mortal terror. In their hurried exit the *gracioso,* Rodrigo, mistakes the king, who is coming to serenade Esperanza, for the visitor from the other world:

> Con ella hemos dado agora
> por estotra parte. Aparta;
> no hay duda sino que está
> el Diablo en Cantillana.

The king, now accompanied by several of his courtiers, awakens Esperanza's father by throwing pebbles against her window, but goes away when the old man comes out with sword unsheathed to stop this ungallant wooing of his daughter. That same night, D. Juan, Esperanza's brother, comes unexpectedly to visit his father. Entering Esperanza's apartment, they discover there a man who proves to be D. Lope. He quiets their anger, for his intentions are honorable and Esperanza possesses a marriage certificate. The next day D. Perafán and his son go to court to request the king's consent to the marriage. Peter angrily refuses and banishes them both from Cantillana.

In a later scene several parties assemble outside Esperanza's door. Lope, as is his wont, visits his mistress, the king and his courtiers come to serenade her, and the queen, a prey to jealous fears, follows her lord to see what he is about. While Esperanza is pretending to favor the king's suit, a clanking of chains and dismal moans are suddenly heard, which she says are caused by the ghost who is haunting Cantillana. Lope appears in the guise of the ghost, and is attacked by the king, who soon vanquishes his opponent. Lope pleads for mercy and Peter demands that the intruder reveal himself. Lope replies that he is an unhappy lover, . . . the king interrupts him and bids him rise. The unknown man sues for pardon, which Peter freely grants. Having thus obtained the king's good will, D. Lope discloses his identity and pleads his love for Esperanza in vindication of his disregard of the royal orders and of his coming nightly to Cantillana in the rôle of a ghost. The king consents to his marriage with Esperanza and bestows other favors upon him and upon Esperanza's brother, D. Juan; he also promises his wife, Doña María, who has meanwhile made her appearance on the scene, that this shall be his last love adventure.

EL DIABLO ESTÁ EN CANTILLANA is a well-constructed play, always interesting, and with several scenes of great merit. It may be safely ranked among Vélez' best. The versification, too, is smooth, clear, and musical. In Act III an *alcalde Zalamea* is introduced. Is this possibly a reminiscence of the title of either Lope's or Calderón's *El Alcalde de Zalamea?*

The argument of *El diablo está en Cantillana* is based on oral tradition. The phrase, *el diablo está en Cantillana,* is found in Cervantes. Sancho says (*Quijote,* Part II, chap. 49):

> Yo gobernaré esta ínsula sin perdonar derecho ni llevar cohecho, y todo el mundo traiga el ojo alerta y mire por el virote; porque les hago saber que *el diablo está en Cantillana,* y que si me dan ocasión, han de ver maravillas. No sino haceos miel, y comeros han moscas.[1]

Rodríguez Marín comments on this passage, explaining various interpretations of the proverb, *el diablo está en Cantillana.* Men-

[1] *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha,* anotado por Francisco Rodríguez Marín (Madrid, 1928), VI:11; see also L. Montoto, *Personajes, Personas y Personillas que corren por las tierras de Ambas Castillas* (2ª imp.; Sevilla, 1921), I:238.

tion may be made of Lomba y Pedraja's study *El rey D. Pedro en el teatro,*[2] in which references are made to Vélez' play.[3]

Los hijos de Satanás, or *el diablo anda en Cantillana,* a play in three acts by D. Carlos García Doncel and D. Luis Valladares y Garriga,[4] has no similarity to the argument of Vélez' *el diablo está en Cantillana.*

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[2] *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo en el año vigésimo de su profesorado,* II: 257–339.

[3] *Ibid.,* pp. 262, 278, and 293, respectively; also T. G. Ahrens, *Zur Charakteristik des spanischen Dramas im Anfang des XVII Jahrhunderts* (Halle a. S, 1911), pp. 36ff.

[4] Madrid, José Repulles, 1845.

[11]

LA GRAN COMEDIA

DON PEDRO MIAGO

[DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA]

[FIRST LINES]

Tod. No passéis mas adelante;
que vive Dios si passáis

[LAST LINES]

Ped. Con aquesto fin da *Lauro*
a esta verdadera historia,
pidiendo perdón, y aplauso
para la segunda parte,
a tan ilustre Senado.

First printed in *Parte veinte de comedias varias nvnca impresas, compuestas por los mejores ingenios de España* ... (Madrid, 1663); Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo, p. 427); B.A.E., LIV, with the plays of Rojas Zorrilla.

CHARACTERS

El rey.	Doña Toda.	Otro moro.
Don Pedro Miago.	Don García.	Fortún.
La infanta.	Almirante.	Criado de don Pedro.
Teresa Gil.	Condesa.	Mingo, *gracioso*.
Domingo.	Abdelmón, *moro*.	Galván.
Gimen.	Zoraide, *moro*.	Músico.

ACTO I

Alfonso VI, while hunting with his courtiers, meets the beautiful Doña Toda and straightway falls in love with her. She repels his advances, but her lover, Don García, one of the courtiers, witnessing the episode, becomes a prey to mingled feelings of jealousy and fear lest he betray his state of mind to the king. The royal party enters a cave in pursuit of a bear. Alfonso becomes separated from his followers and encounters a Moorish magician, Abdelmón, former king of Medina, who, after suffering defeat at the hands of the Cid, has sought refuge in this cave. He tells Alfonso of the ultimate defeat of the Moors by the Christians, of Alfonso's marriage with Zaida, daughter of the Moorish king of Seville, and of the victories which his descendants by a second wife are destined to achieve. The Moor then hurls himself to death from a high rock.

From a conversation between Doña Toda and her father, Don Pedro Miago, we learn that the old man, now eighty years old, has ever avoided, for prudent reasons, any converse with kings. The striking and unusual appearance of the old man is noted by the Spanish monarch, who sends a courtier to fetch him. Alfonso is greatly pleased with the sturdy, independent nature of Don Pedro and with the wisdom of his answers. He decides that it would be much to his advantage to have such a man at court as adviser and counselor.

Acto II

The king summons Don Pedro to his court. The old man is at first unwilling to face the intrigues and dangers of court life, but he finally yields to authority. Alfonso is now wholly engrossed with the beauty of Zaida, whom he is about to wed, quite forgetful of his recent praise of Doña Toda. García, reminding him of his fickleness, confesses his own love for Toda. At the celebration of the marriage ceremony of Alfonso and Zaida, the Moor, Zorayde, meets Toda, who is now a lady-in-waiting to the queen, and falls in love with her. He asks her father's permission to marry her, but Don Pedro refuses, saying that his daughter shall never marry a Moor. Zorayde, angered, draws his sword, and they are about to fight when the king appears and intervenes.

Acto III

The king has a private conference with Don Pedro on the levying of a monthly tax on his nobles in order to carry on his wars. Don Pedro is indignant at such a suggestion, saying that no nobles of Castile have ever yet been taxed. The king is pleased with this answer, and Don Pedro offers to lend him money, the amount to be made good from the spoils of war. Alfonso bestows upon him the title of Count of Tudela. Don Pedro does not covet this honor, deeming nobility of character far better than an empty title, nor does he desire worldly power and prestige.

That night four Moors, sent by Zorayde to kill the aged nobleman, lie in wait for him on his return home. One of these, Galván, upon becoming aware of the identity of the victim, refuses to attack one whom he highly esteems. He is about to draw his sword on his companions, when Don Pedro, intervening, bids them depart.

Berrueco, Don Pedro's servant, has received from his master

several houses in the village and a street is to be named for him. This sudden stroke of good fortune so turns his head that he lords it over his old companions, puts on airs, and treats disdainfully Teresa Gil, whom he has long courted in vain.

The king's horse runs away with him, and the courageous Teresa saves him from certain death. As a reward, the gate of Segovia (Valladolid), where her act of heroism takes place, is called the gate of Teresa Gil, and the gate, together with two leagues round about, is given to her. Berrueco, thereat, proposes marriage to her, but Teresa pays him back in his own coin, matching his former disdain with a chilly and amusing indifference. The comedy ends with Don García's asking and obtaining the hand of Doña Toda.

THE PLAY IS PLEASING, but loosely constructed, owing to the number of incidents and digressions, and ends in a haphazard way. This defect may arise from the extensive plan of the author, who contemplated a second part. The play is interesting mainly because of the excellent portrayal of Don Pedro, the old Castilian nobleman, proud, independent, and tenacious of his rights. The *gracioso,* Berrueco, too, is well depicted. The plot may be wholly Vélez' invention.

This play was printed in *Escogidas,* XX, attributed to Francisco de Rojas, and in various *sueltas* under the same author's name. In two manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional, one of the seventeenth century, No. 17026, and the other in a modern hand, No. 15265, no author is given. However, as the last speech of the play begins:

> Con aquesto fin da *Lauro*
> a esta verdadera historia,

the composition may, in spite of the many ascriptions to Rojas, be considered entirely the work of our author. Whatever share Rojas had in it must remain pure conjecture.

[12]

LA GRAN COMEDIA

EL EMBVSTE ACREDITADO, Y EL DISPARATE CREÍDO

DE LVIS VÉLEZ DE GVEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Fabr. Milán por mí (señora) te suplica,
que supuesto que ya tu padre es muerto

[LAST LINES]

Lud. Y si esta comedia es mala,
que en buenhora la contemos
entre otras endemoniadas
comedias que ha visto el pueblo;
por ésta dirá su autor,
otro demonio tenemos.

First printed in *Quinta parte de comedias escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1653); Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 31.) Republished several times in the eighteenth century as a *suelta.*

CHARACTERS

Rosimunda, duquesa.
Ludovico, galán.
Libia, criada.
Fabricio, capitán de la Guarda.
Carlos, caballero.
Isabela, dama.
Merlín, criado.
Ergasto, jardinero.
Un labrador.

JORNADA I

Rosimunda, duchess of Milan, is urged by Fabricio, captain of the guard, on behalf of her subjects, to fulfill her father's last wish by marrying her cousin, Ludovico Esforcia. She consents, provided Ludovico will avenge an injury done her father. In an interview with Ludovico she explains this grievance. Carlos, a friend of the family and a great friend of Ludovico's, abducted a cousin of the family, Isabela, and the disgrace killed Rosimunda's father. Until Carlos is killed, Rosimunda will not marry.

While Ludovico, torn between love for Carlos and desire to marry Rosimunda, hesitates over which course to follow, Carlos comes to the palace and meets his friend. He confesses the wrong he has done, but says that his sin arose from love. He appeals to Ludo-

vico's generosity, and Ludovico pleads for him with Rosimunda; but she will not listen and orders Ludovico to be taken prisoner. Thereupon Carlos, who has been in hiding, comes out and prevents the arrest of his friend, who succeeds in escaping. His defense of his friend, however, leaves him at Rosimunda's mercy, who has him straightway imprisoned.

Ludovico returns to the palace to help Carlos and is concealed by Livia, Rosimunda's maid, in the room in which the late duke has died and which is always kept locked. Rosimunda asks Livia for the key to this room, as she wishes to have Carlos kept prisoner there. Livia, placed in a rather embarrassing situation, gets out of the difficulty by assuring the duchess that the room is haunted; and the duchess, who is quite superstitious and credulous, bids her never to open the room.

JORNADA II

Isabela, the abducted cousin, having heard of Carlos' imprisonment from his servant, Merlin, accompanies Merlin to the palace to rescue her lover. Presently Rosimunda is heard approaching the apartment where they are conversing with Livia. Isabela hides, but Merlin meets the duchess. He tells her that, as he was fleeing from her wrath during the recent domestic disturbance caused by the escapade of his master Carlos, he encountered a dying physician, who, in return for the services he performed for him, gave Merlin a jar containing a demon, subject to the bidding of the one possessing the jar. Rosimunda asks him to prove his claims and give visible proof of his power over the demon. In obedience to her wish, Merlin orders a semblance of Isabela to appear, and Isabela herself comes forth. On being questioned about Ludovico, she states that he is in Sicily, whose king is anxious to marry him to the king's daughter. Rosimunda is overcome at this news, but is revived by Merlin's assurance that the demon (in the person of Isabela) will carry Livia (Rosimunda's maid) through the air to Sicily and back in a quarter of an hour, in order that the maid may bring to the duchess an account of all that she has heard and seen. Isabela and Livia retire to the haunted room (where Ludovico is still in hiding), and at the end of the appointed time reappear. In proof that they have really visited Ludovico in Sicily, Livia hands the duchess a diamond ring which the duchess had given him, stating that she had snatched it up while he was washing his hands. The

duchess is called away to her household duties and suggests that Merlin and the demon be secreted in the haunted room, to which they both readily consent.

JORNADA III

Rosimunda now insists on seeing Ludovico herself. That night her eyes are bandaged, and she is made to believe that she is carried through the air to Ludovico's abode in Sicily. Ludovico, having been instructed by Merlin how to act, says aloud as if to himself that, if Rosimunda will not forgive Carlos for a pardonable love, he will take arms against her. He concludes by speaking of his own loyalty to her, a declaration that in no wise displeases her. Then he feigns sleep, and she, believing herself all the while invisible, picks up a letter he has addressed to her and bids Merlin conduct her back home. Having returned, as she thinks, she reads the letter, the contents of which informs her that Ludovico will not return to Milan until Carlos is united with Isabela.

Fabricio, captain of the guard, brings to the duchess the information that Carlos is dying for love of Isabela. In great trepidation, the duchess arranges with Merlin that the demon (in the person of Isabela) shall entertain Carlos until Isabela herself can be sent for; then she writes to Ludovico that she intends to unite the two lovers in marriage, and Merlin assures her that he will deliver the letter at once.

Carlos is reunited to Isabela, Ludovico in person soon appears, and Rosimunda confesses the deception which she has practiced upon them in passing off a false Isabela for the true. They all then reveal their share in the trick that was played on her. Naturally Rosimunda feels somewhat abashed at the way in which she has been duped, but she harbors no anger or resentment, merely requesting them all to keep the matter secret.

THE PLAY is full of amusing situations, typical of Vélez' exuberant vein. It is written in the same spirit that inspired *El diablo está en Cantillana* and several episodes of *El diablo cojuelo.* The character of Merlin is the best drawn; always resourceful, he succeeds repeatedly in deceiving the credulous duchess.

The *comedia* was republished in *Parte treinta y qvatro de comedias nvevas, escritas por los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1670), with the title, *El disparate creído,* and wrongly ascribed to

Don Juan de Zabaleta. La Barrera (*Cat.*, p. 467, note 2) gives as an equivalent title *Otro demonio tenemos, o los encantos de Merlin.*

A manuscript of this play which, according to Restori, may be an autograph, is preserved in the Palatinate Library at Parma:

> Manca il nome dell'autore e qualunque indicazione. Sulla copertina, che per inavvertenza del legatore è passata in fine della prima giornata, Francisco Rojas di Madrid scrisse: *La comedia de otro demonio tenemos—de tres Injenios:* quest'ultima è indicazione affatto nuova e, credo, non esatta: almeno, il ms. parmense è tutto di una sola mano.[1]

Restori calls attention to the fact that the present play has been published, at different times, with one or another of the following titles:

Otro demonio tenemos (last words of Act III)
El disparate creído (last words of Act II)
El embuste acreditado y disparate creído
El embuste acreditado
La industria de Merlin (last words of Act I)
Los encantos de Merlin[2]

Whether the above-mentioned manuscript be autographic or not, the play reads like the work of one man, and the style and manner are those of Vélez.

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[1] Restori, *Studj, etc.*, VI:116.

[2] *Piezas de Títulos de Comedias* (Messina, 1903), p. 11.

[13]

La Gran Comedia
DEL ESPEIO DEL MVNDO
COMPUESTA POR LVYS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

d. Alon. Obscura noche.
d. Nu. Estremada,
señor, para vuestra Alteza

[LAST LINES]

d. Alon. todos vamos a seruiros.
d. Nu. este es *del mundo el espejo.*

First printed in *Tercera parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega y otros auctores* (Barcelona, 1612; Madrid, 1613); Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 34.)

CHARACTERS

Don Alonso, rey de Portugal.
Don Nuño de Alencastro.
Doña Isabel, infanta.
Don Basco de Portugal.
Palla.
Cotiño (todos tres en hábito de soldados).
Ebora.
Doña María, dama.
El rey don Juan el segundo de Castilla.
Don Álvaro de Luna.
El duque de Avero.
El duque de Verganza.
Una mujer viuda.
Un muchacho.
Un estudiante.
Un viejo.
Almeyra, paje.
Dos regidores de Brantes (*sic*).
Un tambor.
Don Alonso, niño, hijo de don Basco.

JORNADA I

Don Alonso, prince of Portugal, is attacked at night by three needy and desperate soldiers seeking reward and promotion at court. Another young claimant for promotion, Don Basco de Portugal, a near relative of the royal family, comes to the aid of the prince, and is most generously rewarded, some time later, for his services. When next he meets the three soldiers, who are still urging their suit, they remark on his sudden good fortune, one of them stating that:

Palacio
es el espejo del mundo.

Don Basco's promotion is rapid, and within a short time he has become count of Vimioso. The act ends as follows:

d. Bas. A vuestra Magestad beso las plantas.
d. Alon. Conde de Vimioso, alçad.
d. Bas. No tengo
con que satisfazer tantas mercedes.
d. Alv. Vamos.
d. Bas. ¡A suerte próspera!
d. Nu. Yo creo
que es espejo del mundo éste que veo.

JORNADA II

Some time has passed. Don Alonso, now Alonso V of Portugal, has married his sister Isabel to the king of Castile, and Don Basco to Doña María de Meneses. At the birth of the latter's son, Alonso stands godfather to the child, and, after returning from the ceremony, he creates Don Basco marquis of Viseo, and confers many rich gifts upon the family.

The favor which Don Basco enjoys at court soon ends. In a private interview, Don Basco gives the king advice on matters of state which is entirely contrary to Alonso's wishes. The angry king sends Don Nuño de Alencastro to imprison the newly made marquis, who surrenders without a protest. The act ends as follows:

d. Nu. Valor notable y profundo.
d. Bas. Nada a mi pecho le muda:
vamos pues.
d. Nu. Esto sin duda
es el espejo del mundo.

JORNADA III

Don Alonso's refusal to surrender certain cities of Portugal bequeathed as a dowry to Doña Isabel by her father has brought on war with Castile, as Don Juan II claims these cities on behalf of his wife. During the years which have elapsed since Jornada II, Doña María has been mourning for her husband, who is virtually dead to her because of his long imprisonment. Coming before the king with her young son to plead for her husband, she refers to herself as:

Borrado y roto papel,
y vn espejo, cuya luna
ha quebrado la fortuna,
viéndose tan ciega en él.

Nevertheless, Doña María meets with a brusque refusal.

Meanwhile, the town of Gelves has been holding out against the king of Castile, who sends Don Álvaro de Luna to treat with the alcalde for its surrender. The alcalde has just died, so Don Basco, who is imprisoned in the town, speaks with Luna in his stead. In their parley Don Basco says:

está bien; hable:
por que sepa a lo que viene
don Álvaro, el gran priuado;
que son espejo del mundo
mi desventura y su estado.

Don Álvaro learns that all the inhabitants of the town except Don Basco have died rather than surrender. He says to Don Basco that, by surrendering the last stronghold, Gelves, which is the key to Portugal, Don Basco may hope to mend his fortunes. Don Basco refuses to be disloyal to his king, and blames fortune for the adversity that has come upon him:

desdichas han sido mías:
no tengo del rey quexas.
Tú, condestable famoso,
atento te miras en ellas,
por que a tu próspera dicha
espejo y ejemplo sean.
Mírate en mí como espejo,
verás mi fortuna en ella;
que eres Luna, y serlo en todo
de aqueste espejo pudieras.

Don Juan II, having heard of Don Basco's noble loyalty to his sovereign, entreats Don Alonso that he be surrendered to him, for he esteems such a man more than cities. Don Alonso, convinced by this proof of loyalty on the part of Don Basco that he was mistaken when he suspected his favorite of favoring foreign princes, orders his release and restores him to his king's good graces. Don Basco, however, begs leave to live in retirement; and the play closes with the oft-repeated moral:

este es del mundo
el espejo.

El espejo del mundo is a well-written play in Vélez' best vein. Many of the scenes are admirably constructed, not only in respect to suspense and dramatic interest, but also in the skillful delineation of character revealing itself in action. Especially worthy of note in this respect is the scene in which Don Basco incurs the king's displeasure by giving him advice contrary to his personal desires, that of Don Basco's arrest and imprisonment, that in which Doña María and her young son plead in vain with Alonso to show clemency to his former favorite, and, finally, the episode of Don

Basco's patriotic defense of Gelves. The play, too, depicts vividly and realistically the condition of the soldiery, many of whom after long service in the wars find themselves, on their return to the court, wholly without the means to live and often spend long intervals in hopeless attempts to procure remuneration or assistance. This state of affairs need not be taken as particularly representative of the reign of Alfonso V of Portugal. Vélez has introduced similar scenes in other plays, and his familiarity with this class of office-seekers and his skill in depicting them are doubtless the result of personal observation and, possibly, of his own experience as a soldier.

El espejo del mundo was included in *Doce comedias de varios* (Tortosa, Francisco Martorell, 1638), again attributed to Luis Vélez de Guevara. An eighteenth-century manuscript, No. 15625, in the Biblioteca Nacional, is entitled *La gran comedia intitulada, El espejo del mundo: de un ingenio.* Another hand has added on the first page of the text: "De Don Juan Vélez." Restori lists a manuscript of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century in the Biblioteca Palatina-Parmense with Lope de Vega as author. There is no evidence by which to determine the date of composition of the *comedia.*

Where did Vélez get the material for this drama? Who was Don Basco of Portugal?

d. Bas. Mi nombre es
Basco de Portugal
Hijo de don Jayme, y nieto
del famoso don Manuel,
de cuyo braço hasta Argel
llegò el vitorioso efeto.
Fué mi padre general
de Ceuta, rayo Africano.

d. Alon. Y pariente muy cercano
de la Corona Real.

And when did his heroic defense of Gelves occur? There is no reference to him in the Portuguese histories[1] consulted.

[1] *Chronica do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V.*, by Ruy de Pina, Chronista Mór de Portugal e Guarda Mór da Torre do Tombo, in *Collecçao de Livros inéditos de Historia Portugueza*, published by the Academia Real das Sciencias, Lisboa, I:195-626 (1790); *idem, Livro Vermelho do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V., ibid.*, III (Lisboa, 1793); M. de Faria y Sousa, *Epitome de las Historias Portvgvesas* (Madrid, 1628), Vols. I and II; *idem, Europa Portuguesa* (ed. 2; Lisboa, Antonio Craesbeeck, 1679), II.

The only explanation is that the plot is purely *novelesco,* and that Vélez has used the names of actual kings, princes, and nobles to lend an air of credibility to the story and to aid in giving it a proper historical setting. The theme—the mutability of fortune—is a favorite one with Vélez and has often been treated by him.

[14]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

LOS FIIOS DE LA BARBVDA

COMPUESTA POR LVYS VÉLEZ DE GUEUARA

[FIRST LINES]

Rey. Atrauessá el cercado.
Olfos. ¡A caualleros!
¿Por aquí?
Ximen. Por aquí.
Rey. Del monte a brío
acudan los lebreles y monteros.

[LAST LINES]

Rey. Ansí a Nauarra y a Francia
de la esclauitud mas dura
que han tenido, libertaron
los fijos de la Barbuda.

First printed in *Tercera parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega y otros auctores* (Barcelona, 1612); Bibl. Nac.; Salvá, *Cat.*, I:538, speaks of an edition published in Valencia in 1611, and of another printed in Sevilla, 1613 (1612?). (Cotarelo 39.) B.A.E., XLV. Three manuscripts, one of the seventeenth, two of the eighteenth century, are also in Bibl. Nac.

CHARACTERS

Doña Blanca de Guevara.
Ramiro } sus hijos.
Ordoño }
Don García, rey de Navarra.
Urraca Sánchez, su hermana.
Doña Margarita, reina de Francia.
Roberto, su tío.
Marsilio, rey de Zaragoza.
Celidoro, general.
Sancho, *gracioso.*

Mudarra, escudero.
Don Olfos, infante.

Ximen, caballero.
Santiago, Apóstol.
Un fidalgo.
Un viejo Francés.
Un tambor.

Dos padrinos.
Cuatro Franceses.
Otros Franceses.
Moros.
Músicos.
Guardas.

JORNADA I

When hunting, Don García, king of Navarre, enters the domain of the widow, Doña Blanca de Guevara, known as the Barbuda because of a slight but promising growth of hair on her upper lip. She entertains him lavishly, and, in order to win her affection, he

offers to take into his service her two sons, Ramiro and Ordoño, but Doña Blanca remains unresponsive to his advances.

On returning to the court, the king refuses to bestow the hand of his sister, Doña Urraca Sánchez, on Marsilio, the Moorish king of Zaragoza, who, disguised as a messenger, has come to the court of Navarre to plead his suit. Angered at García's refusal, Marsilio threatens the peace and safety of the kingdom. The sons of the Barbuda intervene, and when the Moor throws down his gauntlet challenging anyone to meet him in a duel, they both rush to pick it up. A quarrel ensues over which one shall defend the sovereign, and at the end each has in his possession half of the glove.

Jornada II

The king tells Mudarra, an old retainer of Blanca, of his love for her, and bids him use his influence with her to further the king's suit. Meanwhile, at court, Ordoño and Ramiro quarrel with the infante, Olfos, and Ximen, one of the courtiers. The king attempts to imprison them but they make their escape. The king reveals to Olfos and Ximen his infatuation for the Barbuda, and bids them accompany him that night to see her. They suggest his imprisoning her sons as the best means of winning her, for she will consent to his demands as the only means of securing their freedom.

The two brothers decide to seek their fortunes in France. They separate, each promising that the other shall share equally in the glory of whatever feats he may accomplish. When the king comes to serenade the Barbuda, she, disguised as a man, tells him that the lady he is courting will not yield. Marsilio, meanwhile, swears to wage ceaseless war on Navarre until Urraca consents to marry him.

Ramiro and his lackey, Sancho, arrive at Paris, where they learn that Marguerite, daughter of Carlos Capela, needs a champion in a tournament to be held that day to decide her claims to the throne of France against those of her uncle, Robert. Ramiro offers his services, but finds to his amazement that Robert's champion is his own brother, Ordoño. Both brothers at first resolve to fight in behalf of the cause which each has respectively espoused, but, at Ramiro's suggestion, Ordoño consents to be defeated so that the brother may become king. Ordoño is vanquished, but Robert refuses to accept the result as valid. Ramiro, supported by his brother, offers to establish Marguerite upon her throne.

JORNADA III

Sancho, having fled from possible danger in Paris only to find that Pamplona is being besieged by the Moorish king, returns to the French capital, where he learns that Ramiro is celebrating his nuptials with Marguerite as a fitting sequel to her accession to the throne of France. When the bridal party comes out of St.-Denis, Sancho accosts Ramiro and tells him of the state of affairs in Navarre. The Barbuda dashes upon the scene on horseback, and curses her sons for cowards if, in three hours' time, they do not hasten to the defense of their king. Marguerite bids them leave at once and orders her soldiers to march to the aid of Navarre.

The Moors are about to scale the walls of Pamplona when the Barbuda and her sons appear. The Moors are defeated. As the play ends, Ordoño is rewarded with the hand of Urraca, the Barbuda becomes the wife of the king, and Marsilio is released on his swearing allegiance, on behalf of Saragossa, to the crown of Navarre. Ramiro naturally returns to rule France at the side of his wife, Marguerite, the queen.

THIS DRAMA PRESENTS a spirited picture of the savage, warlike life common to the Christian kingdoms of northern Spain in the first centuries of the reconquest. The archaic speech of the participants adds a flavor of ancient days of epic and folklore. The action never drags, there are some brilliant scenes, and the reader's interest is held by a series of well-constructed and dramatic episodes.[1] The character of the Barbuda is especially well drawn. It moves on a dramatic plane and is enhanced by the martial bearing of her two sons, who inherit not a little of her fierce spirit of courageous independence and unswerving loyalty to lofty ideals.

It is to be noted that in this play Vélez inserts variants of the *romances* of *Fonte-frida* and of one of those on *Conde Claros*. Thus he gives the *romance* of *Fonte-frida:*

Fonte-frida, fonte-frida,
fonte-frida, con amores
todas las avecillas
cantan cuando nace el sol.
Allí canta la calandria
allí canta el ruyseñor,
allí canta el silguerillo,
y el chamariz parlador.
Si non fué la tortolilla,
que nunca cantara non,
nin reposa en rama verde
nin pissa yerua, nin flor.
. . .

[1] See Ahrens, *Zur Charakteristik des spanischen Dramas, etc.*, pp. 34ff.

Nin reposa en rama verde
nin pissa yerua, nin flor,
porque a la su compañía
la muerte se la lleuó.
Matósela un ballestero:
Dios le dé mal galardón,
non acierte a cosa que tire
con la jara a su sabor.
E todo lo que yantare
que le faga mala pro,
porque apartó dos quereres
que huuo juntado amor.

A comparison of this song, with which the king serenades the Barbuda, with No. 116 of the *Primavera*[2] will show to what extent Vélez has varied the original theme. In the *Primavera,* the *romance* of *Fonte-frida* reads as follows:

Fonte-frida, fonte-frida,—fonte-frida y con amor,
do todas las avecicas—van tomar consolación,
si no es la tortolica—que está viuda y con dolor.
Por allí fuera a pasar—el traidor de ruiseñor:
las palabras que le dice—llenas son de traición:
—Si tú quisieses, señora,—yo sería tu servidor.
—Véte de hí, enemigo,—malo, falso, engañador,
que ni poso en ramo verde,—ni en prado que tenga flor;
que si el agua hallo clara,—turbia la bebía yo;
que no quiero haber marido,—porque hijos no haya, no:
no quiero placer con ellos,—ni menos consolación.
Déjame, triste, enemigo—malo, falso, mal traidor;
que no quiero ser tu amiga—ni casar contigo, no!

When the king visits the Barbuda and is entertained by her, part of the diversion consists in the singing of the following excerpts and reminiscences of a *romance* on *Conde Claros.*

Conde Claros con amores
no pudiera reposare,
apriesa pide el vestido,
apriesa pide el calçare.
Presto está su camarero
para auersele de dare;
que quien adama no duerme
y más quando zelos aye.
Salto diera de la cama,
que parece vn gauilane;
ques con amores el lecho
marmol duro, y lid campale...
Las calças se pone el Conde
apriessa, y non de vagare,
que amores de Blancaniña
llamándole apriessa estane.

[2] Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, VIII:231.

In No. 190 of the *Primavera*[8] we find the originals of several of the lines which Vélez has introduced into his song. Thus, for example, the lines:

> conde Claros con amores—no podía reposar:
> . . . . . .
> salto diera de la cama—que parece un gavilan.
> . . . . . .
> Presto estaba el camarero—para habérselo de dar.

have been copied with slight variation, whereas the idea contained in the following lines has been expressed in other words:

> por amor de Claraniña—no le deja sosegar.
> Levanta, mi camarero,—dame vestir y calzar.

[8] *Antología,* IX:132.

[15]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

DE LA LUNA DE LA SIERRA

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Gut. Cartas de la Reyna son.
Ma. Por essa causa me apeo

[LAST LINES]

Men. Y aquí se da fin, señores,
sin tragedia, ni desgracia,
ni casamiento a la postre,
a *La Luna de la Sierra.*
Pas. Vuessas mercedes perdonen.

First printed in *Flor de las mejores doze Comedias de los mayores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1652); Munich and Vienna; reprinted in *Doce comedias las más grandiosas que hasta aora han salido* (Lisboa, Pablo Craesbeeck, 1653); Bibl. Nac. MS copy, *Comedia famosa de la luna de la sierra de Luis Vélez,* by the bookseller Martínez, is also in the Bibl. Nac. (No. 15046). B.A.E., XLV; *suelta,* Schaeffer, XXXIII. (Cotarelo 43.)

CHARACTERS

Pascuala.	Don Gutierre.
Antón.	La Reina Doña Isabel.
Mengo.	El rey don Fernando.
Bartola.	Guzmán.
Gil del Rábano.	Ortún.
Cura.	Criados.
El Príncipe Don Juan.	Gente.
El Maestre.	Acompañamiento.

JORNADA I

Pascuala, a mountain maid of the Sierra Morena, known as La Luna de la Sierra,[1] appeals to Isabella the Catholic to save her from a distasteful marriage with the alcalde of her village, into which her brother Mengo is endeavoring to force her in spite of the fact

[1] Pascuala explains this name to the queen:

No sé si por hermosa,
o mudable en las bueltas
de mi fortuna varia,
ya menguante, ya llena,
toda essa Serranía
que da a Sierra Morena
aldeas, dió en llamarme
la Luna de la Sierra.
—B.A.E., XLV:179b.

that she loves another fellow villager, Antón. Meanwhile Mengo is discussing with some of his friends the best means of persuading Pascuala to wed the alcalde, when Antón, who has been away for some days, interrupts their conversation and upbraids them for attempting to force Pascuala against her will. Failing to find her in the room in which she has been imprisoned and from which, unknown to them all, she has made her escape, Antón bursts into a rage and threatens to do them violence. In the midst of this turmoil, the queen arrives with Pascuala and composes the difficulty by marrying her to Antón, and Mengo to the alcalde's sister, Bartola, to whom he had been betrothed.

Jornada II

The infante, D. Juan, and the maestre of Calatrava, Fernán Gómez de Lara, have also fallen in love with the beautiful Pascuala. The infante, on the pretext that he wishes to go hunting in the mountains, leaves with the maestre for Pascuala's village. On the way thither, he confesses his love for the mountain maid, and asks the maestre to arrange matters so that he may meet her that evening. Pretending to comply with the infante's request, but in reality desirous of pressing his own suit, the maestre, in peasant's costume, approaches Pascuala's door and tells her of his love. Just then Antón, returning from his day's work in the fields, sees his wife talking with another man and is inclined to be jealous, but she tells him it is only one of the farmers.

They enter the house, and while they are at supper Pascuala is serenaded by the maestre. Antón, in a jealous rage, rushes out of the house, soon to be followed by Mengo, Bartola, and Pascuala, the last two in men's attire. In the skirmish the infante's identity is disclosed, and, much against his will, Antón is obliged to grant his request that he and the maestre spend the night in his house.

Jornada III

The following morning the maestre finds an opportunity to offer wealth and luxury to Pascuala if she will leave her husband and go with him, but her love for Antón is so great that this offer holds no temptation for her. Antón joins them, and, finding Pascuala with the maestre's sword in her hand, which she has taken from him to defend her honor, he realizes what has happened, rebukes

the maestre, and orders him and the infante to leave his house. After their departure Antón learns that the maestre has been using Bartola as a go-between, and determines to appeal to the queen for aid. In the presence of Isabella he states his grievances in moderate but determined language, giving her and the maestre, who is present, to understand that he will tolerate no attempt against his or his wife's honor.

Shortly after leaving the queen's presence, he is taken prisoner by the maestre, who goes straight to Antón's abode and obtains Bartola's promise to help him carry out his designs. As he is about to enter the house, the doors of which have been left open, Antón appears, having been liberated from prison by the queen. Antón warns the maestre that he will enter the house at his peril, and the maestre, thinking better of it, departs.

When the queen arrives, Antón requests her to take back the dangerous gift of a beautiful wife who has given him neither happiness nor peace of mind. Isabella replies that he need have no fear of a woman of Pascuala's integrity, and that he may trust his sovereign to safeguard his interests.

THE DATE OF COMPOSITION is most probably subsequent to 1614, since the argument of the drama resembles that of Lope's *Peribáñez y el comendador de Ocaña* (Part IV of Lope's *Comedias,* Madrid, 1614). Lope's source was the fragment of an old popular song, which he incorporates into his play:

> Más quiero yo a Peribáñez
> con su capa la pardilla,
> que al Comendador de Ocaña
> con la suya guarnecida.

Save that the names of the characters are different, and that Vélez places the action in the reign of the Catholic kings instead of the reign of Enrique III, as does Lope, the arguments of the two plays are developed along similar lines. In both we have a splendid picture of the sturdy spirit of independence and *pundonor*[2] of the old Spanish peasantry, as revealed in the characters of Peribáñez and Antón, respectively.

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[2] See Américo Castro, "Algunas observaciones acerca del concepto del honor en los siglos XVI y XVII," *Rev. de Fil. Esp.*, III:1–50, 357–386 (1916).

D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín thus compares these two dramas:

La Luna de la Sierra, una de las más bellas comedias del autor de *El diablo cojuelo,* anda muy próxima a su modelo en valor dramático; pero se halla por bajo de la sencilla grandeza de *Peribáñez.* Vélez de Guevara, por educación y por temperamento, era más cortesano y también más retórico que Lope, aunque su fecundidad literaria fuese extraordinaria. Hay en *La Luna de la Sierra* una escena (diálogo entre Antón y Pascuala, en la segunda jornada) digna de la pluma de Lopè, por su ambiente de rústica ternura. Para que la semejanza sea mayor entre ambos poetas, Vélez aprovecha, igualmente, un cantar popular:

"Ay luna, que reluces,
toda la noche m'alumbres."

[16]

EL MARQUÉS DEL BASTO

Comedia famosa de Luis Vélez de Gvevara

[first lines]

Gui. Aguarda, señor soldado.
Barr. ¿Qué quiere vuessa merced?

[last lines]

Sarg. Por *historia verdadera,*
aqui, famoso Senado,
el sucesso prodigioso
da fin del *Marqués del Basto.*

Printed as a *suelta* s. date or place of publication; Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 45.)

Characters

Guijarro.	Julio.	Carlos V.
Barriga.	Celio.	Cuatro capitanes.
Bárbula.	Próspero Esforcia.	Nísida, villana.
El marqués.	Octavio, criado.	Laura.
Alberto.	Sargento.	Músicos.
	Doña Victoria Ursino.	

Jornada I

Guijarro, a blustering Spanish soldier, in company with the *gracioso,* Barriga, and Barriga's mistress, Bárbula, seeks to obtain lodging by force in the palace of Doña Victoria Ursino. Their insolence is so great that they even draw swords on Doña Victoria's men. In the midst of the affray the marqués del Basto, an officer in the army of Emperor Charles V and Guijarro's superior, enters the palace and soon restores order. The marqués and the fair gentlewoman are mutually enamored of each other and he, not wishing to inconvenience her by billeting his men upon her, decides to march straightway to Novara. Soon after his departure the peasant girl, Nísida, comes and tells Doña Victoria of her infatuation for the marqués, whom she saw pass by her window, and declares her intention of following him to Novara.

Jornada II

Disguised as a peasant, and accompanied by Nísida, Doña Victoria follows the marqués to Novara, confesses her love to him, and asks him to come to her that night. Prospero Esforcia (da Sforza), who

loves Doña Victoria and is anxiously awaiting the emperor's permission to marry her, comes to Altaroca to serenade her. While the marqués is with Doña Victoria, Esforcia arrives, but he is put to flight by Guijarro, who has at heart the interests of the marqués.

When his consent to Esforcia's marriage with Doña Victoria is requested, the emperor Charles suggests that they should see one another first, and asks the marqués to accompany Esforcia as bearer of his (Charles's) good wishes to the lady.

Madame Sol, a Frenchwoman, now seeks an audience with the sovereign so that she may obtain permission to hold a public duel; by this means she hopes to avenge the death of her two brothers, who have been treacherously slain by a Spanish soldier.

JORNADA III

When Esforcia and the marqués come to see Doña Victoria, she takes pleasure in making the marqués suffer, but when alone with Esforcia, she tells him of her love for another. Her declaration fills him with the desire to thwart his successful rival. Madame Sol recognizes Guijarro as the man who slew her brothers, but he tells her she need seek no other revenge, as her eyes have already killed him. Alberto, a German soldier in the service of Charles, and a lover of the valorous Frenchwoman, attributes this statement of Guijarro to fear. The two quarrel, and the German is stabbed by his opponent. This leads to a skirmish between Guijarro and the captain of the guards, which ends only with the arrival of the emperor, at whose bidding Guijarro surrenders his arms and is led off badly wounded.

The marqués learns of Guijarro's death by hanging. On the way to a rendezvous with his beloved, he passes the brave soldier's corpse, which begs him to cut loose the cords that bind it to the gibbet. The marqués complies, and the corpse, reanimated, accompanies the marqués to Doña Victoria's house. There the marqués gives his key to Guijarro, who enters the house in his stead and is shot by Prospero and his men, who have been lying in wait for the successful lover.

At the sound of shooting Doña Victoria rushes from her house and learns from Prospero that he has killed her lover. But the truth is soon discovered. Upon the arrival of the emperor, the marqués asks for the hand of Doña Victoria. Prospero is pardoned, since his

attempt on the life of Victoria's lover was caused by jealousy, and he is recompensed with the hand of Madame Sol. Furthermore, the marqués vows to raise a marble tomb to Guijarro's memory to commemorate the extraordinary events in which he played the leading part.

As AN AMUSING EXTRAVAGANZA the play ranks favorably with others which have sprung chiefly from the author's imagination. Several scenes are skillfully sketched, one of the best being that which depicts the jealousy of the marqués when his mistress gives him to understand that she favors Esforcia's suit. The ending, too, is very dramatic, especially as it is wholly unexpected.

The character of Guijarro is excellently portrayed. In realistic fashion Vélez has represented him as a rough, blustering fellow, ever ready for a fight, with a keen sense of dignity, quick to resent personal insult, true, loyal, and courageous—a type that Vélez may often have met with while in military service.

This drama was performed in Madrid by the company of Cristóbal de Avendaño May 14, 1643.[1] The marqués del Vasto was a famous soldier in the armies of Charles V. The *"historia verdadera,"* as Vélez designates his plot, is a product of the poet's imagination: no mention of any such extraordinary events is found in any of the histories of the reign of Charles V.

Act I has certain similarities with Act I, Scene I, of Lope's *Pobreza no es vileza,* played in Madrid by Antonio de Prado July 29, 1626.[2] Even as, in Vélez' play, the marqués saves Doña Victoria from the unwelcome presence of the soldiers, so, in Lope's drama, Mendoza rescues a noble lady, Rosela, from an analogous situation; in both *comedias* this meeting between the valiant soldier and the gentlewoman whom he succors, results in a mutual love.

The marqués del Vasto is a secondary character in Diego Ximénez de Enciso's play, in two parts, entitled *El valiente Sevillano,*[3] which deals with the feats and exploits of the valiant soldier, D. Pedro Lobón.

[1] Rennert, "Notes, etc.," *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, III:45.

[2] *Ibid.;* printed in Part XX of Lope's plays (Madrid, 1625); reprinted in *Acad.*, XII (Madrid, 1901), pp. 477–517.

[3] Printed in *Parte treinta y tres de doze comedias famosas de varios autores* (Valencia, 1642).

[17]

LA NIÑA DE GÓMEZ ARIAS

COMEDIA FAMOSA DE

LVIS VÉLEZ DE GVEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

D. Iu. A Córdoua seáis tan bien venido,
como sois de mis ojos deseado . . .

[LAST LINES]

D. Iu. Y aquí os presenta Luis Vélez,
en esta humilde comedia,
la Niña de Gómez Arias,
por *historia verdadera.*

This play has survived in *suelta* form s. l. n. a.; exceedingly rare, and unknown to Cotarelo, Durán's copy having disappeared from the Bibl. Nac. Copy in Brit. Mus., and another, lacking one leaf in Act III, in Schaeffer's library, XLVII. (Cotarelo 52.)

CHARACTERS

Gómez Arias.	Don Pedro.	Laureano viejo.
Don Iuan [de Gueuara].	Don Luis.	Auenjafar.
Beltrán.	Adamuz.	Celín.
Doña María.	Perico.	Labina.
Doña Francisca.	Sancho.	Vn corregidor.
Quiteria.	Doña Gracia.	El Conde de Palma.
[Arias viejo].	[Doña Isabel, reyna].	[Quatro salteadores].

JORNADA I

The scene opens in Córdoba. The epoch is that of the siege of Granada in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, toward the close of the fifteenth century. Two soldiers, Don Juan de Guevara and Gómez Arias, meet and recall their past experiences of battle under the walls of Granada. Doña María, sister of Gómez Arias, and Doña Gracia, sister of Don Juan, enter, their faces concealed by their cloaks. They are accosted by the two soldiers, and while they are conversing, Don Pedro, and Don Luis and his servant, Adamuz, approach, in search of the two young women. A quarrel is about to ensue between the soldiers and the newcomers, when Don Juan apprises Don Pedro and Don Luis of the relationship which exists between the young women, Gómez Arias, and himself. The new-

comers apologize and withdraw. Beltrán quotes a line from Cervantes' famous sonnet apropos of the harmless issue of this encounter: "Miró al soslayo, fuése, y no hubo nada." Perico, a servant of Gómez Arias, and Sancho now enter dressed as lackeys. Perico learns of Arias' infatuation for Gracia and favors his suit.

In a new scene Gracia is conversing with her servant, Quiteria, who twits her on her apparent interest in the soldier, Arias. Perico enters with a letter from his master, which he hands to Gracia just as Don Juan approaches. She conceals the paper, but her brother demands that it be handed to him. Perico attempts to clear Gracia by stating that he has handed her the wrong letter, and gives Don Juan a letter from María, whereat he is overjoyed and returns the first paper to Perico. Gracia thus obtains the letter sent to her by Gómez Arias.

JORNADA II

Gómez Arias, through Perico, receives a letter from Gracia appointing that evening for a rendezvous. On the principle of dramatic balance María also summons Juan to a meeting at her door, entrusting the message to Beltrán. In order to carry out his adventure, Gómez Arias enlists Gracia's brother, Juan, who does not suspect that the object of Gómez' intrigue is Juan's sister. Aided by Beltrán he remains at the entrance of the street to prevent any interruption and "para guardar las espaldas a un amigo." Gómez Arias, in the meantime, has safely abducted Gracia; and María, having mistaken another suitor at her door for Juan, has admitted him to her house. Juan learns of the dishonor that has befallen his family through the treachery of Gómez Arias, and mounting a horse he sets out in pursuit of his sister's seducer.

The scene changes to the open country near Benamexí, a Moorish stronghold besieged by the Spanish forces under Isabella the Catholic. Here we find Gómez Arias and Gracia accompanied by Perico. The adventure of the lovers has come to an end, and Arias plots to be rid of Gracia. Her words at this point are most poignant and the author incorporates in them a popular *cantar* of considerable age on which the play is built, and which recurs like a mournful refrain:

Habladme, miradme,
mi bien, ¿qué dezís?;
porque de sospechas
me vendré a morir.

Señor Gómez Arias,
duélete de mí;
que soy niña y muchacha,
(y) nunca en tal me vi.

This whole episode is composed in the *romancillo* meter. Gracia pleads with Arias not to abandon her, offering herself to him even as a slave. This suggestion paves the way in his mind for a terrible resolution, and he decides to sell Gracia to the Moors. He orders Perico to signal Benamexí for a parley, and two Moors, Abenjafar, a chieftain of repute, and Celín come forth. To Abenjafar, Gómez Arias reveals his purpose:

Gom. Del valor que tienes,
valiente Zegrí,
las muestras que vemos
no pueden mentir.
Demás que en la Vega
de Granada oí
tu nombre, siruiendo
a mi Rey allí.
Desdichas me lleuan,
que en Córdoua, noble,
por mi mal, nací.
Soy pobre, y es fuerça,
para no morir,
imaginar traças
que tengan buen fin.
Mira si me quieres
comprar . . .

d. Gr. ¡Ay de mí!
Gom. aquesta Christiana.
Auen. Es vn sol, Celín;
¿qué pides por ella?
Tal beldad no ví.
Gom. Trecientos zequíes.
Auen. Celín, dale mil.
Gom. El valor no puede
tu pecho encubrir;
otros tantos años
llegues a viuir.
Auen. No lloréis, Christiana;
que tendréis en mí
vn esclauo dueño
que os sabrá seruir.

Dale Celín el dinero a Gómez Arias.

d. Gr. ¡A, mi bien, señor!
Cel. No falta vn zequí.
d. Gr. Pues que no sois piedra,
escuchadme, oíd;
que me lleuan presa
a Benamexí.
Señor Gómez Arias,
duélete de mí
que soy niña, y muchacha,
nunca en tal me vi.

Gracia is borne away after giving vent to bitter imprecations against her former lover, that close with a touching but futile plea. Perico berates his master for this infamous deed, whereupon Gómez Arias, enraged, sells Perico, also, to Celín. As Perico goes off, being a lackey *gracioso* he is permitted, by dramatic custom, to parody Gracia's words.

Morazo, venid;
que auéis de soñarme
en Benamexí.
Señor Gómez Arias,
duélete de mí;
que soy niño y muchacho,
(y) nunca en tal me ví.

This incident has been quoted at length because the episode is important in connection with Calderón's revision of the drama.

Gómez Arias plans to flee into Portugal. Retribution, however, begins at once. Four highwaymen beset his path. As a way out of his dilemma, Arias offers to become one of them and is chosen their captain. Doña María, dressed as a man, enters with Don Luis, who, pretending to be Don Juan, had gained admission to her house. Arias recognizes his sister and, after forcing Luis to plight his troth to her in order to restore her honor, he commands his companions to hurl the offender into a near-by abyss. To his sister he says:

por mí, has de tener
más fama que *la Serrana*
de la Vera y juntamente
la Niña de Gómez Arias.

Jornada III

We return to the home of Gracia in Córdoba. Adamuz, dressed as a captive, brings to Laureano de Guevara, Gracia's father, a letter from his daughter telling of her captivity among the Moors. In the midst of his sorrow, Laureano is apprized of his election as Alcalde de la Hermandad de los Hijosdalgo, a police and defense organization. In this incident Vélez may again desire to pay tribute to the Guevara family. Laureano goes forth to welcome the queen and her retinue, who have come to Córdoba. The musicians sing a touching ballad commemorating Gracia's unhappy fate. The father thus has an opportunity to inform the queen of his daughter's captivity, whereupon Isabella vows to capture Benamexí and free Gracia, entrusting to Laureano, at the same time, the task of capturing the robber band which has been infesting the Sierra Morena.

The Hermandad under the command of Laureano pursues the outlaws and Laureano takes Gómez Arias captive. The other members of the band are likewise brought in, and Laureano orders them to be taken in chains to Córdoba to be sentenced by the queen.

The scene changes to Benamexí, where Gracia and Perico are held as captives. An amorous plot of Abenjafar to win Gracia is interrupted by the beating of drums and the approach of the Spanish troops. Abenjafar refuses to parley with the Spanish commander, whereupon Isabella resolves to storm Benamexí at the head of the attacking forces. Don Juan enters to take part in the assault, and as Abenjafar is about to kill Gracia, her brother intervenes in time to save her life. To relieve the tragic suspense, Beltrán enters carrying a heavy sack which, he says, contains a treasure of gold and silver coins. When he opens the sack Perico pops his head out and asks "What's the news?" Don Juan leads Gracia away to present her to the queen.

A herald proclaims the penalty to be inflicted on two notorious robbers, a man and a woman, about to be impaled. The Hermandad brings in as prisoners Gómez Arias and María his sister. Isabella arrives at the head of her troops, followed by Gracia and Juan. Gómez Arias' father pleads for the lives of his two children, Gracia for that of her lover, and Don Juan for that of María. The queen pardons the criminals, their evil deeds are expiated by their repentance, the queen is acclaimed for her clemency, and the victorious procession returns to Córdoba.

THIS PLAY IS EXCELLENT MELODRAMA. In spite of the repulsive actions of Gómez Arias, his pardon and reinstatement in the good graces of the woman whom he had wronged responded to the popular taste. "The happy ending" was so common in novel and drama that we cannot expect an exception in Vélez, whose formula was to entertain. At times his poetry reaches a high level of beauty, and the fooling of his clownish servants suffices to relieve tense situations of crime and cruelty. The age and origin of the *romancillo* upon which the drama rests are difficult to determine. An allusion to it can be found in the *Lozana andaluza* (1528), and it is often quoted in the early seventeenth century.[1] Our play is in Vélez' early vein; it is relatively free from all traces of *culto,* and belongs in its verse forms and general dramatic technique to the

[1] Some works which contain references to what may have been known as a *cantar de Gómez Arias* are the *Cancionero* of Seb. de Horozco (before 1550?), the *Pícara Justina* (1605), the entremés, *El viejo celoso,* by Cervantes (before 1615), *Estebanillo González* (1646), and Calderón in numerous plays noted by F. W. V. Schmidt, *Die Schauspiele Calderons.*

first decades of the seventeenth century.[2] As a *comedia* it is full of commonplace combinations, such as amorous intrigues, nocturnal adventures, and mistaken identity of the participants.

Although Vélez' composition deserves study on its merits, it seems to have been mentioned by the very few who have known of its existence, only because of its relation to a play of similar title by Calderón, whose *La niña de Gómez Arias* is admitted to be a revision of Vélez' work. Calderón accentuated the dramatic incidents of his original and painted his protagonists with deeper colors and firmer outline; he made of Gómez Arias a repulsive, cold villain with a criminal record, and leads him straight to his well-merited execution. His drama, on the whole, is technically better constructed in that it is less episodic, less *novelesco,* and more consistently tragic. Vélez' tone is poignant at most. Calderón's is always serious and moves relentlessly to its stern close; but his composition is weighted down with his most baroque *culto,* and a comparison of Vélez' handling of Gracia's plea to her cruel lover, beseeching him not to sell her into slavery, with the same scene in Calderón, discloses the superiority of Vélez' work. In Calderón the heroine begins her appeal with the following words:

> Monstruo ingrato, bruto fiero,
> pasmo horrible, asombro vil,
> fiera inculta, aspid traidor,
> cruel tigre, ladrón neblí,
> león herido, lobo hambriento,
> horror mortal, y, hombre en fin,
> por decirte de una vez
> cuanto te puedo decir.

But she does have more to say, for she continues with one hundred and eighty-two verses of elaborate rhetoric which fail to soften the monster. Yet several German critics have held this speech in Calderón to be one of the most affecting discourses known in tragedy. Surely the simplicity of Gracia's appeal in Vélez is not only greater art, but owes its merits to the fact that the author has adhered to the poignant spirit of the popular ballad which inspired his play. It is not possible to say when Calderón composed his revision of Vélez' drama, but we may assume from the style that it was after Vélez' lifetime. It was first printed in 1672.

[2] The allusions to Cervantes' noted sonnet, and to Vélez' own *Serrana de la Vera,* strengthen this supposition.

[18]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

EL NIÑO DIABLO

[DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA]

[FIRST LINES]

Cantan. Ya del ayrado Diziembre
Los fugitiuos christales

[LAST LINES]

Mil. Desta suerte la primera
parte del *Niño Diablo*
tiene fin, y la segunda
os promete [escriuir?][1] *Lauro,*
si le reciuís por obra
la voluntad de agradaros.

Late seventeenth-century manuscript, No. 17325, of the Biblioteca Nacional. *Suelta* s. l. n. a. Brit. Mus. (Cotarelo 53.)

CHARACTERS

Peregrino.	Tirrena.	Celio.
Carlos, rey de Nápoles.	Silvia.	Milán.
Cesar, marqués de Santelmo.	Riselo.	Músicos y criados.
Venus, su hija.	Ergasto.	Un ventero.
Fenix.		Salteadores.

ACTO I

While musicians are serenading before the house in which he lives, Peregrino, a young gallant and son of César, marquis of Santelmo, comes forth and forbids them on pain of death to continue; whereupon Carlos, king of Naples, comes out to ascertain why the musicians, who are in his employ, have stopped their playing. When he learns the reason for their sudden silence, he bids them strike up again, and if the intruder should reappear, to slay him forthwith.

Shortly afterwards César enters, thinking he has heard his son crying for help. A sudden storm arises, and at its height Peregrino staggers upon the scene, his garments torn and covered with blood. He declares that he has been battling the hosts of hell. His father succeeds in bringing him safely home, where Peregrino tells what has befallen him. For some time he has loved Fenix, daughter of Pompeyo, count of Altaroca, their ancient enemy. Pompeyo, wish-

[1] The manuscript: *en timber.*

ing to marry off an elder daughter first, has shut the younger one up in a convent. Peregrino had arranged a tryst with Fenix for that night, but when he was about to enter her room, he was struck by an invisible opponent. He looked about for his assailant, but encountered instead a funeral procession, the dead being none other than himself. Nothing daunted, he again attempts to meet Fenix and four fierce adversaries overthrow him.

Fenix, arrayed in male attire, seeks him out at his home and persuades him to escape with her. Presently they arrive at an inn; Peregrino goes to one of the tables where some highwaymen and peasants are regaling themselves with the last remnants of food and wine, and orders them to give him some of their fare, informing them that:

> Desde niño soy diablo,
> y haré bueno lo que hablo
> con esta espada.

The men draw their swords, and in the ensuing skirmish one of their number exclaims in admiration: ¿Quién eres, hombre? ¿eres diablo? to which Peregrino replies: El Niño Diablo soi. Having conquered his opponents, Peregrino appoints himself their captain and insists that he be known thenceforth as *El Niño Diablo.*

Acto II

While Carlos is lamenting the coldness with which Venus, daughter of César, favors his suit, that nobleman and his daughter are announced. César informs the king of the disappearance of his son, Peregrino. Their conversation is interrupted by the entrance of a courier who informs them that the neighborhood of Calabria is being ravaged by a bandit known as *El Niño Diablo.* Carlos sends the marquis of Santelmo in command of forces against the outlaw, and César swears he will return with the culprit's head. After the marquis' departure, Carlos, by means of forged letters, makes Venus believe that her father is ill, and that he has sent for her. This proves to be a trap to bring the young woman into the king's hands. While she is struggling with him, Peregrino appears. He refrains from drawing his sword against the king, but seeks to avenge his sister's dishonor by jumping with her from the top of a cliff into the river. Both survive the ordeal.

Sudden darkness descends. Peregrino wanders about until he happens upon a hermitage containing the tomb of its former occu-

pant. Peregrino remarks how blessed the dead man must be, whereupon the dead man answers that he, Peregrino, is likewise destined to be blessed. The dead man appears and invites the young man to follow him into his tomb.

ACTO III

Peregrino comes out from the hermitage bewildered and dazed. He fails to recognize his own men, who plead with him in vain to lead them in an attack upon the king's forces. He is determined, as a result of his recent experience, to repent of his sins and prepare for death. Fenix also pleads with him not to leave her. Finding him obdurate, she informs him that she is not what she seems, for the real Fenix had died of fright on the night of their meeting. Peregrino questions the false Fenix concerning her identity, to which she replies that heaven has sent her to punish him, and he presently sees a vision of hell and all its inhabitants.

Meanwhile, Venus, who has safely reached the shore, finds herself, on awakening, in her father's arms. Peregrino, despairing of attaining heaven, resolves to be hell's sword, and to wage ceaseless war against the world. He meets his father, is overcome by him, and made prisoner. The marquis, although sorely grieved that his son is the outlaw against whom he has been sent, will not break the promise he made to his king, and leads the rebel into the king's presence.

The king, overjoyed at finding Venus alive, celebrates his betrothal to her and generously pardons Peregrino. He appoints him commander of the forces to be sent against the Turk. Peregrino vows to wage ceaseless war against the infidel; he will die fighting for his faith.

NO AUTHORSHIP IS ASSIGNED to the composition in the above-mentioned manuscript except on the first page of the text, where a modern handwriting has added "de Lope de Vega." References to a play entitled *El niño diablo* or *El diablo niño*[2] attributed to Lope can only apply to the same *comedia*. There is a *suelta* called *El niño diablo* in the British Museum (Sig. 11728.h.5.2) of which Miss Whyte, of Mount Holyoke, has a photostat. This she has kindly allowed us to examine, and a careful comparison with MS 17325

[2] The copy from the collection of Gayangos seems to have disappeared from the Biblioteca Nacional; see B.A.E., LII:543.

of the Biblioteca Nacional shows that they are identical with the exception of a few typographical errors in the *suelta* and an occasional slight variant in the written text, such as *ginete* (s.) for *litera* (MS). The manuscript is probably of the latter part of the seventeenth century and the *suelta,* the date and place of which are omitted, may be assigned to the late seventeenth or the early eighteenth century. The Catalogue of the British Museum, printed in 1884, adds to the title in brackets [Madrid, 1650?]. This date seems too early. From a comparison of these two copies, priority may be given to the manuscript, to which more authority must therefore be conceded than to the printed version. The manuscript gives *Lauro* as the author, this name conforming with the closing assonance in *a-o*. The *suelta* ends with the verses:

> Y fin con aquesto da
> Lope deste *Niño diablo,*
> y perdonaréis las faltas
> si acaso no os a agradado;
> que de su zelo quisiera
> no dexaros disgustados.

On the strength of this ending the printer of the composition must have felt justified in giving to the play the usual heading "comedia famosa de Lope de Vega Carpio." It is to be regretted that the Academy has printed the *suelta* as Lope's in Vol. VIII of the new edition of his works. The composition is not at all in Lope's vein: it is characterized by a luxuriant *culto,* never to be found in his genuine works, but common enough on the stage after his time. On the contrary, a dozen traits of the play are wholly in the manner of Luis Vélez; extravagant plot, episodes, language, verse forms, and the like are in keeping with his style of dramatic art throughout.

In respect to the signature of Lope, of twenty-four autograph plays and about two hundred printed plays recently examined, only two printed copies give Lope's name at the close, and one is our *El niño diablo,* which does not seem to be his; the other, *Amar, servir y esperar,* has an ending which, if by Lope, must have been added for a special reason, namely, the dedication of the play to Roque de Figueroa, stage director and friend.

The Biblioteca Nacional has another manuscript copy of *El niño diablo* (MS 17390) in the handwriting of D. Agustín Durán, which

is identical with MS 17325 save that it is incomplete. A play designated as *El niño diablo* was performed by the company of Lorenzo Hurtado on October 5, 1631.[3]

In the Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid a comedia is listed with the title *el Rayo y teror* (sic) *de ytalia de Dn Pedro Rossete,* of which, also, Miss Whyte possesses a photostat copy. It is a manuscript of sixty-eight folios, written in different hands, but throughout of the seventeenth century. Some portions of it belong to a copy of *El niño diablo,* and others may be in the hand of Rosete. The characters are: Seberino, galán 1°; Carlos, rey de Nápoles; César, barba; Celio, galán 2°; Chalán, gracioso; tres salteadores, un ventero, Ergasto y Riselo, billanos; Fenix, dama 1ª; Benus, dama 2ª; Tirrena, dama 3ª; Silbia, dama 4ª; un muerto, músicos. The first verses are:

(*Salen los músicos cantando*) Ya aquel opulento escollo
que al cielo sirbió de Atlante,
triste y mudo, se lamenta
a los açotes del ayre.

and the last are:

Y aquí tenga fin dichoso,
discretíssimo senado,
el raio y terror de Italia
en mal dibujados rasgos.

Rosete seems to have been very active during the last years of Vélez' life, and when he revised this play of Vélez' cannot be readily determined. There are numerous changes and substitutions in the later version, but the plot is substantially the same.

[3] Rennert, "Notes, etc.," *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[19]

LOS NOVIOS DE HORNACHUELOS

[DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA]

[FIRST LINES]

Mendo. ¿No temes al Rey?
Lope. Aquí
No alcanza el poder del Rey;

[LAST LINES]

(Version I)
Berrueco. Y con esto
Da fin el refrán antiguo
De *Los Novios de Hornachuelos.*

(Version II)
Lope. Aquí
da fin, Senado discreto,
Lauro, pidiendo perdón
a *Los Novios de Hornachuelos.*

Known in two versions: one first printed in a rare *suelta,* without place or date, and reprinted by Menéndez y Pelayo in Volume X of the Academy edition of *Obras de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1899), pages 41–72; the other, a manuscript, printed by J. M. Hill (see below). (Cotarelo 54.)

CHARACTERS

El rey Don Enrique.
Ruy López de Ávalos.
Lope Meléndez.
Mendo } criados.
Jimeno }
Rey de Armas.
Estrella, Señora de Hornachuelos.
Inés } criadas.
Blanca }
Berrueco, *gracioso.*
Alcalde.
Marina, *graciosa.*

The title of this comedy is used proverbially to indicate a young married couple whose relations are marked from the outset by open strife and domestic warfare. Thus the greater part of the plot is devoted to the disagreement of the rustic *novios* Berrueco and Marina.

JORNADA I

Lope Meléndez, a nobleman of Extremadura, discloses to his servant, Mendo, his love for Estrella. An ambassador of Enrique III arrives with a letter ordering Meléndez to come to Madrid without delay. Lope displays to the ambassador the breadth of his lands, the wealth of his castles, and the number of his vassals, in justification of his independence and his consequent refusal to go to Madrid in answer to the king's summons.

The next scene reveals Estrella hunting in the mountains with her maid, Inés. Lope and Mendo arrive, and Lope in various com-

plimentary remarks protests his great regard for her. She politely refuses his advances and the two assist in the amusing betrothal of two *villanos,* or rustics, Berrueco and Marina.

JORNADA II

The scene opens at Enrique's court in Madrid; the king is furious when he learns from his ambassador that Lope has disregarded the royal command.

At Estrella's palace Inés describes to her mistress the amusing but discordant marriage of Berrueco and Marina, *los novios de Hornachuelos.* Lope comes to pay court to Estrella, who sends word that she is indisposed. A messenger arrives with the news that the king will lodge in her house that night on his way to Guadalupe, where he is to meet the king of Portugal. At first sight Estrella falls in love with the king. The scene shifts to Lope's palace where the king, incognito, pays Lope a visit. Presently he discloses his identity, and drawing his sword he challenges the Extremaduran to a duel. The appearance and mien of the monarch suffice to overwhelm the rebellious aristocrat, and he falls on his knees at the king's feet.

JORNADA III

King Enrique prepares a statement of Lope's misconduct, but by mistake hands him a love letter from Estrella. She, receiving no answer from Enrique, uses the opportunity afforded by her next interview with him to declare her love; but the king, mistaking the object of her infatuation, decides to give Estrella in marriage to Lope, an act which only leads these two to express their mutual loathing, and thus to reënact the marital storm which has already arisen between the *novios de Hornachuelos.* At this point the king intervenes, pacifies them, and promises to find Estrella a noble husband who shall be more worthy of her.

A PLAY WITH THIS TITLE has survived as a *suelta* in which the authorship is ascribed to Lope; a copy of this was owned by Salvá (*Cat.,* I, 630) and another by Chorley, from whose collection it passed to the British Museum. The text published by Hartzenbusch among Lope's *comedias*[1] is from a modern manuscript formerly in the possession of Durán. This text is reproduced by Menéndez y Pelayo in *Acad.,* X:41–72, and represents the *suelta* version.

[1] B.A.E., XLI (Madrid, 1873), pp. 387–402.

In the Biblioteca Nacional there are two plays in manuscript with the same title, Nos. 15429 and 16652. The first of these contains only the first two acts. Act I is headed:

Comedja de los nobyos de ornachuelos conpuesta por Luys belez. jornada primera, 1627.

The third act of this particular version of the play (MS 15429) is bound with the first two acts of the second manuscript above cited, No. 16652. In this latter the *portada* reads: *Comedia famossa de los nouios de Hornachuelos no. 11,* and a modern handwriting has added *de Medrano.* The heading of Act II, however, reads *Jornada 2a de los nouios de ornachuelos de Luis belez.* These first two acts of this latter manuscript agree closely with the version of *Los novios de Hornachuelos* printed in *Acad.,* X. Act III of this manuscript (No. 16652), which belongs rightfully to manuscript 15429, shows many variants from Act III as found in *Acad.,* X. The last lines attribute the play to *Lauro,* the poetic name of Vélez:

Aquí
da fin, senado discreto,
Lauro, pidiendo perdón
a los nobios de ornachuelos.[2]

It is also noteworthy that the first two acts, in manuscript 15429, and the last act, bound with the first two acts of manuscript 16652, of this play follow, scene by scene, the same development as in the version of the *suelta* ascribed to Lope. Whole passages are identical, and where there are divergencies, these are to be found in details of the dialogue and the metrical expression, not, as a rule, in the thought or idea. The variants are most marked in the third act. Professor Hill has shown the discrepancies between this version and the *suelta.*[3]

[2] The opening lines in both manuscripts are identical with those in *Acad.,* X, to wit:

Me. no temes al rrey?
Lop. aqui
no alcança el poder del rey

[3] Professor John M. Hill has at last brought these three acts together (I and II of MS 15429 and III of 16652) in an edition of the play first printed in *Rev. Hisp.,* LIX (1923), pp. 105–295; and as a school text (in collaboration with Professor F. O. Reed) with Introduction, notes, bibliography and vocabulary (The Century Co., New York, 1929). In both of these editions the work is ascribed to Vélez, and in the latter edition doubt is expressed (p. xii) that Lope ever wrote a play of the same title. If Vélez' version took shape as early as 1629, it seems unlikely that he would copy so freely from a play of Lope's while Lope (d. 1635) was still living.

It does not seem likely that this particular play[4] is a recast, by Vélez, of an original by Lope; since the only liberties taken are to be found in the occasional employment of different meters to express given ideas, these changes may be attributed to some *autor* who chose thus to adapt his manuscript to the demands of his company.

Act III of manuscript 16652 bears the following censure:

> Saquela en 12 de abril de 1629 años en casa de
> Bartolome Romero y por su mandado puedese
> representar esta comedia intitulada los nobios
> de hornachuelos; en Val[d] a 15 de oct[o] de 1629.
> dr. Garces.

[4] MS 15429 and Act III of MS 16652.

[20]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

LA OBLIGACIÓN A LAS MUGERES Y DUQUESA DE SAXONIA[1]

[DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA]

[FIRST LINES]

Vat. Acá, Naranjo.
Fil. No dexes
en surco desigualdad.
Vat. Ceja aquí, buey.
Fil. No le cejes.
Vat. ¿Ha de hazer su voluntad?

[LAST LINES]

D. Alu. Esta *verdadera historia*
Aquí, Senado, se acaba;
recibid nuestros deseos,
y perdonad nuestras faltas.

First printed in *Segvnda parte de comedias escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1652). Bibl. Nac. Schaeffer's library XXXIII lists a *suelta, La obligación a las mugeres.* (Cotarelo 25.)

CHARACTERS

Filiberto, viejo.	Maestresala.	Cristerna.
Bato, labrador.	Mayordomo.	Un caballero.
Álvaro de Guzmán.	Alfredo.	Núñez.
Mendoza, *gracioso.*	Repostero.	Duque de Baviera.
El emperador.	Pajes y caballerizo.	Rufina, dama.

JORNADA I

While journeying on an embassy to Prague, D. Álvaro de Guzmán comes by chance to the house of D. Filiberto, who, since night is falling, offers him hospitality. When he enters the house, Álvaro finds, to his amazement, that it is completely draped in black. He and his host are at table, when a coffin is brought in, followed by a woman in deep mourning, who sits down near by and eats and drinks from a skull. The lady, Cristerna by name, reproaches Fili-

[1] The first page of the text without name of author; in the *Tabla* the play is attributed to Luis Vélez de Guevara, as well as on each folio of the text. Reprinted as a *suelta* (early eighteenth century) in Seville, Imprenta del Correo Viejo, without date.

berto for his needless cruelty and states that her sufferings cannot last much longer as her strength is failing her. When these unusual proceedings are over, which Filiberto declares are a symbol of his affront, Álvaro is conducted to his room. At the suggestion of his terrified lackey, Mendoza, he bolts the door and decides to pass the night in vigil. In the night Cristerna lets fall from her room above a letter declaring her innocence and begging the recipient to avenge her wrongs. On the following morning, Filiberto reveals himself as the duke of Saxony, and offers an explanation of what had been witnessed the previous night. On his return from the wars the duke had been informed by his nephew, Alfred, that his wife had been guilty of infidelity with a page. The duke had killed the page, and had made his wife eat and drink from his skull and sleep with his skeleton as a reminder of her offense.

Jornada II

Alfred, at the court of the German emperor, reveals that his accusation of the duchess had been an act of revenge because she had disdained his advances. Álvaro also arrives at court, declares himself the champion of Cristerna's honor, and challenges all who care to dispute his claim to meet him in public combat. When Alfred hears of the challenge of Guzmán, he decides to thwart him by circulating false rumors against his reputation.

The lackey, Mendoza, has returned to Filiberto's palace to tell the duchess of the defense which Álvaro has undertaken in her behalf. But hardly has he succeeded in entering her prison through the chimney when the duke approaches, and the lackey seeks refuge in the coffin. After the duke and the duchess have left the apartment, Mendoza makes his escape up the chimney.

Jornada III

At court Álvaro de Guzmán is given a cool reception by the emperor, who orders him to leave his dominions on the day following the duel. Having also incurred the displeasure of his own sovereign, Guzmán becomes unbalanced in mind and, in his heated imagination, believes himself to be setting out posthaste for Spain. Mendoza humors him in this fancy until the mood passes and he comes to his senses. Meanwhile, Alfred is told by the emperor that it is his duty to take up arms against Álvaro, because it was Alfred who

first spread the reports detrimental to Cristerna's character. On the day of the tournament, all are present. Alfred, seriously wounded and fearing death, confesses Cristerna's innocence. He also declares that Álvaro is not guilty of the charges circulated against him. Cristerna's honor is thus vindicated. Alfred is banished from the court, and we learn that, with the emperor's approval, Charles, son of Philip II, is to be crowned king of the Romans.

THIS PLAY IS WELL CONSTRUCTED and holds the reader; several of the scenes are exceptionally fine. That depicting the banquet in Act I is an ingenious blending of the awe-inspiring and mysterious with the ludicrous in the ill-concealed terror of the lackey Mendoza. The scene with the duchess in Act II, heralded by the lackey's entrance down the chimney, is characteristic of the vein of our author, who found delight in episodes of this sort. Álvaro's fancied flight to Spain is also effectively presented.

The material resembles episodes to be found in the romances of chivalry and may well be the invention of Luis Vélez. The black drapery, the skull,[2] the duel to vindicate an innocent woman are common themes,[3] especially in Spanish literature. A revision of this play with the title of *Cumplir dos obligaciones* follows.

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[2] Dunlop, *A History of Prose Fiction*, II:20; R. Koehler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I:357; Schack, *op. cit.*, II:483; G. E. Street, *Gothic Architecture in Spain* (London, Dent and Sons, 1914), p. 213.

[3] See *Obras de Cervantes*, edition Schevill-Bonilla, *Comedias y Entremeses*, VI:115.

[21]

CUMPLIR DOS OBLIGACIONES

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Bat. Naranjo.
Duq. Ea, no dexes
esse surco desigual.
Bat. Echa aquí, buey.
Duq. No le aquexes.
Bat. ¿Ha de ser su voluntad?

[LAST LINES]

Pues nadie sale, dé fin
la comedia que se llama
Cumplir dos obligaciones,
mañana temprano, plaça.

Printed in *Teatro poético en doce comedias nuevas de los mejores ingenios de España, Séptima parte* (Madrid, 1654); Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 25.)

CHARACTERS

El Duque de Sajonia.
Bato, labrador.
Don Álvaro, caballero español.
Mendoza, lacayo.
Un mayordomo del duque.
Cristina, duquesa.
Alfredo, sobrino del duque.
(Se llama Alberto en los dos primeros actos.)
El emperador.
La emperatriz.
Duque de Baviera.
Un caballero.
Bartola, villana.
Pascual, criado.

WITH VERY SLIGHT CHANGES this play and the preceding are substantially identical. On the same theme there is another play, attributed to Luis Vélez de Guevara, which is entitled *Comedia famosa: Cumplir dos obligaciones, y Duquesa de Saxonia.* It is entirely different from *La obligación a las mugeres* as well as from *Cumplir dos obligaciones,* with the last of which it has often been confused; an analysis follows.

[22]

CUMPLIR DOS OBLIGACIONES Y DUQUESA DE SAXONIA

[DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA]

[FIRST LINES]

Rodr. Aprisa, aprisa, García,
haz ensillar y enfrenar;
que en Viena hemos de entrar
primero que espire el día.

[LAST LINES]

Rodr. Y dé fin de esta manera
cumplir dos obligaciones.

Printed as a *suelta* in Valencia, en la Imprenta de la Viuda de Joseph de Orga, etc., año 1768; Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 25.)

CHARACTERS

El emperador de Alemania, barba.
El rey de Romanos.
Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, galán.
El conde Ricardo, galán.
El duque de Saxonia, barba.
Un rey de armas.
La emperatriz.
Matilde, duquesa, dama.
Rosarda, dama.
Elena, criada.
García, *gracioso.*
Fustán, *gracioso.*
Guillermo, criado.
Roberto, criado.
Un postillón.
Soldados.
Música.
Acompañamiento.

JORNADA I

D. Rodrigo de Mendoza, while journeying from Flanders to Vienna in company with his lackey, García, is attacked by six Frenchmen, who wish to rob him of his steeds. Their attempt is frustrated through the timely aid of Ricardo, count of Orléans, and his men. Ricardo introduces Rodrigo to his sister, Rosarda, whom he is accompanying to the court where she is to be a lady-in-waiting to the queen. She and Rodrigo no sooner meet than they are strongly attracted to one another. After taking leave of his new friends, Rodrigo comes upon the palace of the duke of Saxony who receives him courteously and conducts him to supper. During the meal, the duchess, Matilda, clothed in mourning, is made to eat from a coffin near which she is seated, and is given to drink from a skull.

Shortly before dawn Matilda comes into Rodrigo's room and re-

veals to him how, in her husband's absence, a nephew of his in whose charge she was left, attempted to persuade her to yield to his suit. She refused and he, in revenge, told her husband that she had been guilty of infidelity with a page. The duke had the page killed, and had forced his wife to eat from his coffin and to drink from his skull. The duchess begs Rodrigo to aid her, and he promises not to leave Germany until he has proved her innocence.

JORNADA II

When Rodrigo arrives at the court he asks permission to meet Matilda's defamer in public tournament. Ricardo, the guilty one, hearing of this, becomes incensed at Rodrigo, whom he had saved from the French. When the two meet, Rodrigo, who does not know that Ricardo is Matilda's accuser, is greatly astonished to hear his friend addressing him in an insolent manner.

In order to learn the identity of the accuser, Rodrigo sends García to the duke's palace with a letter for the duchess. García makes his way secretly down the chimney which opens into Matilda's apartment, but is forced to seek shelter on hearing the duke approach the room. The duke has come to tell his wife that he is about to go to Vienna to plead against the duke of Bavaria, who is encroaching on some of his lands. While he is with his wife, she happens to drop the letter which Rodrigo has sent to her. The duke learns from its contents that Rodrigo will champion his wife's cause, but García returns to court without obtaining the name of Matilda's accuser.

After his return Rodrigo, by mistake, gives to Ricardo a letter from Rosarda, addressed to Rodrigo, in which she warns him that Ricardo is plotting treachery against him. When Ricardo sees this proof of his sister's love for Rodrigo, he determines to slay them both. Rodrigo happens just then to be near by; he is again attacked by three of the Frenchmen who had previously attempted to steal his horses, and Ricardo, not knowing whom he is defending, again comes to the aid of his friend. Thus unwittingly Ricardo twice saves the life of the man whom he now wishes to kill.

JORNADA III

The duke of Saxony has summoned Ricardo to his palace to ask him how he shall proceed against Matilda (whom he suspects of a love affair with Rodrigo, because of the letter which fell from

her hand) and, also, how he can avoid the duel. Ricardo counsels him to kill Matilda and then Rodrigo—Matilda first, for, once she is dead, there will be no need to clear her honor. Matilda is summoned to their presence, to drink a fatal potion. Her husband recoils from the deed and leaves its performance to Ricardo. Matilda, calling upon Heaven to judge between her and her accuser, is about to drink from the poisoned cup when, at the cry within of a captain of the guard, she lets it fall. The captain announces that, on the emperor's orders, he has come to conduct her to the court.

Rodrigo enters the field not knowing the name of his opponent. On recognizing him, he finds himself in a serious dilemma. His gratitude toward Ricardo for having twice saved his life, and his love for Ricardo's sister, Rosarda, make the fulfillment of the promise given to Matilda a most painful duty. He is faithful to his word, however, and in the ensuing combat soon vanquishes his opponent. Ricardo, thinking death near, confesses that he accused Matilda unjustly. The duke, at this, wishes to slay his wife's defamer, but Rodrigo will not permit it, saying that Ricardo's public defeat is sufficient punishment. Thus Rodrigo fulfills two obligations, his pledged word to the duchess and his defense of Ricardo, to whom he was indebted for his life.

THIS REVISION, if it be by Vélez,[1] is not of equal merit with either *La Obligacion a las Mugeres* or *Cumplir dos Obligaciones.* The scenes at the duke's palace, however, compare favorably with their prototypes in the preceding plays, and the scene in Act III in which the duchess consents to take the poison which her husband has prepared for her, is admirably done.

There is a seventeenth-century manuscript copy of this play in the Biblioteca Nacional (MS 15768). Paz y Melia[2] confuses it with *Cumplir dos obligaciones* printed in *Parte VII,* and gives it the title of *Cumplir dos obligaciones y Duquesa de Saxonia.* The title, however, reads as follows: *Cumplir dos obligaciones Comedia famosa de Luis Vélez de Guebara.* With a few minor textual variants, this manuscript copy is identical with the *suelta* entitled

[1] Mesonero Romanos (B.A.E., XLV: Intro., xiii) is of the opinion, I know not on what authority, that this play is a revision of *La obligación a las mugeres,* by Luis' son, Juan; it reads somewhat like the work of Rosete.

[2] *Cat.,* p. 122.

Cumplir dos obligaciones, y Duquesa de Saxonia. The first and last lines are as follows:

[FIRST LINES]

D. Ro. Aprissa, aprissa, García,
que en Viena emos de entrar
primero que espire el día.

[LAST LINES]

Y dé fin desta manera
Cumplir dos obligaciones.

The argument of these three plays deals with the well-known vindication of the woman falsely accused of adultery, a theme which is found repeatedly in the literatures of western Europe. Vélez combines this theme with another, that of the gruesome punishment inflicted by a husband on his wife and the one he suspects to be her paramour. Variants of this second theme, also, are common. The two themes will here be treated separately.

The story of the woman falsely accused of adultery, whose innocence is subsequently proved by a knightly champion in a trial by combat, may have arisen from a historical occurrence. In 830 A.D., Judith, second wife of Louis the Pious, was accused of adultery with Bernard, duke of Septimania and count of Toulouse and Barcelona, by Counts Hugo and Matfrid. She was imprisoned, but in February, 831, she cleared herself before an assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle by swearing a solemn oath that she was innocent. . . . The same year Bernard appeared at Thionville to defend in trial by combat his own and Judith's innocence. Neither of the accusers accepted his challenge, and both were subsequently condemned as guilty of high treason.[3]

A similar story was related earlier of Gundeberg, queen of the Lombards, by Fredegarius (Bk. IV, chap. 51)[4] in his chronicle of the Merovingians, and by Paulus Diaconus in his *Historia Langobardorum* (Bk. IV, chap. 47).[5]

[3] See Gaston Paris, *Le Roman du Comte de Toulouse* (*Extrait des Annales du Midi*, XII; Paris, Émile Bouillon; Toulouse, Édouard Privat, 1900).

[4] Said to have been compiled in the seventh century. It was first printed in an appendix to the works of Gregory of Tours with the title *Fredegarii scholastici Chronicon quod ille jubente Childebrando comite, Pipini regis patruo scripsit* (Bâle, 1568).

[5] Written after 787. First printed in Paris in 1514. See edition by L. Bethmann and G. Waitz in *Monumenta Germaniae, Scriptores rerum langobardicarum* (Hanover, 1878), XXXIV.

The *Crónica general*[6] relates how the queen of Navarre, wife of Sancho el Mayor, was accused of a similar crime by her two sons, García and Fernando, because she refused to give up to the eldest a horse the king had entrusted to her care during his absence. The queen's champion in this narrative is the bastard Ramiro. The sons confess their guilt to a monk and the queen is therefore justified, but, in punishment of their offense, the crown of Castile is bestowed on Fernando, who is less guilty than his elder brother García. This story was probably invented to account for the passing of the crown of Castile to a younger son.[7]

Several Catalonian and Spanish chronicles of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries relate how a certain count of Barcelona championed the cause of a German empress who was falsely accused of adultery, and proved her innocence in a trial by combat. Of such chronicles those by Bernard Desclot, Père Miquel Carbonell, and Per Antón Beuter may be cited.[8] On the same subject there is a *romance juglaresco* included in the *Rosa Gentil* of Juan de Timoneda (No. 162 of the *Primavera* and 1228 of Durán's collection).[9] Later developments of this theme presupposed a platonic love affair between the accused woman and her defender. Thus Bandello, in a *novella,* treats of the *Amore di don Giovanni di Mendozza e della duchessa di Savoia con vari e mirabili accidenti che vi intervengono.*[10] Bandello inspired Alonso de la Vega's *Comedia de la Duquesa de la Rosa,*[11] from which is derived the seventh story of Juan de Timoneda's *Patrañuelo,*[12] entitled:

La duquesa de la Rosa,
Siendo sin culpa culpada,
Por justicia fué librada,
Dándola por virtuosa.

---

[6] Ed. of Zamora, 1541, fols. 93v and 94. (By Florián de Ocampo.)

[7] Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 22, note 1; Milá y Fontanals, *De la Poesía heróico-popular castellana* (Barcelona, 1896), pp. 200–201.

[8] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología, etc.*, XII, *Tratado de los Romances Viejos,* pp. 270ff.

[9] For references to *romances* on an analogous theme, see Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, VIII:290, note 5.

[10] First published at Lucca in 1554. See Matteo Bandello, *Le Novelle* (Bari, Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1911), III:451–481 (*novella* 44 of Part II).

[11] Reprinted in *Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur,* VI, *Tres Comedias de Alonso de la Vega con un prólogo de D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo* (Dresden, 1905).

[12] Valencia, 1567. Reprinted in *Clásicos castellanos,* CI:71.

Lope has a play on this theme, variously called *El Catalán valeroso, El gallardo Catalán,* and *El valeroso Catalán.* This was first printed in 1609, in Part II of that playwright's *Comedias.* A composition entitled *El Catalán Valeroso* is cited in the first list of the *Peregrino,* and is thus anterior to 1604.[13] It is reprinted in Vol. VIII of the Academy edition of Lope's work (Madrid, 1898).[14]

It is possible that Vélez was acquainted with one of the foregoing chronicles. We may also assume, as was so frequently true, that he was familiar with Lope's play and with the *romance* published in the *Rosa Gentil.* Furthermore, Bandello's *novella* and its imitations in Spanish were widely familiar, although it is to be noted that Vélez does not introduce into his play the detail which makes the accused woman's champion a former lover.

In respect to the singular and savage revenge of the husband who has discovered his wife's infidelity, or who groundlessly believes her guilty, similar accounts are to be found as early as the *Gesta Romanorum* (No. 56 entitled *de Memoria Mortis*), and in the thirty-second tale of Marguerite of Navarre's *Heptameron.*[15]

Paulus Diaconus (*Historia Langobardorum,* Bk. I, chap. 27) relates how Alboin, king of the Langobards, having slain Cunimund, king of the Gepidae, in battle, made of his skull a drinking cup and carried off his daughter Rosamund as wife. Some time later, at a banquet, he invites her to drink from her father's skull, which bit of barbarism so outrages her sensibilities that she instigates a plot which results in the monarch's death (Bk. II, chap. 28). This story occurs in more than one of the romantic poems of Italy, chief among which is Giovanni Rucellai's *La Rosmunda* (1524).[16]

[13] *El Catalán valeroso* was performed by the company of Pinedo on May 22, 1605, at Toledo; see Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña,* II:92. See also Rennert, "Bibliography of Lope de Vega," *Rev. Hisp.,* XXXIII:155.

[14] For further references to literature on this well-known theme, see Menéndez y Pelayo's Preface, pp. lxxix-xcix.

[15] *L'Heptameron ov Histoires des Amans Fortunéz* (Paris, 1558), Nouvelle XXXII. In this tale the wife is surprised by her husband when about to commit adultery with her lover. The lover is killed, the wife is made to dress in black and drink from her lover's skull, and the lover's skeleton is kept hung up in a closet. The wife finally is pardoned after long repentance. The punishment inflicted on an innocent wife by a husband who believes his honor sullied as told in *Relación* III, *Descanso* 6 y 7, of Vicente Espinel's *Marcos de Obregón* is not related to any of the others mentioned.

[16] *Le opere di Giovanni Rucellai per cura di Guido Mazzoni* (Bologna, 1887). See also "Classici Italiani," in *Teatro Italiano Antico,* I (Milan, 1808).

Thus the exact sources from which Vélez borrowed the episode of the gruesome punishment inflicted upon the suspected wife are difficult to determine. Many analogous accounts were current in his day, and the story with variations was the common property of European literature.[17]

[17] Compare Robert Browning's poem, "Count Gismond."

[23]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

EL PRÍNCIPE VIÑADOR

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Enriq. Aquí puede V. Alteza
passar la fiesta.
Edu. El lugar
convida a sueño; que empieça
el Sol a arder y a mostrar
más dorada la cabeça

[LAST LINES]

Yñi. En Navarra se celebren
las bodas y entremos oy
en la Corte a celebrallas.
Edu. Y aquí acaba *el Viñador.*

Printed in *Parte treinta. Comedias nuevas, y escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1668); Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 62.)

CHARACTERS

Eduardo, príncipe de Navarra.
Carlos } criados.
Enrique }
Flérida, princesa de León.
Ordoño, rey de León.
Don Jaime, príncipe de Aragón.
Iñigo, rey de Navarra.
Blanca, infanta de Castilla.
Sancho, príncipe.
Lauro.
Fabio.
Tirreno, *gracioso.*
Elvira.
Mendo.
Salteadores.
Músicos.

JORNADA I

Don Eduardo (or Duardo), prince of Navarre, meets Doña Flérida, princess of León, in the woods near her home while she is in pursuit of a wild boar. He falls in love with her, quite forgetful of the fact that his word is already pledged to Doña Blanca of Castile. Flérida is soon to be married to Don Jaime, prince of Aragon, but she reciprocates Don Eduardo's sudden affection, and the thought of her approaching marriage is therefore repugnant to her. Upon the arrival on the scene of Flérida's father, Ordoño, king of León, Eduardo learns of her betrothal, and his grief and disappointment are great. He decides to remain at León, ostensibly to witness the

ceremony but really to endeavor to win Flérida. Flérida, quite overcome by the thought of what is before her, has a sudden attack of nerves, shuts herself up in her room, and refuses to see anyone.

After his arrival at the court Eduardo meets Don Jaime and reveals to him his identity, which hitherto he has kept concealed from Ordoño and Flérida, who regard him not as a prince but as a noble Navarrese. Eduardo tells Jaime that he saw a portrait of Blanca of Castile, fell in love with it, and set out to ask for the hand of the princess in marriage; but he met Flérida as he was passing through León and became deeply enamored of her. He begs Jaime to surrender her to him in return for lifelong fealty from the Navarrese. This proposal is naturally distasteful to the bridegroom, who refuses to comply with such an absurd request, and the two young men draw their swords. Don Jaime is wounded; but with noble generosity he refuses to disclose the identity of his opponent or to have him pursued by those who come rushing on the scene, and so Don Eduardo succeeds in making his escape.

The fugitive, the better to ensure his safety, changes his court dress for that of a gardener who had doffed his garments near a pool. The owner of this peasant's dress, Tirreno, on his return finds a gentleman's dress in place of his own; he puts it on and is soon afterwards arrested by some of the king's men, who naturally mistake him for the man who had attacked Don Jaime and, therefore, refuse to listen to his protestations of innocence.

Jornada II

Don Iñigo, king of Navarre, learns of his son's sudden attachment for Flérida. This news grieves the father, who has already given his word that Eduardo shall marry Blanca, and he fears that his son's disregard of his pledge will cause enmity between Castile and Navarre. The king's troubles are further aggravated by the arrival at his court of Blanca and her brother Sancho, who, in response to the royal request, have hastened from Castile to celebrate the proposed marriage. To complicate matters further, Blanca is in love with Eduardo and looks forward eagerly to the nuptial ceremony.

Eduardo obtains an interview with Flérida, to whom he discloses his identity, reveals his love, and suggests their elopement. The lady approves, and it is carried into effect at once, their destination being Navarre.

JORNADA III

The elopers, fearing the anger of their respective parents, as well as that of Don Jaime and Doña Blanca, decide to live for a while disguised as vinedressers. One day, shortly after they have obtained work in a vineyard in Navarre, Blanca and Iñigo, and a hunting party, enter the house of the vinedresser where the fugitives are employed, but fail to recognize them, although they enter into conversation with them. While so engaged, news is brought to Iñigo that Ordoño, king of León, Jaime of Aragon, and Sancho of Castile are marching against Navarre with a large army, to take vengeance for their respective grievances for which the king of Navarre, through his son, is held responsible. Eduardo makes known his identity, asks the forgiveness of the offended parties by pleading his love for Flérida as the sole motive for his actions, and suggests that Jaime and Blanca seek consolation for their loss in marriage. To this arrangement both Jaime and Blanca readily consent, and everything ends happily.

THIS PLAY has some well-constructed scenes which offset the abrupt, makeshift ending. Its chief charm, however, is its many fine lyrical passages. The argument is based on a popular song which has been introduced—with what changes it is difficult to say, since the original has not come down to us—into Act III, at the point in the story when the runaway couple decide to live disguised as vinedressers. The song as Vélez gives it is of the striking poetic charm and simplicity that are typical of the finest ballad:

Ed. mientras yo podo las viñas,
vida, sarmentadlas vos.
Fl. No me lo mandéis, mi vida,
no me lo mandéis, mi amor,
que tengo las manos blancas,
y me las quemará el sol;
traedme vos oro y seda,
y labraros he un pendón,
que entre moros y christianos
no huviera cosa mejor:
de una parte con la luna,
de otra parte con el sol,
de un lado Santa María,
y de otro S. Salvador,
de otra parte Santiago,
(que de España es el Patrón)
cauallero en su cauallo,
dando a los Moros temor;
porque quando vais, mi bien,
a las lides, os dé Dios
la vitoria, y a Toledo
ganéis del moro Almançor,
y tantas ganando vais,
que llegue vuestro valor
a ganar la Casa Santa,
donde el Señor se enterró;
que hazer labor en el campo,
no sabré, mi labrador.
Ed. Si sarmentar no queréis,
yo sarmentaré por vos,

andaré tras el arado
con la hazada, y con la hoz,
al frío el invierno helado,
el seco estío al calor,
que abrasándome essos ojos,
no puede quemarme el sol;
y mientras podo, y sarmiento,
y a comer a casa voy,
estas gabillas que sobran
lleuaréis a casa vos,
mi bien, en esse jumento,
para que os quitéis del sol.[1]

The date of composition of this *comedia* cannot be definitely fixed. A seventeenth-century manuscript copy is in the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 15316). The title reads *El Príncipe Podador.* The argument of Lope's *El vaquero de Moraña* is similar to that of Vélez' *El príncipe viñador,* but there seems to be no direct imitation of Lope on our author's part, and the similarity of argument most probably arises from the fact that this theme was current in popular tradition, therefore the common property of all.

Mientras yo podo las viñas is the title of a play by Agustín de Castellanos, a manuscript copy of which (No. 16613), dated 1610, is likewise preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional. The argument of this play is briefly as follows: Sancha, daughter of Ramiro, king of León, is betrothed to Bermudo, king of Aragon and Navarre. Bermudo's brother, the infante Don García, comes to León as Bermudo's representative, but no sooner does he arrive at the court than he and Sancha fall in love with each other.

Meanwhile, the king's secretary, Leoncio, who suffers from unrequited love for Sancha, plots treachery. His intentions are discovered, and he is banished from the court. In revenge, he sends a letter, purporting to be from Ramiro, to Don Beltrán of Aragon, who is entrusted with escorting Sancha and García to Bermudo's court, in which Beltrán is ordered to put them both to death. Don Beltrán has not the heart to follow out these commands; instead, he consents that the lovers shall live as peasants in a near-by village.

It is during their temporary sojourn there that the following lines are introduced into the play (fol. 2 of Act III):

D. García. Mientras yo podo las viñas,
bida, sarmentaldas vos.
d. San. No me lo mandéis, esposo,
no me lo mandéis, señor;
que tengo las manos blancas;
quemarámelas el sol.
Traedmevos oro y seda;
que yo os labraré un pendón
que entre moros y cristianos
no le ubiese otro mejor.
De un cabo pondré la luna
y del otro pondré el sol,
del otro a la virgen pura,
y del otro al mismo Dios.
Quando entréis en la batalla
vos seréis el bencedor.

[1] *Parte treinta. Comedias nuevas y escogidas* (Madrid, 1668), fol. 292.

The traitor Leoncio, meanwhile, has informed Bermudo that Ramiro has had García put to death because he did not wish to marry Sancha to his ancient enemy. Bermudo marches against León to avenge the wrong done to his brother. When García hears of this, he at once defends León against the invader, bearing with him the richly embroidered standard which Sancha's skill has wrought. Leoncio's double treachery is finally made known to the satisfaction of all. Bermudo renounces Sancha in favor of his brother, and is rewarded with the hand of Leonida, her cousin. Our story is given a slight historical corroboration at the close:

> Este caso verdadero
> en anales de Aragón
> busque el que gustare dello.

D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal speaks of two modern versions of the old *romance* on which these plays are based, which are current among the Spanish Jews of Tangier and Adrianople.[2] It is interesting to note that the names of *Eduardo* (*Duardos*) and *Flérida,* which occur in Vélez' play, are possibly borrowed from the romance of chivalry entitled *Palmerín de Oliva,* of which there have been many editions since the oldest known, that of 1511; *Flérida* also occurs in the third eclogue of Garcilaso.

[2] *L'Épopée castillane à travers la littérature espagnole,* traduction de Henri Mérimée (Paris, Armand Colin, 1910), pp. 236–237. His statement (p. 236): "C'est ce riche étendard qui sert au prince, dans les *deux* comédies, à reconquérir ses domaines," applies only to the play of Castellanos; see also the same author, in *Miscelânea de Estudos,* p. 497.

[24]

EL REY EN SU IMAGINACIÓN

[LUYS VÉLEZ DE GUEBARA
(*con rúbrica*)]

[FIRST LINES]

Rab. Celia . . .
Celi. . . . ¿q[ue] quieres Rabel?
Rab. ia no lo puedo sofrir

[LAST LINES]

y aquí la comedia acabe
del q[ue] a su imaginación
debió después las verdades
de ser rey, por q[ue] a ninguno
suele mentir noble sangre.

Autograph manuscript with the author's name at the end; Sig. Va.-21-8, in the Biblioteca Nacional. Published in Vol. III of *Teatro antiguo español* (Madrid, 1920), together with a detailed study of the play. (Cotarelo 68.)

CHARACTERS

Carlos.	Enrico, criado.	Álvaro.
Diana, reina de Sicilia.	Osorio.	Marcio.
Albano, padre de Carlos.	Celio.	El capitán Felisardo.
Febo, rey de Nápoles.	Olimpo.	Timbrio.
Celia.	Artemio.	Soldados.
Rabel, *gracioso*.		Músicos.

ACTO I

Diana, queen of Sicily, is saved from sudden death by Carlos, son of Albano, a wealthy farmer and landowner. The queen is invited to partake of refreshment at their house, and during her stay learns that both she and Carlos were born there on the same night, Albano intimating that, therefore, her indebtedness to him is greater than she imagines.

After Diana's departure, Carlos wonders at the strange and unfamiliar sensations he is experiencing. He comes to the conclusion that it must be love, which, however, he hopes to forget in war. He enlists soon after in the service of his country, which is threatened with an invasion by Febo, king of Naples. Carlos hopes to return "rey en mi imaginación," that is, with an imagined kingship.

Acto II

One day, in camp, several of the soldiers crown Carlos king in jest. Carlos takes the matter seriously, to the surprise and consternation of his companions, who believe him struck with sudden madness. He, however, exclaims:

¡Villanos, quando más cuerdo,
rey en mi imaginación
soy, porq[ue] me a dado el cielo
en ella la monarchía
maior del entendimiento!

And when Diana, who loves him, is grieved to find that he has lost his reason, he answers her queries by saying:

a querido hazerme el cielo
también rey, para igualar
tus altos merecimientos:
rey soy para ser tu esclabo.
Dia. Rey, ¿dónde tienes el reyno?
Car. dentro en mi imaginación;
q[ue] no es maior el imperio
del mundo.

Diana takes Carlos with her to the court.

Acto III

News is brought to Diana that her cousin Febo, king of Naples, who is seeking to dispossess her of her throne, is marching victoriously on Palermo. The Sicilian army at once marches out against him, and in the ensuing battle Carlos meets and vanquishes Febo and leads him away captive. Febo, on first meeting Carlos, objected to fighting with one beneath him in station:

no es a mi heroyca y real
espada la tuya igual.

to which Carlos replied:

de tu arrogancia río;
quando las hazañas mías
no te den satisfación,
ay en mi imaginación
mas reynos i monarchías
q[ue] aldeas Nápoles puede
rendir a tus plantas.

When Carlos presents Febo captive to Diana, she tells him[1] it is but just that she should reward his services by making him king and joint ruler of Sicily with her. To this Febo most strongly objects, not wishing his cousin to marry out of her own rank. The soldiers, too, oppose such an idea, and are about to rebel when Albano, who comes opportunely on the scene, confesses that Carlos, the son of the late king and queen, and Diana, his own daughter, were purposely substituted for each other by him on the night of their birth. He supports his argument by dwelling on Carlos' noble deeds, which bespeak his gentle birth, and by pointing out his resemblance to a portrait of his father, King Philip. All present are astounded at this revelation. Carlos' claims are acknowledged and, amid general rejoicing, the newly acclaimed sovereign elects Diana for his queen.

THE MERIT OF THE PLAY is weakened by the premature inferences suggested in Albano's hints to Diana in Act I concerning the mystery of her birth and that of Carlos in respect to the throne of Sicily. A tiresome subplot, the love of the peasant girl, Celia, for Carlos, likewise detracts from its interest. Act II is by far the best, especially in those scenes which depict Carlos' coronation, and his sudden assumption of kingship, with the resulting astonishment of his companions.

Vélez made use of common themes[2] of folklore, such as the substitution of one child for another in the cradle, evidence of high birth and noble lineage displayed in lofty character, etc. (Compare the story of *Palmerín de Oliva* and Timoneda's *Patraña 16.*) The scene in which Carlos is chosen king in jest recalls an episode from the youth of Tamorlán, told by Pero Mexía in his *Silva de Varia Lección,* II, chap. 28, and *Novelas* of Cervantes (ed. Schevill-Bonilla, II: 325).

At the end of the text the following approbation is added:

Tiene esta Comedia, q[ue] intitula Luis Vélez su Autor *El Rey en su imaginación* muy buenos y entretenidos versos, y ningún inconueniente su representación: Pueda hazerse. Madrid 20 de Agosto. 1625. Pedro de Vargas Machuca.

[1] According to J. Gómez Ocerin, *Teatro antiguo español,* III: 90, these lines belong to Diana.

[2] For a discussion of some of these themes see the edition of J. Gómez Ocerin, pp. 109–127. See also J. J. Oliver's criticism in the *Rev. Hisp.,* XLVIII (1920), pp. 692–700.

In the heading of Act II, Vélez, according to custom, places his own name with those of some of his family. In addition to the usual salutation, *Jhesus Maria Jhose,* the names of Juan and Luys are listed. In the introduction to Act I, only the name of Luis occurs, although in that of Act III are found those of Juan and Luys and Ana. If the name Ana refers to his third wife, Doña Ana María del Valle, it may indicate that the play was written subsequent to his marriage with her in April, 1619, and prior to her death in November of the same year. This is merely a conjecture since her name may have been mentioned by Vélez as a tribute to her memory. If, however, the name of Ana refers to his daughter, Ana Ignacio Josefa, born April 15, 1615, the play may have been written subsequent to her birth and possibly before his marriage with Doña Ana María del Valle. In the face of all this it is more probable that the play was written shortly before the date of the above-cited approbation of Vargas Machuca, 1625.

[25]

LA FAMOSA COMEDIA

DEL REY MUERTO

DE LUIS VÉLEZ

[FIRST LINES]

Infan. Vayan esos soldados a la playa:
arrójenle una cuerda desde afuera.

[LAST LINES]

q[ue] agora los desposemos,
por q[ue] con gusto acabemos
la comedia del *rey muerto.*

Manuscript 17122 of the Biblioteca Nacional. (Cotarelo 69.) La Barrera lists a *suelta, Cat.*, p. 467b.

CHARACTERS

Anteo, rey de Epiro.	Zoilo, criado.
Eleusipo, rey de Macedonia.	Un paje.
Laodicea, su hija.	Un mayordomo.
Felicia.	Un secretario.
Filipo, general.	Un correo.
Dos senadores.	Un espía.
El príncipe de Creta.	Un tío de Filipo.
Artandro, conde de Troya.	Un soldado.

JORNADA I

Anteo, king of Epirus, is shipwrecked off the coast of Macedon, with whose king, Eleusipo, he is not on friendly terms. It is his good fortune that count Artandro,[1] a captive from Epirus, suggests, on seeing his sovereign recover consciousness, that a dead body be substituted for him and that he go into hiding until he can effect his escape. This strategy is at once carried out. The king leaves for a neighboring village to await developments, and a dead body which has been substituted for him is given burial.

Meanwhile, Eleusipo, apprised of the approach of a hostile fleet from Epirus, has returned posthaste to court, from which he had been absent on a hunting expedition. A captive from Epirus is brought into his presence, who tells him of the recent wreck, while Eleusipo's own soldiers confirm the captive's account of the storm, adding how they had buried in the ocean the dead body which the

[1] Artrando in the list of *dramatis personae* at the beginning of Act I.

waves had washed up on the shores. Laodicea, the infanta, shows her father a ring she had taken from the hand of the dead man (before Artandro had made the substitution), which Eleusipo at once recognizes as the seal of the king of Epirus. Philip, a general of Epirus, learns of his king's death from a spy and is urged by his uncle to seize the throne, the king having left no heirs to claim it.

Jornada II

Artandro has become a favorite of Eleusipo, king of Macedon, and reveals his identity to him. In furtherance of a plan to restore Anteo to his throne, Artandro suggests to Eleusipo the advantages to be derived from deposing Philip and seizing the throne of Epirus for himself. There is in Macedon, says Artandro, a peasant who greatly resembles the dead king. Eleusipo, after proclaiming that Anteo is not dead, can put this peasant in Anteo's stead. Plausibility can be given the impostor's claim by having him wear the ring which was taken from Anteo's finger. Anteo, disguised as a peasant called Alexo, discovers that Artandro is a close friend of Eleusipo's and suspects the count of infidelity.

Eleusipo consents at last to follow Artandro's plan. Accordingly, Alexo is arrested by Artandro in the name of the king of Macedon, who treats the peasant royally. Eleusipo congratulates himself on the success of the scheme, whereas Anteo is wholly unaware that he is supposed to be playing a part. Artandro seizes a propitious occasion to acquaint Anteo with his plan, and is pleased to find that the king readily accepts his rôle.

The infanta requests an interview with king Anteo, to whom she had been promised in marriage. Eleusipo and Artandro conceal themselves near by in order to hear all that passes between them. Anteo tells the infanta of the strategem employed by Artandro at the time of the shipwreck, Eleusipo being delighted at what he considers a happy invention on the part of the "peasant." Word is brought to Eleusipo of the arrival of the prince of Crete, whom he at once prepares to receive.

Jornada III

The prince desires to learn why the king has broken his word to marry him to the infanta, since report has it that she is to be married instead to the king of Epirus. Eleusipo calms his fears by in-

forming him that such an arrangement is part of a plot to obtain for himself the throne of Epirus. Presently an ambassador from Epirus brings a treaty of perpetual peace between Epirus and Macedon, together with a marriage contract between Anteo and the infanta. This document is ratified by all concerned, although from entirely different motives. Meanwhile Anteo has issued a general pardon to all involved in the recent uprising among his subjects, and on his arrival in his kingdom acquaints Eleusipo with the deception practiced upon him. Eleusipo is held to his word, and the consent of the prince of Crete is obtained to the marriage of Anteo and the infanta.

THIS COMEDIA holds the reader's attention in spite of the complicated story, and the plot is unusually well constructed. The story is entertainingly told, many of the scenes sparkle with wit, and amusing situations are brought about as the participants play at cross-purposes and credit one another with motives entirely different from those that move them. If the plot is not Vélez' own invention, it may have been inspired in part, at least, by some romance of chivalry, such as *Olivante de Laura,* by Torquemada. Themes of feigned death and substitution are commonplaces in the fiction of the world's literature. There is no internal evidence which would indicate the date of composition.

[26]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

EL REY NACIENDO MUGER

DE DON LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Music. Reynando en Francia Carlos hermoso,
hijo heroyco de Carlos el tercero

[LAST LINES]

Tur. Y aquí la Comedia acaba
del *Rey naciendo Muger:*
verdadera historia en Francia;
de tres escenas, tres jornadas,
cada scena vna jornada,
pidiéndoos *Lauro* por mí
perdón de todas las faltas.

Printed as a *suelta* in Sevilla without date; rare; Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 70.)

CHARACTERS

Carlos, rey de Francia (es mujer).
Alfreda, infanta.
Flor de Lis.
Paris, príncipe.
Rugero, mariscal.
Borbón, condestable.
Febo, príncipe.
Eduardo, embajador.
Roberto, criado.
Turpín, *gracioso.*

JORNADA I

At a festival at the court of Charles the Fair, of France, the people rise in rebellion against Rugero, the marshal, whose influence with the king they fear. The mutiny is soon suppressed, the chief offenders are punished, and Charles makes Rugero chief chancellor of the kingdom. Rugero secretly aspires to the throne and also to the hand of the infanta Alfreda, a cousin of Charles.

We now hear of the arrival of Febo, prince of Wales, with his sister, Flor de Lis, who is to marry Charles. In a private interview with Borbón, constable of France, Flor de Lis learns that Charles is really a woman who has been brought up as a man in order that the throne, which rightly belongs to Alfreda, since she is the daughter of an elder brother of Charles's father, might pass to Charles's father's descendants. Charles, in spite of all the difficul-

ties, determines to remain *el rey naciendo muger,* and substantiates "his" determination by royally welcoming the prince of Wales.

Jornada II

At the festivals in honor of Febo and his sister, Charles receives a letter warning him not to enter the lists, because Rugero intends to kill him by craft. Charles nevertheless decides to take part in the tournament. Before doing so, he hands the letter to Rugero, who, after reading it, repents of his past conduct and resolves that he will become king only through marriage with Alfreda. Charles soon has reason to believe that Rugero is again plotting his death. To test his loyalty Charles feigns thirst and has Rugero bring a glass of water. Charles, suspecting that it contains poison, refuses to drink, and reproaches his favorite for aiming at his life. Rugero, although guilty, wishes to appear innocent by drinking a part of the poison, but the king's love for him prevents him from doing so. However, by the king's order he is taken prisoner.

Jornada III

Following Rugero's imprisonment Charles falls victim to a strange and inexplicable malady. Turpin, the court fool, disguised as a doctor hands the king a prescription, which proves to be a letter from Rugero in which he sues for pardon. Charles's love conquers, and the offender is released.

In a private interview with Charles, Rugero asks for the hand of Alfreda, but is refused. King and favorite again quarrel but are soon reconciled, and on their embracing Rugero suddenly experiences a strange and unaccountable love for the monarch. Charles leaves him, promising him that he shall yet be king.

Meanwhile Febo, angered at the neglect which Charles has shown his sister, together with Alfreda, who, despairing of winning Charles's love, has promised to wed Febo, heads a mutiny and forces his way into the palace. They are met by Charles, in woman's attire, who confesses that *she* is not Charles but Charlotte. She offers her hand to Rugero, thus fulfilling the promise to make him king. The betrothal of Febo and Alfreda receives the sovereign's sanction, and assurance is given the prince that his sister Flor de Lis will be married to someone worthy of her station.

IN THIS PLAY Vélez has made use of two common devices inherited by the stage from folklore and fiction, namely, the substitution of a child of one sex for a child of the other, and the disguise of a woman as a man. These generally have a moral or political reason. Occasionally substitution and disguise are facilitated by the resemblance of two persons. The adoption of masculine attire by a woman, and of feminine dress by a man, was a commonplace on the stage of Europe, especially in Italy and Spain, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[1]

[1] For some examples see Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, IV: 251ff.; Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas*, IV:748ff. and 792; Arthur Ludwig Stiefel, "Lope de Rueda und das italienische Lustspiel," *Zeitsch. f. rom. Phil.*, XV (1891):183–216; Schack, *op. cit.*, II:248.

[27]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

LA ROMERA DE SANTIAGO

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Music. De Ordoño, Rey de León,
y doña Linda, su hermana,
eterno sea el blasón,
para gloria soberana;

[LAST LINES]

Todos. Con esto
da fin, dichoso Senado,
para fines mas dichosos,
la Romera de Santiago.

First printed in *Parte XXXIII. Comedias nuevas, y escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1670); also in eighteenth-century *sueltas*; Schaeffer, XXXIII, No. 18. (Cotarelo 71.)

CHARACTERS

Ordoño.	Favila.	Doña Linda.
El conde Don Lisuardo.	Bermudo.	Doña Blanca.
El conde Garcifernández.	Ramiro.	Doña Sol.
Ortuño.	Ximeno.	Urraca.
Pelayo.	Lauro.	Criados.
Fruela.	Relox, lacayo.	Músicos.

JORNADA I

Ordoño, king of León, promises the hand of his sister, the infanta Doña Linda, to Count Lisuardo in return for the many services which the count has rendered him. The king is desirous of celebrating his own marriage on the same day, so he sends the count to England to ask, on his behalf, for the hand of Margaret, daughter of King Henry.

As Relox, the count's lackey, is passing by the palace on the way to join his master, Linda throws him a scarf (*banda*) which she intends as a favor for Lisuardo. Garcifernández, count of Castile, who is in love with Linda, happens to witness the action. He snatches the scarf away from Relox, exclaiming that, if Lisuardo desires it, he will have to take it from him in combat. Soon after-

wards, Linda, on seeing her colors on Garcifernández, tears them from him and will not listen to his suit.

Lisuardo, on his way to England, meets Doña Sol, a noble lady of Castile who is returning from a pilgrimage to Santiago, and is straightway infatuated with her beauty. Such, indeed, is the force of his passion that in spite of the expostulations of his lackey he is determined to continue in this pleasant amorous adventure.

Jornada II

In pursuance of his folly, Lisuardo attacks and violates Doña Sol, whom he thereupon abandons. Doña Sol at once proceeds to the court of León, where she seeks redress for her wrongs. The king promises her that she shall have justice, and Garcifernández announces himself as her champion.

Jornada III

When Lisuardo returns to León, his dismay and consternation at the unexpected appearance of Doña Sol from behind a curtain which is supposed to veil a portrait of Margaret are sufficient proof of his guilt to all those assembled in the audience chamber. His pleas for mercy are of no avail, even when he offers, as a last resort, to marry Doña Sol; and at the king's order he is led away a prisoner.

Linda visits him in the prison, and gives him a horse on which to make his escape. When his flight is discovered, Garcifernández, thinking the king responsible, challenges him to single combat, a challenge which the king accepts.

When the trial by combat is about to take place, Doña Sol appears on the field and challenges Linda, whom she accuses of setting Lisuardo free. Linda accepts the challenge, the combat to take place after the king and Garcifernández have met. At this juncture Lisuardo appears and reveals the one who set him free in order to clear the king's name of any unjust suspicions. Moreover, he wishes to demand satisfaction of Garcifernández for having taken from Relox the favor which Linda had meant for her betrothed. The two are about to draw swords when Linda intervenes and settles the difficulty by bestowing the scarf, together with her hand in marriage, on the count Garcifernández. Lisuardo offers his hand to Doña Sol and all ends happily.

ALTHOUGH OF NO GREAT MERIT, the play is, on the whole, pleasing and not devoid of interest. The main theme is summarized by the following *romance* which Lisuardo hears sung while he is in prison (Act III, scene 12):

> Preso tienen al buen Conde—al Conde don Lisuardo,
> porque forzó una romera—camino de Santiago.
> La romera es de linage;—ante el rey se ha querellado,
> mándale prender el rey—sin escuchar su descargo.
> La prisión que le da el rey—son las torres de Palacio,
> que compiten con el cielo—y confinan con sus cuartos.
> Las guardas que el Conde tiene—todos eran hijosdalgo;
> treinta le guardan de día—y de noche treinta y cuatro.
> Ya levantan para el Conde—en la plaza un cadahalso,
> y para los delincuentes—hay dos horcas a los lados.[1]

The play, in the edition of 1670, was attributed to Tirso. This version is identical, save for the opening lines and an occasional textual variant, with the eighteenth-century *sueltas* in which the play is ascribed to Vélez. The fact that the *comedia* is built upon an old *romance* would argue in favor of its being by Vélez because he employed this method in other plays, and this is nowise characteristic of Tirso.[2] The play, too, reads like Vélez' work.

La romera de Santiago was performed before the queen at Madrid, by the company of Manuel Vallejo, between October 5, 1622 and February 5, 1623.[3] Paz y Melia's catalogue lists a manuscript copy of the play in the Biblioteca Nacional, No. 2933, and another, ascribed to Tirso de Molina, is listed in the Catalogue of the Biblioteca Municipal.

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[1] For an interesting account of the several variants of this old *romance*, see S. G. Morley's article, "El uso de las combinaciones métricas en las comedias de Tirso de Molina," *Bull. Hisp.*, XVI:203–205.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 191–192.

[3] Rennert, *op. cit.* ("Notes, etc."), III:51.

[28]

SANTA SVSANA

Comedia Famosa

de Lvys Vélez de Gvevara

[FIRST LINES]

De dentro. Notable pompa y honor,
más que se sabe ni escriue;

[LAST LINES]

Alf. Y aquí
Lauro el testimonio alcança
de *Susana,* y los viejos
vengan temprano mañana.

Printed as a *suelta* without date or place of publication; Biblioteca Nacional. (Cotarelo 74.)

Characters

Nabucodonosor.	Acab.	Un indio.
Sifonisba.	Delbora.	Un etíope.
Elcías.	Sesa, criada.	Simón, *gracioso.*
Susana.	Daniel.	Hortelanos.
Sedechias.	Alfenez.	Un tártaro.
Ioachin.	Un armenio.	Pregoneros.

Jornada I

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, although about to marry Sophonisba, queen of the Amazons, desires to win the beautiful Susanna, daughter of Elcias the Jew, for his concubine. Upon the father's refusal to give his consent, the king in his rage is about to kick him to death when the sudden appearance on the scene of the young prophet Daniel so overawes him that he is glad to pardon the offender. Soon afterwards Susanna is married to Joachin, to whom she had previously been betrothed. The sight of her surpassing beauty inflames the lust of two old men, Zedechia and Achab, who have recently been appointed judges in Israel through the influence of Elcias.

Jornada II

After the ceremonies attendant on his marriage with Sophonisba, Nebuchadnezzar has his famous dream which Daniel succeeds in interpreting correctly. Sophonisba interprets it differently, and

advises her husband to cause himself to be worshiped as a god, since he is the stone destined to destroy the huge image, the Jewish people.

Meanwhile, Zedechia and Achab, eager to possess the charms of the fair Susanna, overtake her at the bath. On her refusal to comply with their amorous demands, they avenge themselves by arousing the populace and telling them that she has been guilty of adultery with a young man who has succeeded in making his escape.

JORNADA III

Nebuchadnezzar, in compliance with his wife's suggestion, has a golden statue of himself erected, which all the inhabitants of his kingdom are commanded to worship. Three young Hebrews refuse to obey and are cast into a burning furnace. Their ultimate fate is not revealed by the poet.

Susanna is brought to trial and condemned to be stoned to death on the evidence of the two judges. Just as she is about to meet her fate, Daniel miraculously intervenes and proves her innocence by showing that each of her accusers, when examined separately, gives conflicting evidence. Thereupon the two judges are sentenced to be burned to death, and Daniel receives his reward by being appointed governor of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom.

SANTA SUSANA[1] is a mediocre play, loosely constructed, full of needless digressions, and lacking in unity. Thus, the story of Susanna is combined with the incident of Nebuchadnezzar's dream and the episode of the three young Jews; nor is this episode complete, for nothing is said of what befell them. The play may therefore be considered a futile attempt at a dramatic epitome of the Book of Daniel which, from its very nature, could not be either technically or artistically successful.

The main argument of the *comedia,* the story of Susanna and the judges, as well as the other incidents occurring therein, Vélez would naturally draw from his acquaintance with biblical literature. Another source may have been Guillén de Castro's *Las mara-*

[1] Known also by another title, to judge from the following: "de los poetas que componían comedias de la Sagrada Escritura . . . Luis Vélez [era autor] de *los Viejos de Susana,* y de la *Magdalena.*" See Restori, *Piezas de Títulos, etc.,* pp. 47ff. La Barrera (*Cat.,* p. 581b) gives the title as *Santa Susana, ó los viejos de Susana.* The second title possibly comes from the concluding lines of the play.

villas de Babilonia.[2] This play has the same grouping together of unrelated episodes that we find in the work of Vélez, differing chiefly in that the story of Susanna is subordinated to that dealing with the pride and idolatry of Nebuchadnezzar, his madness, and his subsequent restoration to reason through the mediation of the prophet Daniel. From this play Vélez may have borrowed the names of Joachin and Achab by which Castro designates the two judges. If Vélez did imitate Castro, his *Santa Susana* is probably posterior to 1625, the date of the first known performance of Castro's *Las maravillas de Babilonia,*[3] unless our author knew of Castro's play before that date.

A manifest recast of Vélez' play is *El bruto de Babilonia,* written in collaboration by Matos Fragoso, Moreto, and Cáncer.[4]

The earliest known dramatic treatment of the story of Susanna is the *Comedia de Sancta Susana* by Juan Rodrigo Alonso de Pedraza, first printed in Segovia in 1551.[5] This is probably identical with the *Comedia de Santa Susana* listed as anonymous by Gallardo (*Ensayo,* I, co. 715). Mention should also be made of the *Farsa de Sancta Susana* by Diego Sánchez de Badajoz,[6] and of an *Auto de Sancta Susana, como fue acusada falsamente,* written previous to 1552 (La Barrera, *Cat.,* p. 127b). Joaquín Guillermo de Lima's drama in verse, *Susana,* first presented at the Liceo Español on March 21, 1875, is a modern play in every respect, the plot of which bears no relation to any biblical story.

The well-known history of Nebuchadnezzar inspired the writing of several *autos sacramentales.* Of these perhaps the earliest is the one published by L. Rouanet from a sixteenth-century codex in the Biblioteca Nacional,[7] called *Aucto del Rey Nabucdonosor quando se hizo adorar.* An *Auto del Rey Nabucodonosor y el horno* was per-

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[2] Printed in *Flor de las mejores doce comedias de los mayores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1652).

[3] Rennert, *op. cit.* ("Notes, etc."), p. 45.

[4] Printed in *Escogidas,* XXX, Madrid, 1668.

[5] Second edition, Alcalá de Henares, 1558, a manuscript copy of which is preserved in the Bibl. Nac., MS 14794, *Farsas y comedias del siglo XVI,* No. 4; reprinted by A. Bonilla y San Martín in "Cinco obras dramáticas anteriores a Lope de Vega," *Rev. Hisp.,* XXVII (1912), pp. 393–394.

[6] *Libros de Antaño,* XII (Madrid, 1886), pp. 129–157.

[7] L. Rouanet, *Colección de autos, farsas y coloquios del siglo XVI* (Madrid and Barcelona, 1901), I:231–251. The same collection, I:252–266, contains the *Auto del sueño de Nabucodonosor,* reprinted from the same codex.

formed in Seville in 1561;[8] another called a *tragedia,* but evidently an *auto,* was acted at Plasencia in 1563: it is the *Tragedia de Nabuc Donosor* by the Padre Juan Álvarez.[9] Perhaps either this or the preceding *auto* is identical with that published by Rouanet. An *auto* entitled *El Rey Nabucodonosor* was performed at Seville in 1599 by Diego de Santander.[10] This may have been the one presented in the same city in 1561. An *Auto de Daniel* was represented by Jerónimo Velázquez in Seville in 1593[11] and again in Madrid the following year.[12]

By known authors there is an *auto* from the pen of Mira de Amescua entitled *La mayor soberbia humana de Nabucodonosor,* printed in *Navidad y Corpus Christi* (Madrid, 1664), and Calderón's *Auto sacramental alegórico, intitulado, Mystica y Real Babilonia.*[13] A *comedia* in manuscript, *La estatua de Nabucodonosor,* was put on the Index of 1717. Finally, mention should be made of the Portuguese *Tragi-comedia de Nabucodonosor* by the Padre Juan de la Rocha, of the early seventeenth century,[14] and of a *drama sacro en tres actos* entitled *Nabucodonosor y profecías de Daniel* which was "ejecutado en el teatro de los Caños del Peral en la cuaresma de 1800" (Madrid, Sancha, s.a.).

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[8] J. Sánchez Arjona, *Noticias referentes a los Anales del teatro en Sevilla, etc.,* p. 26.

[9] Manuel Cañete, *Teatro Español del Siglo XVI,* pp. 140 and 224–225.

[10] Sánchez Arjona, *El Teatro en Sevilla en los Siglos XVI y XVII,* p. 312.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 288.

[12] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos acerca del histrionismo español, etc.,* 1914, 2d ser., p. 24.

[13] *Autos Sacramentales alegóricos y historiales del insigne poeta español Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca,* by Pedro de Pando y Mier (Madrid, Manuel Ruiz de Murga, 1717), V:252–280.

[14] Rouanet, *Colección de autos, etc.,* IV:167.

[29]

LA SERRANA DE LA VERA

Comedia de Luis Vélez de Guevara

[FIRST LINES]

Giraldo. Si soys capitán del rey,
seldo muy enorabuena.

[LAST LINES]

D. Rodr. Aquí acaba
la serrana de la Vera,
que fué prodigio de España.

Autograph manuscript with signature dated at Valladolid, 1603, preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional (Sig. R-II-17), published in *Teatro antiguo español,* I (Madrid, 1916). (Cotarelo 75.)

Characters

Giraldo, labrador.	**Madalena.**	**Don Nuño.**
Don Lucas.	**Don Garzía, alférez.**	**Don Rodrigo Girón.**
Mingo, *gracioso.*	**Dos de [Plasencia].**	**Don Juan de Carvajal.**
Pascual.	**Andrés y Gerónimo, bravos.**	**Un cabo de escuadra.**
Vicente.	**Aguador.**	**Un sargento.**
Llorente.	**Pascuala, niña.**	**Un caminante.**
Bras.	**Don Fernando, rey.**	**Músicos.**
Gila, *la Serrana.*	**Doña Isabel, reina.**	**Cuadrilleros.**

Acto I

Giraldo, an aged peasant of Gargantalaolla, refuses Captain Lucas Carvajal permission to make his house the headquarters for the levying of men throughout the Vera de Plasencia for the war against Granada; he warns him that, if he persists in his attempt, his daughter, Gila, a prodigy of strength, valor, and daring, will defend her father against any attempt at force or coercion. Far from being cowed by this account of the fierce mountain maid, D. Lucas refuses to yield to the old man's threats and prepares to meet the girl, if need be, in a hand-to-hand contest. Soon afterwards Gila, returning from the hunt, hears what has happened in her absence. Angered by the captain's insolence, she thrusts the muzzle of her gun into his face and forces him off the premises.

At a festival which is held in Plasencia in honor of the presence of the Catholic Monarchs, Gila wins their admiration by her

wonderful dexterity and bravery as displayed in several athletic feats. The festivities are suddenly interrupted by news brought to the king and queen of the infante D. Juan's serious fall from his horse, a calamity which, to Gila's great regret, prevents her from being duly rewarded for the skill she has shown in the various contests.

Acto II

Gila learns that the captain has returned with a large following and has halted outside her father's house with the intention of setting fire to the village. Angered at this news, she, having left her firearms at home, picks up several large stones and a sling, and sets out at once in her father's defense. Arriving at home she is surprised to learn that the captain has prevailed upon her father to consent to his marriage with her. She at first refuses to be subject to another's will, stating, moreover, that her birth and training have not fitted her to be the wife of a noble. But when he offers her the opportunity of winning fame and glory by his side on the field of battle, the thought that she may thereby emulate Queen Isabella, whom she greatly admires, induces her to yield. Soon afterwards word is brought to the captain of the death of Prince Juan.

The captain intends to deceive and betray Gila, seeking this means of avenging the insult which he has received at her hands. The following morning he abandons her while she is still sleeping. As soon as she discovers his treachery, she vows that she will not rest until she has restored her honor by his death. She resolves to live in the open, away from all human beings, and vows to kill every man whom she encounters until her betrayer has paid the penalty for his crime.

Acto III

In pursuance of this plan Gila slays all men who happen across her path while she is living in voluntary exile in the mountains. At last fate brings to her hut Lucas himself, who has lost his way at night near her dwelling and seeks shelter there. She recognizes him, and, in spite of his pleas for mercy and his promises to make honorable amends, she will not listen to him, but avenges her wrongs by throwing him over a cliff. Presently the Hermandad surround her hut, and demand that she surrender herself to justice. This she is willing to do, now that she has been purged of all dishonor. The

mountain maid is executed for her many crimes, but before the consummation of that event, on pretext of wishing to speak a few private words of farewell to her father, she avenges herself for the careless way in which he has brought her up by biting off one of his ears. The closing *acotación* is typical of Vélez:

> Entre don Fernando y doña Isabel, y el maestre y los que pudieren de acompañamiento, y corren el tafetán, y parezca Gila en el palo, arriba, llena de saetas y el cabello sobre el rostro.

This gruesome scene has many parallels in the history of the Spanish stage, notably in episodes depicting the summary justice meted out to a notorious criminal.

LA SERRANA DE LA VERA is preserved in an autograph manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional, signed by the author at the end of each of the last two acts. The play is dated *Valladolid a 7* [*sin mes*] *de 1603*. On the first and the last page is found the memorandum *Para la señora Jusepa Vaca*. The date must be an erratum, for the author gives in the heading of each act, after the invocation of *Jesús María José*, the names of Ursola, his wife, and Francisco, Juan, Antonio, his sons, the last of whom was baptized January 1, 1613, so that the actual date of composition would logically be not earlier than 1613. This is the conclusion arrived at by Menéndez Pidal,[1] which, however, has not been accepted by Buchanan (see his review of this edition in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXII :423–426, November, 1917).

A detailed discussion of a play by Lope de Vega similarly called *La serrana de la Vera* and of plays related to those of Vélez and Lope, as well as of the "romance popular de la Serrana de la Vera," together with other elements of popular tradition utilized by Vélez, will be found in the edition of Menéndez Pidal, pp. 125ff.

Rennert[2] states that a play designated as *La serrana de la Vera* was performed by Juan de Morales, June 14, 1623, and, accepting the date of the autograph, he adds that two *comedias* bearing this title, one by Lope and the other by Vélez, were both written before 1604.

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[1] *Teatro antiguo español. Textos y estudios. I. Luis Vélez de Guevara, La Serrana de la Vera* (Ramón Menéndez Pidal and María Goyri de Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1916).

[2] *Op. cit.* ("Notes, etc."), III (1907–08), p. 53.

[30]

EL TRIUNFO MAIOR DE CIRO: SAVER VENZERSE A SÍ MISMO

DE D. LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEBARA

[FIRST LINES]

Vnos. ¡ Viva Ciro, monarca victorioso!
Otros. Turbad de los susianos el reposo

[LAST LINES]

Todos. El triunfo maior de Ciro,
saber venzerse assi [*sic*] *mesmo.*

Two manuscripts in the Biblioteca Municipal de Madrid, censures dated 1767; (Cotarelo 84.)

CHARACTERS

Ciro, rey.	Atamenes.	Algodón, *gracioso.*
Araspes, general.	Pantea, reina de Susia.	Sisimitres.
Lidaura, su hermana.	Arsidas, general.	Soldados.
Sirene, criada.	Estatira, criada.	Músicos.

JORNADA I

Cyrus, the Persian, having conquered the city of Susa, learns from his general, Araspes, that Pantea, queen of the city, has been taken captive. He has recently heard from the queen's general, Arsidas, whom he had also made a prisoner, that she is very beautiful, therefore he fears to look upon her lest his triumph be changed to defeat. His general, Araspes, has no such scruples; he scorns all that pertains to love as a weakness unbefitting a warrior. In view of these sentiments of Araspes, Cyrus entrusts the queen to this soldier, who forthwith dispatches one of his men, Sisimitres by name, to instruct Lidaura, sister of Araspes, to prepare a proper lodging for the captive queen.

After Pantea is established in her new abode, it is not long before a mutual love arises between her and the hitherto disdainful Araspes; neither, however, makes any formal declaration thereof. A similar affection springs up between Arsidas and Lidaura; Lidaura has another ardent wooer in the person of Sisimitres, but she remains indifferent to his amorous advances.

Jornada II

Araspes is so greatly troubled by his newly experienced emotions that when the queen comes into his apartments he flees from her presence. The queen, left alone with Lidaura, requests her assistance to obtain an interview with Cyrus on a matter of importance. Lidaura, although realizing that she is running a great risk, has one of her servants accompany the queen to the Palace, but only on the condition that Pantea go in disguise.

In her private audience with Cyrus, the queen, representing herself to be a messenger from Pantea, tells Cyrus that Araspes has fallen in love with his charge, that he has attempted to rob her of her honor, and that the queen appeals to him for justice against the offender. The king, although smitten with the charms of the messenger, resolves to discover by artifice the truth of what he has heard; in pursuance of this design he tells Araspes that it is his intention to marry the queen to Alicandro, his former ambassador to Susa. The unhappy general is so perturbed at the news that Cyrus is speedily convinced of his guilt.

Jornada III

Araspes tells the queen of his love for her and of Cyrus' intention of marrying her to another, concluding with the remark that he will depart from the city rather than see her in the arms of another. Pantea is softened by this declaration, and prays to heaven that the course of their love may thenceforth run smooth. After Araspes' departure, Cyrus enters the queen's apartments, and, still taking her to be one of the queen's attendants, informs her that Pantea will soon have a husband capable of protecting her from her guardian's importunities. At this Pantea protests, saying that in such a matter the queen's own inclinations should be consulted. The king replies that she will be content with his choice.

Left alone to lament her fate the queen is interrupted by the entrance of the general of her forces; he tells her that an army has been raised which is only awaiting her personal encouragement to attempt the reconquest of what she has lost. Meanwhile, Araspes receives a summons to appear before Cyrus. Hastening to comply, he encounters the forces of Pantea, who has placed herself at their head. A struggle ensues between him and some of the leaders be-

cause he will neither join them nor allow himself to be taken captive. When Cyrus enters in the course of this skirmish, Araspes throws himself at his feet and proclaims his innocence of any treasonable action. Arsidas, too, testifies that Araspes is in no wise responsible for the queen's escape. Thereupon, Cyrus, in a generous mood, says that he will give Pantea back her kingdom on the condition that she marry Araspes, adding that this had always been his intention.

When the two happy lovers are about to join hands, the king intercepts them, realizing to his surprise and astonishment that she whom he had always considered the queen's messenger is none other than the queen herself. Then love and jealousy struggle for supremacy in the breast of the monarch:

> Mi oferta y mi amor me ponen
> en el caso más estrecho;
> pero Ciro amante zeda
> a Ciro Monarca regio,
> porque el vencerse a sí mismo
> es el triunfo más supremo.
> Gozad, señora, felizes años
> vuestro esposo y reyno.

In conclusion Pantea requests that Lidaura and Arsidas may also marry, to which consent is given.

EL TRIUNFO MAIOR DE CIRO is a good example of the *comedia de capa y espada*. The names given to the chief characters in the play, the time and place in which the action is supposed to occur, are nonessentials; one has only to change the names of the *dramatis personae* to appellations that are characteristically Spanish, to place the action in some city of Spain, and the play stands revealed as essentially a comedy of intrigue. The personages are not drawn with Vélez' usual vigor, the play, especially the last act, is devoid of genuine dramatic power, and its pseudo-classic artifice is very characteristic of the late Renaissance.

With respect to the history of Cyrus, the *comedia* is *sui generis*, bearing no points of resemblance to Lope's *Contra valor no hay desdicha y primer rey de Persia* nor to José Concha's imitation of Pietro Metastasio's *Ciro Riconosciuto* entitled *Ciro, príncipe de Persia*.

[31]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

DEL VERDVGO DE MÁLAGA

DE LUIS VÉLEZ

[FIRST LINES]

Mig. Repórtate ya, padre mío;
suspende vn poco el rigor.

[LAST LINES]

Dom. Todos, señor, te seguimos:
Y aquí da fin *el Verdugo,*
linage tan conocido
en Málaga entre los nobles.
perdonad su corto estilo.

First printed in *Parte diez y seys de comedias nuevas, y escogidas de los meiores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1662); Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 85); also *suelta,* s.l.n.a.

CHARACTERS

Juan de Mesa, viejo.	Hamete, *moro.*	Una mora encantada.
Miguel de Mesa.	Zoraida, *mora.*	Don Fernando.
Domingo de Mesa.	Lisardo, viejo.	Doña Isabel.
Bonete, *lacayo.*	Aldonza, su hija.	Un capitán.
Abencerraje.	Zulema, *mora.*	Moros.
Gambalí, *lacayo.*		Soldados.

JORNADA I

Domingo de Mesa, a young noble of Malaga, who has well-nigh ruined and disgraced his father by his wild and extravagant way of living, consents at last to reform and take up his residence on an estate of his father's, four leagues from the city. This property is in every way desirable save that no one dares live in one of the towers, about which many legends are current. According to some accounts the tower is inhabited by devils, who are ruled over by a magician; others say it is the dwelling of an enchanted Moorish maiden and the hiding place of a great treasure. Domingo, nothing daunted by these reports, resolves to take up his abode there, for his is a bold and adventurous nature that welcomes danger wherever found.

Shortly after his arrival at the enchanted tower, Domingo and his lackey Bonete capture some Moors; their leader, an Abencerraje, is given his freedom on condition that he will go at once to Malaga and pay his ransom to Domingo's father.

JORNADA II

The Abencerraje, true to his promise, comes to Juan de Mesa and presents him with the ransom. While there he becomes infatuated with the beauty of Doña Aldonza, a young woman whom Domingo has dishonored and whom Domingo's father has taken under his charge in the hope that he may prevail upon his son to make amends by marrying her. Soon after, Domingo learns that the Abencerraje has imprisoned his father because of the father's refusal to give up Aldonza, whom the Moor had demanded in exchange for the Moor's betrothed Zoraida, stolen from him, he had been told, by Domingo. Domingo sets out to rescue his father and Aldonza, in which adventure he is successful against great odds. From this exploit he receives the name of *Verdugo de Malaga,* by which he is henceforth to be known. When Domingo meets the Abencerraje and kills ten of his men, the Moor exclaims:

> Eres, Domingo, verdugo;
> que diez Moros en el prado
> por tu mano has degollado,
> y si a Mahoma le plugo
> tratarme de aquesta suerte,
> haz lo mismo aora en mí.

Domingo pardons the Moor, generously disregarding the Moor's lack of trust in him. Again when Domingo is taking leave of his father, Bonete rejoices that his master has won this title:

> *Bon.* ¿Sabes de qué me he holgado?
> que tengas nombre también . . .
> *Dom.* ¿De qué? *Bo.* De verdugo. *Do.* Bien;
> pues por Dios que no he empeçado.

Domingo returns to the tower and by his continued piety and devotion to the rosary and the saints is rewarded by having the tower freed from the spell long cast over it. One night, when he is attacking a phantom lion, a curtain is suddenly drawn, disclosing a Moorish maiden who informs him that his merits have broken the spell of the enchanted tower, and that the buried treasure concealed there belongs to him. At the conclusion of her speech the vision vanishes, and with a deafening roar the tower falls to the ground.

JORNADA III

Meanwhile Domingo's exploits against the Moors have won him fame in Malaga, where he is known as the *Verdugo*. Moreover, he is wooed by Zoraida, who comes to his house disguised as a man, but her attempt to win him is fruitless. A number of armed men also come to Domingo's house with a royal warrant for his arrest, first, because the king wishes to investigate the title he has won as *verdugo de moros,* and second, because it is unlawful for a subject to hold such a treasure as the one to which he has fallen heir without giving due notice to the king. Domingo willingly surrenders himself to the authorities and, with his followers, proceeds at once to the court. On their way thither, the Abencerraje, who has learned of the occurrence and of the fact that Zoraida is with Domingo, attacks and vanquishes them by force of numbers, but spares Domingo's life as Domingo once spared his. Zoraida confesses to the Abencerraje that Domingo is innocent of any designs against her honor, and that she courted him in revenge for the Abencerraje's infatuation for Aldonza. In proof of these statements she shows her betrothed a letter in which Domingo has refused her proffered love.

As soon as Domingo is pardoned by the Moor, he continues on to the court in order to present himself before his sovereign. The Catholic King is pleased with the newly won prestige of his subject, permits him the full enjoyment of his treasure, and bestows upon him the surname of *Verdugo*. Aldonza's wrongs are righted, and the Abencerraje and Zoraida, on declaring their intention to embrace Christianity, receive a royal welcome.

THE PLAY IS LACKING IN INTEREST, and is of little merit either in situations or in composition. The very nature of the argument is unsuited to drama. What of the sources of this play? There seems to be no record of a Domingo de Mesa who was called the *Verdugo* of Malaga. Argote de Molina, in his *Nobleza del Andaluzia* (Sevilla, 1588, Libro I, Cap. LXXIX, pág. 67), briefly mentions:[1]

Los del apellido do Mesa, cuyas Armas se veen en vna antigua capilla de la Iglesia de la ciudad de Vbeda . . . Su linage passó de Vbeda a Ronda, Tarifa, y Cordova, donde ay Mayoradgos principales del. Y en Sevilla lo es Bartolomé López de Mesa, Veyntiquatro, hijo del licenciado Pedro López de Mesa, Assistente que fué de aquella ciudad.

[1] See also Francisco Piferrer, *Nobiliario de los Reinos y Señoríos de España* (Madrid, 1855), I:140.

Nor is any mention of a Domingo de Mesa *Verdugo de Malaga* to be found in Alonso López de Haro's *Nobiliario Genealógico de los Reyes y Títulos de España* (Madrid, 1622). Other themes of the play, such as the enchanted tower, the appearance of the maiden, and the treasure, are commonplaces in fiction, especially when of Oriental origin.

[32]

VIRTUDES VENCEN SEÑALES

Comedia famosa de Luis Vélez de Guevara

[FIRST LINES]

Sale por una puerta Dionisio Embaxador de Sicilia y el Almirante de Albania, y por otra al mismo tiempo las mugeres, y Leda Princesa de Albania detrás, como que viene de caza, y dize el Almirante:

Alm. Al passo nos ha salido
su Alteza, y pienso que sale
al campo.

Dion. No ay luz que iguale
a tanto sol encendido
en la hermosura que ofrece.

[LAST LINES]

Cla. Mas albricias no se olviden,
para que mejor acaben
con el perdón, y con ellas,
virtudes vencen señales.

This rare play has survived in *suelta* form and as one of a collection. The Parma Library has a copy of the *suelta*. A British Museum copy is part of a volume (pp. 91–128). The volume is in the Göttingen Library, and its title is *Parte treinta y dos, con doze Comedias de diferentes autores.* (En Çaragoça, por Diego Dormer, Año 1640. A costa de Jusepe Ginobart mercader de Libros.) Not available to Cotarelo. The Parma copy seems to be more recent, perhaps of the end of the same century. It is more carefully set up, more intelligently punctuated, and reads clearly in several passages in which the London copy is obscure. The stage directions in the Parma copy are more elaborate. Each version adds some verses not contained in the other. The pages of the Parma copy are not numbered.

Characters (British Museum copy)

Almirante.	Ricardo.	Tirrena, serrana.
Dionysio, embaxador.	Felipe.	Alfreda.
Leda.	Clarín.	Enrique.
Rey de Albania.	Lidonio	
Alberto.	Liseno	Bandoleros.
Dos grandes.	Sargesto	
Tebandro.	Timberero	

CHARACTERS (Parma copy)

Filipo.	Roberto.	Tirrena.
Lisandro, rey.	Alberto.	Leda, infanta.
Dionisio.	Ricardo.	Alfreda.
El almirante.	Tebandro.	Enrico.
Artenio.	Clarín.	Quatro salteadores.

JORNADA I

Dionisio, ambassador from Sicily to the court of Albania, arrives with a letter from his sovereign Enrico, offering Enrico's hand in marriage to Leda, heiress apparent of the throne of Albania. Leda enters attired for the chase. Learning of the ambassador's mission, she curtly refuses the offer on the ground that such a marriage would cause the crown to pass to a foreigner. A quarrel is averted by the entrance of Lisandro, the aged king of Albania, who approves his daughter's decision and dismisses the ambassador. The nobles now hear a strange revelation from King Lisandro. By his late wife, Margarita de Ungría, he had, after some years of marriage, a daughter Leda, whom the people received with joy as a prognostication of a possible male heir. On the night of the conception of another child, Lisandro had fixed his gaze upon a tapestry on which was embroidered a black image of the queen of Sheba, thus influencing the complexion of the child.

The newly born dark-skinned boy was entrusted to the hands of a guardian who brought him up in secret and with great zeal and care. Years have passed during which the lad has shown astonishing qualities suitable to his high birth. The difficult political situation in Albania has now prompted King Lisandro to bring forward his son and present him to the people as his heir:

porque tengáis, Albaneses,
Príncipe heredero, y nadie,
no siendo Albanés, herede
esta corona; que es grave
daño que la sucessión
a los estrangeros passe
por herencia o casamiento;
que quando en Filipo estrañe
el color, lo monstruoso,
lo no visto, lo espantable,
lo diferente, lo fiero,
lo prodigioso, lo errante,
lo feo, lo peregrino,
virtudes vencen señales.

Thus his son's virtues are to overcome the unfortunate signs of his dark birth. The court acclaims the new hope of the kingdom and is urging Lisandro to present Filipo, when Tebandro, the son's teacher and guardian, arrives with the disquieting message that

his ward, no longer able to endure the narrow seclusion of his prison, has made his escape. The king orders an immediate search to be made for the prince, and the scene changes to open fields, where we first meet Filipo. He sings a paean to his newly found liberty, a passage of singular beauty. Leda, who has been hunting in the vicinity, now enters. She is at first terrified by Filipo's appearance, but his nobility and courtesy are at once revealed by his manner of speech.

In the meantime those in search of the prince begin to arrive, among them the almirante with Clarín, the *lacayo gracioso*. They do not recognize the strange personage as the object of their search and attempt to drive him off. He refuses to leave until he is besought by Leda to obey. The princess, too, departs, greatly impressed by the extraordinary character of Filipo enclosed in a monstrous body.

JORNADA II

The scene takes us into a forest, the abode of a band of robbers. Filipo appears in search of food and presently the *labradora,* Tirrena, is heard singing a ballad.

(*Canta Tirrena dentro*)

Tir. Por el monte va la niña
tendido al ayre el cabello;
qué bien canta y qué bien llora
mal de amores y de zelos.

Fil. ¡Qué dulcíssima armonía
con la lengua y con los ecos
haze esta sirena humana!
Loco me tiene y suspenso.

Canta. Perdida va por el monte
de sus proprios pensamientos;
¡mal aya el pastor que agravia
sus hermosos ojos negros!
(*Va saliendo Tirrena.*)
A las soledades huye
porque piensa hallar remedio
del monte en las soledades
al mal que padece. ¡Ay cielos,
qué salvaje o monstro es éste
tan espantable, tan fiero!

Filipo reassures her by his kindly bearing and begs for food. After her departure he is again extolling his maker, heaven, and earth, when his discourse is interrupted by the sudden entrance of Clarín, who rolls down the mountainside tied in a bag. To the amazed Filipo he tells the story of his mishap. When returning on foot to court after his first meeting with the prince, he had come upon the robbers, who stripped him of his clothing and tied him in a sack. Filipo offers his protection to Clarín, who is both a boaster and a coward.

Tirrena is heard within crying for help. Filipo goes to her assistance and finds her in the hands of the robber band, which he is able quickly to overthrow because of his extraordinary physical strength and courage. Filipo makes peace with them and is chosen their captain; he replies:

> no quiero que me llaméis
> Capitán; por Rey juradme
> destos campos, y llamadme
> Rey; que en mi valor veréis
> que este título merezco.

As king he now desires to advance Clarín, who warns him, saying: *Soñando estás.* And Filipo answers:

> Todo el humano poder,
> Clarín, es sueño.

The *gracioso* is appointed Filipo's *privado* and, in his clownish way, comments on his new state:

> Aquí para entre los dos,
> si no pensara ofenderte,
> te quisiera preguntar
> dónde comen los criados
> de los Reyes de los prados,
> porque estoy para espirar
> de hambre; que si es a dicha
> su yerva la de Clarín
> será privanza rozín.
> *Fil.* Clarín, no ay temer desdicha
> conmigo.
> *Clar.* César lo dixo
> a Amiclas passando el mar;
> mas fue después de cenar.

Sentinels on the mountaintop report the approach of an armed squadron with Filipo's teacher, Tebandro, who bids him approach and presents him to his father the king. The prince wins all hearts by his noble and kindly bearing, his first plea being for a pardon for the robbers, his companions. Leda enters and Filipo learns to his sorrow that she is his sister, but his self-restraint commands her esteem. Only the almirante, aware that his hopes of obtaining the crown are dashed by the presence of an heir apparent, secretly resolves to oppose Filipo. Filipo warns him to remember that an almirante is only a vassal of the crown and as such must remain at a respectful distance from the infanta Leda. With respect to his own love, Filipo realizes the self-control which must govern his relations with her.

Jornada III

The king has died and Filipo, now sovereign, announces to his assembled court his new policies, which have an unusual spirit of liberalism and democracy. On the almirante, Filipo heaps new

honors, so as to inspire in him greater loyalty by adding new obligations. His master, Tebandro, is created *condestable,* but Clarín, who also expects high honors, gets only a reprimand for his presumption. Leda enters and complains of her unfortunate lot and diminished state ever since she has been deprived of the succession. A distasteful marriage has been arranged for her with the king of Hungary, twice a widower and a man of years. Filipo, for his part, she has heard, is to marry Ninfa, the heiress of Hungary, an alliance which assures him of the possession of the imperial crown. Filipo, after dismissing the court, tells Leda that she has been misinformed and that Enrico and his sister, Alfreda, are even at that moment on their way to Albania to celebrate their betrothal, Enrico to Leda, Alfreda to himself. Leda is deeply remorseful and tells Filipo that the almirante had persuaded her to make this protest.

The arrival of Enrico and Alfreda is announced. The young king, in the meantime, accompanied only by the almirante, has gone forth to meet his guests. In a solitary spot Filipo informs the almirante that he has learned of the plot against his life, and that, for the honor of both of them, the almirante is to have the opportunity to carry out his scheme. Filipo orders him to draw his sword and to fight as man to man. The almirante, overawed by this astonishing proof of Filipo's noble character, falls at his master's feet and offers his life to expiate his crime. The young king pardons him and destroys all evidence of his treason.

Enrico and Alfreda have arrived. Alfreda laments her fate since she is to be handed over in marriage to a swarthy monster. But Enrico tells his sister the real purpose of the almirante's plot. On her wedding night, she is to give Filipo poison and thus Enrico, through his marriage with Leda, will become king of Albania. Alfreda is then to marry the king of Naples, who is already on his way with an armada. Filipo enters and wins both Enrico and Alfreda by his dignity and beauty of spirit. Alfreda says to herself:

> Las señales
> prodigiosas del color
> con las partes admirables
> del alma vence; no he visto
> después de llegar a hablalle
> hombre de alma tan hermosa.

In order to test Enrico, Filipo orders his arrest and reveals his

knowledge of the plot, displaying at the same time his defense prepared against foreign invaders. Enrico, repentant, wins Filipo's pardon, and the play ends with a final demonstration that inner virtues may overcome outward evil portents.

THIS COMEDIA NOVELESCA is one of Vélez' finest efforts. The reader will have become aware of the important affinity of the plot with that of Calderón's *La vida es sueño*. In both plays the central character is a young prince who is confined and educated in secrecy in order to counteract an adverse portent at his birth. In *Virtudes vencen señales,* the idea of the "dream king" is clearly presented, as may be seen in the foregoing résumé (Act II, p. 128); in *La vida es sueño* it becomes the central idea of the plot. But Vélez' hero Filipo and Calderón's Sigismundo are exact opposites. Filipo is the typical Vélez superman, a paragon of virtue and nobility of character for whom the acquisition of power means opportunity to exercise his best gifts. Sigismundo, on the contrary, on realizing the commanding position attained through his accession to royal power, immediately shows his worst instincts and plays the tyrant. There are many similar features in both plays, and these have been presented in detail by R. Schevill in the *Hispanic Review,* 1:181ff.

Vélez' play was already known in 1628[1] and was probably written several years earlier. The composition of *La vida es sueño* is generally assigned to the years 1629–30,[2] at the earliest.

The *dicho, virtudes vencen señales* is listed by the *Diccionario de Autoridades*. It seems to be a common theme of folklore, dealing with the evil portent which marks a child's birth and with the subsequent fate of the child. The idea may be found in Timoneda, *Patraña* XVI (see Morcuende's edition in the *Clásicos castellanos* [1930], CI), based on the story of Cyrus' youth as related by Herodotus and also by Justin in his *Epitome* of the history of Trogus Pompeius (translated by Jorje de Bustamante, Alcalá, 1540; copies in the Hispanic Society Library, and the British Museum).

Vélez may have been acquainted with Lope's *Contra valor no hay desdicha,* written in the author's later years; see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope de Vega,* II:234ff. Juan

[1] See Rennert, *op. cit.* ("Notes, etc."), II:55.

[2] M. A. Buchanan, *La vida es sueño* (1909), p. 101.

Ruiz uses a phrase allied in meaning to the title of our play: *Buen esfuerço vence a la mala ventura,* c. 160. Vélez' title was in use long before his time. In Sebastian de Horozco's *Cancionero* we find the *moraleja* used in a characteristic manner. The author gives us first a *poesía de escarnio* directed "a un amigo suyo feo y mal dispuesto":

Escriben los naturales
en natura este decreto.
y es, qu'en los actos carnales
conciben los animales
segund tienen el sugeto.
Jacob lo esperimentó,
qu' al concebir las ovejas
tales objetos les dió
qu' el ganado que nació
le semejó en las pellejas.

Así que, considerando
vro. gesto y mal hechizo,
yo estoy agora pensando
en qué debía estar mirando
vra. madre quando os hizo.
Pensaría en alguna mona,
pues de mono tenéis gesto,
y aun otra cosa os abona,
que tenéis muy ruin persona,
mal tallado y mal dispuesto.

Responde el auctor por él porque él no sabía:

Vos con vra. presunción
tenéis tan dañado el gusto,
que no tenéis discreción
para saber que el varón
ha de ser feo y robusto.

Poco haze el mal aseo,
pues todos somos mortales,
quanto más que siempre veo
que en el hombre tosco y feo
virtudes vençen señales.

II. COMEDIAS HISTÓRICO-NOVELESCAS

[33]

EL ÁGUILA DEL AGUA Y BATALLA NAVAL DE LEPANTO

REPRESENTACIÓN ESPAÑOLA
DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEBARA

[FIRST LINES]

Escamilla. Esta, Almendruca, es Madrid,
corte de Filipo, dueño
de dos mundos, y segundo
sin segundo en estos reynos

[LAST LINES]

D. Lope. Y acabe la portentosa
batalla naval aquí
que a la misma fama asombra,
pidiéndoos, cauto senado,
perdón de las faltas todas.

Autograph manuscript with signature on last leaf (Sig. Va-18-15) in the Biblioteca Nacional; reprinted by A. Paz y Melia in *Rev. Arch.*, X (1904): 182–200, 307–325; XI (1904):50–67. (Cotarelo 3.)

CHARACTERS

El rey don Felipe II.
El príncipe don Carlos.
Don Juan de Austria.
El marqués de Santa Cruz.
Ruy Gómez de Silva.
Marco Antonio Colonna.
Juan Andrea de Oria.
Don Lope de Figueroa.
Don Diego de Córdoba.
Pedro Vázquez de Escamilla.
Almendruca, *graciosa.*
Doña Hipólita, dama.
Teodora, criada.
Pelotero.
Un muchacho.

ACTO I

Doña Hipólita, who is in love with D. Juan of Austria, half-brother of King Philip II, approaches him, veiled, at a ball game in Madrid, and hands him a note revealing her passion and summoning him to a rendezvous on that night; but she is so overcome with confusion that she delivers the missive by mistake to D. Carlos, son of Philip II. The young prince, upon perusing its contents, is inflamed with jealousy at this new proof of the great popularity of his uncle.

The game begins, but is soon interrupted by a dispute over some

of the decisions. This discussion is carried on mainly between D. Carlos and D. Juan, and is stopped only when the king throws his glove down from one of the balconies. D. Juan picks up the glove, kisses it, and places it in his hatband. D. Carlos, however, is still resentful, and swears he will yet have his uncle's life. King Philip speaks separately to D. Juan and D. Carlos, counsels each to show respect to the other, and forbids each one to see him until peace has been made between them. D. Juan receives this advice in a spirit of magnanimity, but D. Carlos with difficulty conceals his jealousy and rancor, although he promises his father to make amends.

That night D. Carlos goes in company with D. Lope de Figueroa to the house of Hipólita. She gives him a very frigid reception, and he thereupon vows that no one else shall enter the house. Hipólita, however, has sent D. Juan another note, which her maid Teodora has delivered to him in person, and he, in response to her summons, arrives at the appointed time, only to find her door guarded by two men (D. Carlos and D. Lope), who forbid his entrance. He attacks them for their presumption, aided by the adventurer, Pedro Vázquez de Escamilla, who arrives most opportunely upon the scene. The king appears in the midst of the affray and has all the participants carried off to the palace.

Acto II

D. Juan, in prison by the king's order, awakens from slumber at the sound of martial music, and, still half asleep, imagines himself winning fame and glory in the thick of battle. Escamilla and his mistress, the *graciosa* Almendruca, enter the prison, and take delight in urging him on in his unconscious onslaught. He soon realizes, however, that he has been carried away by his imagination. He bids them tell no one of his momentary aberration, and they assure him of their devotion and loyalty. After they have gone, the king and D. Carlos enter the apartment in which D. Juan is confined, and a reconciliation takes place between uncle and nephew. Soon after, D. Juan is favored with a visit by Hipólita, who cannot understand his seeming neglect. He is greatly enamored of her and, not unnaturally, flattered by her attentions, but he deems it best to conceal his feelings. After her departure, Almendruca rushes in, to tell D. Juan that Escamilla is on his way to the galleys; she begs the prince to intercede for him with the king.

At this point, a papal bull proclaiming the Holy League against the Turk and appointing D. Juan of Austria leader of the Christian forces, is read to those assembled in the royal palace, whereupon D. Juan is the recipient of many felicitations from those present. The prince marches off almost at once at the head of his forces, much to the grief and sorrow of Hipólita.

ACTO III

On board ship we learn from the conversation of the sailors that preparations are being made for an immediate attack upon the Turk and D. Juan gives orders to proceed at once against the enemy. Hipólita, unable to endure a separation from the young commander, has followed him in the disguise of a man. D. Juan and D. Lope discover her among the soldiers, and learn from her that she passes for a youth eager for adventure, but willing to fight only by the side of D. Juan. D. Juan accepts her offer, pleased at what he considers unusual bravery in one so young.

Before long, the Turkish fleet is sighted, and, after a short deliberation, the Christians decide to engage forthwith in battle. The engagement between the two hostile fleets takes place, all fight most valiantly, and after the victory is won by the Christian arms, Hipólita, who has distinguished herself for remarkable bravery, receives from D. Juan the title of *Spanish Amazon.*

THIS PLAY IS LACKING in unity but contains a succession of stirring incidents from the life of D. Juan. Act I is by far the best because of the excellent portrayal of D. Juan and D. Carlos, who are depicted in a series of scenes full of dramatic interest and spirited action. Another clever stroke in the play is the anticipation of the great naval victory in the scene when D. Juan, half awakened by the sound of martial music, imagines himself engaged in fighting the Turk. A similar episode is found in Act III of *El hijo del águila.* The battle scene in the last act is animated and realistic.

The play bears at the end the following censure: "E bisto esta comedia y reformando los juramentos de D. Lope de Figueroa[1] que tiene en ella, se puede representar, en Madrid, a 29 de Julio de 1642.—Juan Navarro Despinossa."

[1] *Juramentos* in the mouth of this old warrior became a tradition on the stage; compare his portrayal by Calderón in *El alcalde de Zalamea.*

Act I, after the names of the *dramatis personae,* gives the names of *Ana, Juan, Jesús, María y José, Luis,* and *Isabel.* These are repeated in the heading of Act II, whereas Act III gives only the names of *Luis, Jhesus-María y Joseph, Ana,* and *Isabel.* The mention of the name of Isabel may be taken as evidence that the play was written after her birth on September 24, 1627, and prior to the birth of Vélez' daughter Francisca, who was baptized November 5, 1632. The identity of the name of his wife, Doña María López de Palacios, with that of the Virgin is probably the reason for its omission in the list of the names of members of his family. The same argument would hold good for the noninclusion of the name of his daughter María, who was born on September 8, 1629, if the play was written after this date. The title of the play as Vélez gives it is: *El águila del agua, Representación española.* Another handwriting has added the subtitle of *Batalla naual de Lepanto.* We have found no copy of *El águila del agua* printed as a *suelta.*

Previous to Vélez' *comedia,* Lope wrote on the same theme, *La Santa Liga,*[2] a play which was originally entitled *La batalla naval.*[3] A play by Cervantes called *La batalla naval* has been lost. Lope gives another account of the battle in *Tanto hagas quanto pagues,* a play attributed to Moreto under the title of *La traición vengada.*[4] La Barrera[5] mentions a play by Vicente Mascareñas entitled *Batalla naval de D. Juan de Austria,* of which nothing further is known. Montalván wrote on the same theme, *El Señor don Juan de Austria.*[6] La Barrera (p. 531a) lists an anonymous play, *La batalla de Lepanto, o la Liga.* Paz y Melia[7] says that Vélez probably used as a basis for his play Marco Antonio Arroyo's account of the battle in *Relación del progreso de la armada de la Santa Liga* (Milan,

[2] Part XV (Madrid, 1621).

[3] In the first list of *El peregrino en su patria,* 1604; see Morley's reprint, *University of California Publications in Modern Philology,* XIV:345ff. (1930).

[4] Madrid, 1681. See, for questions on the authenticity of this play: H. A. Rennert, "Bibliography, etc.," *Rev. Hisp.,* XXXIII (1915):245. Is the *Loa famosa de la batalla nabal* (Lope, Part III, Barcelona, 1614, pp. 328–329) by him or by another?

[5] *Catálogo,* p. 238a and p. 531a; cited by Barbosa Machado in his *Bibliotheca lusitana,* but Menéndez y Pelayo surmised that it may be identical with Lope's *La Santa Liga.*

[6] Printed in *Tomo primero de las comedias del doctor Ivan Pérez de Montalbán.* See La Barrera, *Catálogo,* p. 266a; G. W. Bacon, *op. cit.,* pp. 1ff.

[7] *Op. cit.,* p. 181.

1576) since he gives the same number of ships in each division, colors of the streamers, etc., as Arroyo gives. Moreover, Arroyo's account of *María la Bailadora,* who, in men's clothes, slew many Turks and earned because of her bravery a place in Lope de Figueroa's division, may have suggested the *Hipólita* of Vélez, who fights with half an oar and whom D. Juan of Austria calls the *Spanish Amazon.* Other prose accounts which Vélez may have consulted are those of Jerónimo Costiol, Jerónimo Torres y Aguilera, Lorenzo Van der Hammen, and Fernando de Herrera.[8]

La Barrera (p. 524b) confuses this play with *El hijo del Águila* (see play No. 43). In another place (p. 467b), where he lists *El hijo del Águila, o señor don Juan de Austria* among Vélez' plays published as *sueltas,* he again mistakes that composition for our *El águila del agua,* not published (so far as we know) until Paz y Melia edited it in 1904.

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[8] For a study of the extensive literature on the battle, see *Obras de Lope de Vega, edición de la Real Academia,* XII (Madrid, 1901), Intro., pp. cv–cxxviii; reprinted in Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope de Vega,* VI:125ff.

[34]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

EL ALBA Y EL SOL
DE UN INGENIO
[LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA]

[FIRST LINES]

Pel. ¡O bruto desbocado!
con la idómita espalda mide el prado.

[LAST LINES]

Todos. Y aquí *del Alba y el Sol*
la primera parte se acabe.

Two manuscript copies in the Biblioteca Nacional (Nos. 16821 and 16060). Printed as a *suelta* in the eighteenth century; Schaeffer, XXXIII. (Cotarelo 4.)

CHARACTERS

El infante don Pelayo.	La Reina, dama.	Alcama, general.
Sando, general.	Alba, dama.	Mustafá, capitán.
Suero, capitán.	Florinda, dama.	Alcuzcuz, morillo.
Atila, capitán.	Zaida, mora.	España.
Mendo.	Marruca, *graciosa.*	Música.
Ximen.	Chamorro, *gracioso.*	Soldados.
	Don Opas, barba.	

JORNADA I

Spain, led captive by a Moor, appears in a vision to Pelayo the Goth, and appeals to him to free her from her thralldom. When Pelayo awakens, Sando, a valiant soldier who has won fame and honor in the service of Rodrigo, offers his services in the common cause against the Moor. Soon afterwards Pelayo publicly proclaims his intention of waging relentless warfare against the invaders. Alcama, the Moorish general, is equally determined to follow up his many victories against the Christians. Florinda (la Cava) informs him that her desire for vengeance requires that every Christian leader be killed, that Pelayo is still holding out against them in the Asturias, and that Alba, a warlike maiden, has gathered together men and arms in order to aid the Goths.

Alba is holding a council with her followers when Pelayo meets her. She is straightway enamored of him, and offers him the arms

she has secreted in the cave of Covadonga, together with the aid of herself and followers. Pelayo informs her at length of Spain's conquest by the Moors, and, at the conclusion of his account, receives a renewal of her offer of assistance, she to be the Dawn (Alba) and he the Sun (Sol) of Spain's Reconquest.

Jornada II

Soon afterwards Pelayo is crowned king, and solemnly swears to maintain a loyal struggle against the Moorish invaders. Alba expects to be chosen his wife, but instead is appointed captain-general, and, in the event of her marriage, her husband is to receive the title of military chieftain (*condestable*) of the Asturias. Pelayo's wife, meanwhile, is on her way, with reinforcements, to rejoin her husband. On learning that Pelayo has been crowned king by Alba and has accepted men and arms from her, the queen is inclined to be jealous, but the commanders of her forces assure her of Pelayo's constancy.

Alba soon seeks an opportunity to tell Pelayo of her love for him. He puts her off, however, by dwelling on the imminent approach of the Moors and the necessity for battle, and promises to reward her by making her queen, not only of the Asturias but of all Spain. Immediately afterwards Sando brings news of the advance of Alcama, Florinda, Bishop Opas, and a host of Moors, whereupon Pelayo and Alba, fired with patriotic zeal and religious enthusiasm, set forth to meet them.

Jornada III

On the arrival of the Moorish forces close to the Christian camp, the invaders, with Bishop Opas as spokesman, hold a parley with Pelayo, in which they lay stress on the futility of further resistance. Pelayo refuses to surrender; he is determined to fight either until he is killed or becomes the Restorer of his country. During the battle which immediately follows, the queen's reinforcements arrive and help in the struggle. The Christian forces are in the end victorious, Florinda is taken captive by Alba, Alcama by Pelayo, and Bishop Opas by Sando. Alcama is pardoned by Pelayo, Opas is condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and Florinda is sentenced to public execution.

Alba then speaks again to Pelayo of her love, but he replies that he is already married, and a messenger soon confirms his statement

by announcing the approach of the queen. Although grieved and frustrated, Alba succeeds in controlling her wounded pride, and remains firm in her determination to aid him in the further reconquest of her country. Soon after Pelayo has welcomed his wife, news is brought to him that the earth has swallowed up Bishop Opas, and that Florinda has sought death by jumping over a precipice. The play ends with Alba's urging Pelayo to follow up his victory by marching against León. A second part is promised.

EL ALBA Y EL SOL is a well-constructed drama, which, in a series of stirring martial scenes, presents us with a vivid picture of the first years of the Reconquest. The character drawing is admirable; the valiant Pelayo, the dauntless Sando, and the noble, devoted Alba, are delineations which stand out in one's memory. Several of the scenes are dramatic and spectacular, the most noteworthy being that in which Pelayo is crowned king. As in Vélez' *Los fijos de la Barbuda,* this play contains old speech forms intended to give it an archaic flavor. *El alba y el sol* has had several impressions as a *suelta,* in some of which it is attributed to *un ingenio,* while in others the title reads *El alba y el sol: Comedia nueva.* La Barrera (*Cat.,* p. 467) lists it with the title *La Restauración de España, o El alba y el sol.* Of the manuscripts, one, dated 1709 (No. 16821), is headed *Comedia, El alba y el sol de Luis Vélez de Guevara;* the other (No. 16060), of which the first page is lacking, has the autograph censure of José de Cañizares, dated October 21, 1728. A revision of the drama was made in the nineteenth century with the title, *El alba y el sol: Drama en cuatro actos, escrito en tres jornadas por Luis Vélez de Guevara, y arreglado por Vicente de Lalama, Madrid,* 1855. Restori mentions another early eighteenth-century manuscript of this play in the Palatinate Library at Parma,[1] without name of author or any other means of identification. There is no internal evidence whereby to determine an approximate date for the composition of the drama.

The theme of the Moorish conquest of Spain and the beginnings of the Reconquest has been a popular one with Spanish poets and dramatists, and particularly with those of two periods in the history of Spanish literature, the seventeenth century and the nineteenth century.

[1] *Op. cit.,* p. 115.

One of the best known accounts dealing with the Moorish Conquest of Spain is that attributed to Pedro de Corral, and called the *Crónica del Rey Don Rodrigo, postrimero rey de los Godos;* it is popularly known as the *Crónica Sarracina.*[2] Other accounts are the *Crónica del Moro Rasis,* unedited until the nineteenth century,[3] and *La verdadera hystoria del Rey Don Rodrigo,* by the *morisco* Miguel de Luna—a literary forgery which the author asserted to be a translation from the Arabic of a codex that he had discovered in the library of the Escorial;[4] the work had a great success and was drawn upon by several subsequent writers. *Los nuevos reyes de Toledo,* by the doctor Cristóbal Lozano,[5] on the same theme, was, like the preceding, a source of inspiration for others. It is possible that Vélez was acquainted with more general histories, such as the *Crónica General* of Ocampo[6] and Julian del Castillo's *Historia de los reyes Godos.*[7]

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[2] A unique copy of the first edition, [Sevilla] 1499, is in the Hispanic Society Library in New York; there were many subsequent editions.

[3] Translated from the original Arabic into Portuguese, and thence into Spanish. Part of the Spanish translation of this chronicle was published by Pascual de Gayangos in "Apéndices I and II" (pp. 33–63 and 67–100, respectively) to his "Memoria sobre la Autenticidad de la Crónica Denominada del Moro Rasis" in *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia,* VIII (Madrid, 1852). Another fragment of the same, not included in the foregoing, is found in the Appendix (Fragmentos inéditos de la crónica llamada del moro Rasis) to Eduardo Saavedra's *Estudio sobre la invasión de los árabes en España* (Madrid, 1892), pp. 145–154.

That part of the chronicle which treats of the reign of Rodrigo is missing in the two earliest manuscript copies now incorporated into the *Crónica General de 1344,* in the Biblioteca Real (No. 15 in the *Catálogo de la Real Biblioteca. Manuscritos. Crónicas generales de España descritas por Ramón Menéndez Pidal,* Madrid, 1898). In pp. 25–49 of this *Catalogue* Menéndez Pidal prints the part of the *Crónica llamada del Moro Rasis* not found in the above-cited manuscript copies. The most recent work which treats this theme exhaustively is Menéndez Pidal's *El Rey Rodrigo en la literatura* (Madrid, 1925).

[4] *La verdadera historia del Rey Don Rodrigo en la qual se trata la causa principal de la pérdida de España y la conquista que della hizo Miramamolín Almançor, Rey que fué del Africa y de las Arabias,* por el sabio Alcayde Albulcacím Tarif Abentarique, de nación Arabe, y natural de la Arabia Petrea. Nvevamente traduzida de la lengua Arábiga por Miguel de Luna, vezino de Granada, intérprete del Rey don Phelippe nuestro señor. Impressa por René Rabut, Part I, 1592, Part II, 1600, Granada. (Hispanic Society, New York.)

[5] Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1667.

[6] Available in his day in the edition of Zamora, 1541, Fols. CC–CCXII.

[7] *Historia de los Reyes Godos que vinieron de la Scitia de Europa, contra el Imperio Romano, y a España: y la succession dellos hasta el Catholico y potentissimo don Philippe segundo Rey de España;* impressa en Burgos por Philippe de Junta, 1582. The reign of Rodrigo is dealt with in Bk. II, *Discursos* XI and XII; that of Pelayo in Bk. III, *Discursos* I and II. (University of California library.)

The *romances*[8] on D. Rodrigo are all late, being an echo of, and based upon, the *Crónica General* and the *Crónica del Rey Don Rodrigo*. A *romance* on this theme was included by Luis Alfonso de Carvallo (or Carvalho) in his *Cisne de Apolo* (Medina del Campo, 1602), not reprinted either in the *Primavera* or in Durán. There is also a *Romance de la elección del rey don Pelayo* by Diego Suárez.[9]

The earliest dramatic treatment of this theme is a *comedia de santos* by the *bachiller* Bartolomé Palaú,[10] in which Rodrigo, la Cava, Julián, and Muza appear as characters (*personajes episódicos*). The first drama worthy of the name, which deals with this theme, is Lope's *El último Godo*.[11] Earlier there had appeared two epic poems, in *octava rima*, which influenced the writers of drama, one, *El Pelayo*, by Alonso López (El Pinciano),[12] the other, *La Restauración de España*,[13] by Cristóbal de Mesa.

In all probability Vélez was first inspired by Lope's play to write his drama, *El alba y el sol*. However, there is no direct imitation apparent; the plays are merely on related themes. In *El último Godo*, Florinda in grief and despair at the great wrong she has done her country (she was held responsible for the conquest of Spain by the Moors), leaps to death from a tower in Malaga (Act

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[8] *Primavera*, Nos. 2–7, inc. To these Menéndez y Pelayo has added three from Part III of the *Silva de Romances* (Zaragosa, 1551); see *Antología*, IX: 175–178.

[9] Alcalá de Henares, Juan Gracián, 1607. Printed together with two other *romances* by the same author: see Gallardo, *Ensayo*, I:409, and Juan Menéndez Pidal's *Leyendas del último rey Godo, Notas e investigaciones* (nueva edición corregida, Madrid, 1906).

[10] "Historia de la gloriosa Santa Orosia," printed by D. Aureliano Fernández Guerra in his *Caida y Ruina del Imperio visigótico español* (Madrid, 1883). A *comedia* entitled *La hermosa Florinda* was in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628; see Rennert, "Notes, etc.," *op. cit.*, III:43. Rennert also mentions (p. 46) a play entitled *La más injusta venganza*, acted by Tomás Fernández in the Retiro, June 16, 1637. This is in all probability D. Juan Velasco y Guzmán's *La pérdida de España y más injusta venganza*, which was played before the queen prior to February 8, 1623. See Schack, Nachträge to ed. 2 of his *Geschichte, etc.*, p. 66. A late seventeenth-century manuscript of this play is in the Biblioteca Nacional. See Paz y Melia, *Cat.*, p. 397a, No. 2574.

[11] Later than 1604 as it is not listed in the first edition of *El peregrino*. Printed in Part VIII of Lope's *Comedias*, 1617, with the title of *El postrer Godo de España*, and again in Part XXV (Zaragoza, 1647). See Rennert, "Bibliography, etc.," *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXIII:224. For a study of the themes on which Lope's *El último Godo* and Vélez' *El alba y el sol* are based, see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Obras de Lope de Vega*, Acad. ed., VII, pp. xxvff.; reprinted in *Estudios sobre L. de V.*, III:24ff., and *Antología*, XI:133ff.

[12] Madrid, Luis Sánchez, 1605.

[13] Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1607.

III). This incident is taken from Miguel de Luna, who is also the one who first gave the name of Florinda to la Cava. Orpas (*sic*) is killed by Pelayo. At Pelayo's coronation, the following verses occur in a song that is sung in his praise:

Para bien amanezca el sol:
bendígale España
y guárdele Dios
El Sol de Pelayo,
Gran Restaurador
de Asturia y Galicia,
Castilla y Leon.

Is Vélez' *Sol* (Pelayo) a reminiscence of this passage? It is not improbable. The poetic character of Alba, however, is mainly of Vélez' own invention. She cannot be an imitation of Lope's Solmira, the sister of Pelayo; but she may well be a development of López Pinciano's Sancha Afuera, a doughty Amazon who captures Torrehermosa from the Moors (Bk. XVIII). The strength and beauty of Alba's character, together with all that is related to the title, *El alba y el sol,* seem to be entirely the fruit of Vélez' art. Lope must have written his *El último Godo* between 1604 and the date of publication in 1617; but Vélez may have been acquainted with it prior to 1617, although it is possible that he was not led to imitate it until he saw it in print.

Nicolás Antonio in his *Bibliotheca nova* mentions a Latin tragedy in five acts by the Augustine friar, Manuel Rodríguez, entitled *Rodericus Fatalis* (Louvain, 1613); La Barrera lists a *burlesca inédita* by three *ingenios* (Francisco Antonio de Monteser, don Antonio de Solís, and don Diego de Silva), called *La Restauración de España;*[14] two other compositions are D. Juan Bautista Diamante's *El Restaurador de Asturias*[15] and an anonymous play with the title, *El Restaurador de España: Don Pelayo.*[16]

The popularity of this ancient patriotic theme continued to inspire many writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to

[14] He says of this work (p. 370): "representóse en el Retiro el día de San Juan de 1655." See also pp. 271, 376, and 577.

[15] Published as a *suelta,* Madrid, Antonio Sanz, without date of publication. An eighteenth-century manuscript copy of this play in the Biblioteca Nacional (MS 15805) fails to note the name of the author; it is almost the same as the work of the same title attributed to Diamante.

[16] Pérez Pastor in *Nuevos Datos,* 2a serie, p. 197, mentions a composition entitled *El Nacimiento de Pelayo,* which was played before the king and queen in the Retiro on July 12, 1662.

write compositions in verse and prose, but the authors are for the greater part forgotten and the rehearsal of their names is hardly justified.[17] From among them we select *Hormesinda,*[18] by Nicolás Fernández de Moratín (1770), *Pelayo,*[19] by the noted writer and statesman, Jovellanos, and *Pelayo,*[20] a pseudo-classic tragedy by the poet, Manuel José Quintana (1805).

[17] See Paz y Melia, *Cat.*, p. 16.

[18] Reprinted in the B.A.E., II.

[19] Written in 1769, revised in 1771–72.

[20] Reprinted in B.A.E., XIX.

[35]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

EL AMOR EN VIZCAÍNO, LOS ZELOS EN FRANCÉS, Y TORNEOS DE NAVARRA

COMPUESTA POR LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Gar. Estimo a Enrico mi tío;
que, para que tenga efeto
como los dos deseamos
el tratado casamiento

[LAST LINES]

Ber. Y aquí, discreto Senado,
se da al *Amor vizcaíno*
fin, y a *los Zelos* bastardos
en Francés, y por mí os pide
perdón de los yerros *Lauro*,
que por *verdadera historia*,
digna de tan grande aplauso,
de Salazar de Mendoza,
la ha trasladado al teatro.

First printed in *Parte diez y ocho de comedias nuevas, y escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1662); Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 5.) *Sueltas* in Schaeffer's library, XXXIII, and Bibl. Nac.

CHARACTERS

Carlos, delfín.	Filipo, infante de Francia.	Dominga.
Don García, rey de Navarra.	Estrella, infanta.	Vilhán, *gracioso*.
Elvira.	Bermudo.	Dos Soldados.
		Música.

ACTO I

Filipo, infante of France, comes to the court of Navarre to ask king García for the hand of his sister, the infanta Estrella, on behalf of his brother Carlos, the dauphin, but he falls in love with her himself, and she reciprocates his affection. Carlos, on his way to Pamplona accompanied by the *gracioso* Vilhán, meets Dominga, a Viscayan maid, to whom he makes violent love, but without success. He continues his journey and soon afterwards has a narrow

escape from Bermudo Tenorio and his followers, who take him and Vilhán for French spies.

Dominga learns that she is not the simple mountain maid she seems, but the daughter of Íñigo López Ezquerra, lord of Biscay, and Doña Sol, the sister of Ramiro, the late king of Navarre. Her father, wishing to marry again after the death of her mother, had hidden her away so that he might spread among the people the belief that his first marriage was without issue. However, his second wife, an infanta of Castile, bore him no children, and Dominga has therefore become, upon his death, his sole heir and the rightful mistress of Biscay. Bermudo recognizes her as such and has her crowned queen. Carlos and Vilhán, taken captive by the Biscayans, receive a hospitable welcome from Dominga, who refuses to believe that they are spies, especially as she has fallen in love with Carlos.

Acto II

Estrella confesses to her brother, King García, that she cannot marry Carlos, whom she does not love, but the king will not hear of her breaking her word. When urged to sign the contract, in the face of her brother's opposition, she erases the marriage agreement instead of putting her name thereto. Carlos promises Dominga that she shall be his queen, and on the strength of that promise she willingly yields herself to him; but on awakening from a deep slumber she misses him and, in order to regain her honor, determines to follow him to Navarre, whither he has fled.

Acto III

Dominga easily obtains the support of her followers, who, when they hear of the outrage inflicted upon her, agree to go in pursuit of her betrayer. On their way to Navarre they overtake and capture Vilhán, who, under compulsion, gives them information concerning the dauphin's whereabouts. They learn, too, that Filipo is to enter the lists that night as champion of Estrella's beauty, that the wedding of Carlos and Estrella is to follow the tournament, and that Carlos, jealous of his brother, plans to kill him and later to kill Estrella. At the celebrations of the approaching marriage at Pamplona, Carlos, in order to get proof of his jealous suspicions, asks Filipo and Estrella to discourse on love and jealousy as such a subject would be discussed in an academy. Their arguments con-

vince him that his suspicions were well founded, and he determines to be avenged.

The tournament takes place. Vilhán appears arrayed in outlandish fashion, enters the lists, and warns Filipo that his brother intends to kill him. Dominga next appears, defeats Filipo, and kills the dauphin. She then makes herself known to García, her cousin, and justifies her action. Estrella and Filipo are betrothed, and García asks the hand of Dominga, who, in accordance with the traditional code of honor, has, by her recourse to arms, restored her unsullied reputation.

IN THE CONCLUDING LINES of the play Vélez says he took his argument from Salazar de Mendoza. This statement need not be accepted without question. The story, as Vélez gives it, is not taken from any of Salazar de Mendoza's histories that have come down to us. Was Vélez acquainted with some history by this author, left perhaps in manuscript and now lost, which may have been the source of his argument? Or is the plot mainly of Vélez' own invention, interwoven with such historical facts as the playwright, with his customary poetic license, felt inclined to introduce? The second hypothesis seems the more probable, especially on reading certain passages in the *Monarquía de España*. In speaking of Íñigo Ezquerra, whom Vélez makes the father of Dominga, Salazar de Mendoza makes the following commentary:

> *D. Íñigo Ezquerra,* tercer Señor de *Viscaya,* es llamado asi, porque era *zurdo,* que eso quiere decir *Ezquerra* en lengua vascongada. No he podido hallar cosa cierta de su casamiento, aunque hay quien diga que casó con Infanta de Pamplona, hija del rey D. García. Dícese de él que ganó algunas tierras, y que las trocó con el Rey de León por las Encartaciones, y que las incorporó en el Señorío de *Viscaya,* y que tomó título de *Conde,* a mucha importunidad de los Vizcaynos. Tuvo por su hijo a *D. Lope Díaz,* que le sucedió.[1]

Another Íñigo Ezquerra is mentioned in the same chapter:

> *D. Íñigo* llamado *Ezquerra,* porque debió ser zurdo, o en memoria de su abuelo, o por ser bastardo, fué el sexto Señor de *Vizcaya* . . . Parece haver seguido a los Reyes de Navarra, y asistido en su Corte, porque se hallan confirmados de él algunos privilegios de los Reyes de aquel Reyno. Fué su hijo D. Lope, que le sucedió.[2]

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[1] Salazar de Mendoza, *Monarquía de España* (Madrid, 1770–71), I:210a (Book II, Title 7, Chapter VII).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 210a, b.

This was in the tenth century. There is no mention of a García of Navarre's marrying a noble lady of Biscay in that century. In *Libro* III, *Título* IX, *Capítulo* II, however, the following occurs:

> El rey D. *García* el séptimo se intituló *Rey de Vizcaya*, y creo debió ser la causa porque el Señorío de *Vizcaya* anduvo aliado con él, y porque le fué muy servidor y parcial D. Lope Díaz, Señor de Vizcaya, el que labró en la Pioja la Villa de Haro, de quien él y sus descendientes tomaron el apellido de *Haro*.
>
> El Título de *Francia*, de que usaron algunos Reyes de *Navarra*, fué porque Doña *Juana* Reyna propietaria de *Navarra* casó con Filipo IV el *Hermoso*, Rey de ambos Reynos.[3]

The passages cited above are the only references in the *Monarquía de España* which have any relation to the historical background of Vélez' drama. The anachronisms in the play need not trouble us; Vélez was often careless of historical accuracy.

A seventeenth-century manuscript copy of this play, No. 15218, in the Biblioteca Nacional, perhaps anterior to the first printed edition, does not cite Salazar de Mendoza as the author from whom the plot has been taken. This manuscript ends as follows:

> Y aquí, Discreto Senado,
> se da *Al Amor Vizcaíno*
> fin. Perdonad yerros tantos.

We may place the date of composition before 1637 inasmuch as Luis Quiñones de Benavente, in his *Loa con que empezaron Rueda y Ascanio* (1637–1638), makes the following allusion to Vélez' *comedia:*

> Que esta algarabía es,
> Por no entendido camino,
> "El Amor en vizcaíno,
> Y los celos en francés."[4]

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 398a.

[4] *Libros de Antaño* (Madrid, 1872), I:378. See Restori, *Piezas de Títulos de Comedias* (Messina, 1903), p. 124.

[36]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

EL ASSOMBRO DE TURQUÍA Y VALIENTE TOLEDANO

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Rib. Gracias a los Cielos doy
de que a Sicilia llegamos

[LAST LINES]

Rib. Y aquí el Poeta, señores,
a quanto supo en la historia
del Español Toledano
da fin, y humilde se postra
para alcanzar el perdón
a essas plantas generosas.

Several times printed as a *suelta*. One edition reads: (Hallaràse en Madrid, en Casa de Manuel Sanz, en la Calle Gorguera); s. a. Copy in Schaeffer's library, XXXIII. (Cotarelo 7.)

CHARACTERS

El general Francisco de Ribera.	El Duque de Osuna.	Leonor.
Don Félix, capitán.	Beltrán, lacayo.	Nise, criada.
Don Diego.	El Rey.	Rodolfo.
	Rosaura.	Soldados.

JORNADA I

D. Francisco de Ribera, a soldier with ebbing fortunes, comes to Sicily to offer his services to the viceroy, the duke of Osuna, in the hope of bettering them. Soon after his arrival, on hearing cries for help from a house near which he happens to be passing, he rushes in and puts to rout several men who are attacking a gentleman. The gentleman, as it happens, is the duke. He thanks Ribera, but for reasons best known to himself does not reveal his identity. This he is able to conceal because the young soldier apparently did not see the nobleman's face. Ribera, on his part, does not wish the man whom he has helped to feel indebted to him and therefore refuses to tell his name. He does tell the gentleman, however, that he is from Toledo and has come to Sicily to serve the duke of Osuna.

Whereupon the gentleman hands him a ring, saying that it will be of service if presented to the duke when he first seeks audience with him.

Returning to his lodgings, Ribera is surprised to find them occupied by a lady whom his servant Beltrán has but recently conducted thither. This lady, Rosaura, is responsible for the disturbance in which Ribera has just participated. According to her story, her lover, Don Felix de Mendoza, had been surprised in her house by her brother, Don Diego. The brother immediately attacked Don Felix, and, it was believed, met death at Felix's hands. Rosaura upheld her lover's cause, whereupon the servants rose up against her. At that inopportune moment the duke entered the house. Rosaura, not wishing the duke to recognize Don Felix, put out the lights and made her escape with the idea of seeking the aid of the first man she might encounter; this proved to be Beltrán, and he conducted her to Ribera's lodgings. Ribera returns with her to her house and is there met by Felix, who tells Ribera that he is making off in order to escape recognition; Rosaura concludes her story, and he offers to conduct her to the church where her lover has sought refuge.

Fate wills, however, that the lovers shall not meet, for Felix, by the following morning, has heard and seen nothing of Rosaura since her disappearance the preceding day. Word has reached him, however, that Don Diego is not dead. That same morning Ribera seeks audience with the duke, presents his ring, recounts his life's history, and is rewarded by being given the command of a ship.

Jornada II

Some time has elapsed. Rosaura, who is in hiding in Naples (at the house of Leonor, a cousin of Felix), receives a visit from him and learns that her brother is seeking her out with intent to kill her. While they are talking, Don Diego in person gains entrance into the house. The ladies discreetly retire, and Felix learns from Diego that he wishes to meet him to discuss an affair of honor.

Meanwhile, Ribera has won several naval victories and on his return to Naples is rewarded by being created Admiral of the Seas.

When Felix keeps his appointment with Diego, he learns to his surprise and astonishment that Diego is seeking to avenge himself on Ribera, whom he mistakes for Rosaura's lover. Soon afterwards,

Rosaura, heavily veiled, enters Ribera's house to ask his aid in behalf of her lover, whom she fears her brother will kill. Diego sees her enter the house and rushes in to demand satisfaction of Ribera. Felix follows him, and takes advantage of his mistake to shield himself. However, he tells Diego that he may have been mistaken in thinking it was Rosaura who entered the house (Ribera has had her conducted from the house by another door) and evades the questions of the perplexed and astonished Ribera by saying that they will discuss the matter later at the duke's house.

Jornada III

Diego gets a clue to Felix's treacherous duplicity when, on a visit at Leonor's, they each receive letters from him which he has, by mistake, put in the wrong envelopes. Ribera returns to Naples after another victorious campaign against the Turks, and is given the habit of Santiago. By order of the viceroy he leaves at once to meet the king at Cadiz, and Felix accompanies him. Rosaura, on learning of the departure of her lover without his taking leave of her, thinks that he has deserted her and determines to follow him. As she and Leonor are about to start, they encounter Diego, who attempts to take his sister's life. She throws herself at his feet, confesses who her lover is, and tells of her determination to follow him to Cadiz. Diego pardons her and says he will accompany her.

Ribera meets the king at Cadiz, recounts his exploits, and is appointed general of the armada at Dunkirk. Diego, Rosaura, and Leonor appear. Diego demands satisfaction of Felix, who promises to marry Rosaura and offers Diego the hand of Leonor.

The play opens promisingly, with fire and spirit, but the last two acts drag perceptibly in comparison with the first. Ribera's long accounts of his many exploits are wearisome and have no connection with the plot. Indeed, the play would have greater unity were they left out entirely. The title is misleading. Our interest in Ribera is only secondary; any name but his would serve better because any of the others has more connection with the main plot.

El assombro de Turquía y valiente Toledano was in all probability written before 1621,[1] the date of the fall from power of Pedro

[1] Cotarelo y Mori dates it later: "Fué escrita en 1624 o muy poco después" (*Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, IV [1917]: 273).

Téllez Girón, duke of Osuna, as viceroy of Naples and Sicily, to judge from the many praises of him which appear in the play, and which read as if they were directed to a person then in power.

The main argument of the play is, of course, *novelesco*. The part dealing with Ribera's exploits, and especially with his great naval victory over the Turks in July, 1616,[2] was recorded by contemporary historians and may also have been known to Vélez from oral report. A copy (not autograph) of Ribera's own account of the battle in a letter written to the duke of Osuna soon afterward is preserved in a codex of the Biblioteca Nacional, manuscript No. 9442.

That Vélez was well informed of the details of the combat is shown by the account of the whole proceedings which he has Ribera recite to the king (Act III).

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[2] *Dichos y hechos de el Señor Rey D. Phelipe,* por el licenciado Baltasar Porreño (first edition, Cuenca, 1621). *Memorias para la Historia de Don Phelipe* III, por Juan Yáñez (Madrid, 1723); *Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Gran Monarcha Amado, y Santo Rey Don Phelipe III de este Nombre,* MS 6934, Biblioteca Nacional, fols. 326–329b, por Gil González Dávila, printed in three vols. (Madrid, 1771); and, by the same author, *Teatro de las Grandezas de Madrid Corte de los Reyes de España* (Madrid, 1623), fols. 73–77.

[37]

ATILA AZOTE DE DIOS

COMEDIA FAMOSA

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Atil. Svene la bastarda trompa,
rebiente el bélico parche.

[LAST LINES]

Y aquí, Senado dichoso,
acaba el fin afligido
de *Atila, azote de Dios,*
y del Papa perseguido.

Printed in two *sueltas* undated: "con licencia; en Sevilla, por Lucas Martínez Hermosilla, Impressor y Mercader de Libros, en calle de Génova donde se hallarán otras diferentes comedias"; also: en Sevilla, Joseph Padrino. Bibl. Nac.; *suelta,* Schaeffer, XXXIII. La Barrera, *Cat.,* 529b, gives as subtitle of the play, *la silla de San Pedro.* (Cotarelo 8.)

CHARACTERS

Atila.	El papa.	Anselmo, sacerdote.
Leoncio.	El rey de España.	Marcelo, romano.
Sidomira.	El rey de Francia.	Duque de Ferrera (*sic*).
Alarico.	El emperador.	Federico.
Claudio.	El rey de Inglaterra.	Rufino.
Teodoro.	Camilo, villano.	Niño Jesús.

JORNADA I

Attila, king of the Goths, while marching victoriously on Rome has had a dream which causes him much anxiety. In his dream he saw three beautiful golden lilies and five roses which he wished to get for his mistress, Sidomira; but he is prevented from plucking them by a lion crowned with three crowns, aided by a young whelp and an eagle. The struggle ends with his kissing the feet of the lion, which he had previously wounded. Sidomira, on hearing of his dream, explains away his fears by interpreting it as a symbol of his efforts to conquer her love and her defense of her honor. The golden lilies symbolized her hair, the roses her cheeks, the lion was herself, the cub her honor, and the eagle his imperial word.

A different interpretation, however, is given him by Anselmo, a hermit, who has just been taken captive by some of Attila's men. The lilies are the emblem of France, the roses of England—countries that Attila wishes to conquer. The pope with his triple tiara (the lion with the three crowns) comes out against him, helped by the whelp (Spain) and the eagle (Germany). Attila will cause suffering to the papacy, but will end by kissing the pope's feet in sign of subjection, and this Anselmo interprets as symbolic of his embracing Christianity. Attila thereupon asks for an image of the Christ, and the crucifix which Anselmo gives him so pleases him that he has it placed among the other images of his pantheon.

Jornada II

Alfonso, the young king of Spain, and Valerio, the young emperor of Germany, fall into Attila's hands. Attila swears that, unless the pope come to him on bended knee and deliver Rome into his hands, both captives shall die. He wishes to send someone to inform the pope of his resolution and yields to Alfonso's strategic suggestion that the German emperor (whom Alfonso calls his servant) be sent as messenger. Once Valerio is safe, Alfonso confesses to Attila who his so-called servant really is. Attila, when he hears this, is torn between conflicting emotions of admiration for the young Spaniard's valor, and rage at being outwitted. However, he tells him to be off immediately, but to beware of falling into his hands again as he will not be so generous as to pardon him a second time.

Sidomira is displeased at her lord's change of policy and attributes it all to his having the Christ among his other gods. Therefore she goes to desecrate the image, but it bleeds, and at this she becomes a convert to the new faith. She, too, seeks out the hermit Anselmo, whom she begs to instruct her in the Christian faith and to give her baptism, as she has resolved to live the life of a recluse, away from all worldly splendor, in penitence for her past life.

Jornada III

Attila, hearing of her conversion, seeks her out and begs her to return with him to the old life. She refuses, and he, half-mad with rage, jealousy, and despair, orders both her and Anselmo to be crucified.

Attila now lays siege to Rome, with the result that the pope consents to yield if he will promise not to harm the inhabitants of the sacred edifices. Attila refuses and commands that the attack be renewed, whereupon Saint Peter and Saint Paul appear to him in a vision and bid him do no harm to Rome. The vision, needless to say, has the desired effect, and Attila gives orders to raise the siege. His general, Leoncio, attributes this action to cowardice and determines to give him poison.

While the pope is recounting the recent miracle to the Christian sovereigns assembled at Rome, news is brought to him that Attila, having been given poison by his general, is fighting his way through his mutinous army on his way to Rome. Hardly has the messenger concluded when Attila, wounded and half-naked because of his recent struggle, and nearly dead from the effects of the poison, enters and falls in submission at the feet of the pope—conquered, it is true, but unconverted, as his last words are a torrent of blasphemies against Him who is responsible for his defeat.

ATILA, AZOTE DE DIOS is a play full of dramatic action, vigorous and spirited in tone, but abounding in rhetorical outbursts not always free from bombast. Although verging on melodrama, it is saved from the commonplace and banal by several passages of true poetic merit, together with an admirable delineation of the character of the protagonist. The *comedia* may be placed among those most typical of our author in the heroic manner.

Vélez may have found his material in one of the chronicles, epitomes, or lives of the pontiffs, in Latin and Spanish, which were current in his day. The following extract from Philipp Bergomas' *Supplementum Chronicorum* is representative of what is found in the majority of these compilations:

Attila igitur Hunnorum rex hoc anno (450) . . . in Aquileiam se recepit quam cum per triennium obsedisset et pugnasset, tandem multis machinis concussam, coepit, diripuit, atque incendit, qui nulli hominum parcens, flagellum dei nominavitur. Inde ruptis claustris per totam Italiam se effudit, et urbes omnes occupans, . . . multas strages dedit. Hinc per Ethruriae urbes id ipsum peregit malum . . . Iturus postremo Roman, ut id ipsum faceret, Leo pontifex Italiae et urbis Romanae calamitatis miseratus, Valentinianum principem etiam hortatus est post aliquot dies eo in loco, ubi Mintius fluvius Padum influit uenit, et ei obuiam factus persuasit, ne ultra progrederetur, qui statim pontifici paruit, unde non solum Romanam, sed etiam totius Italiae

reportauit salutem, mirantibus uero Barbaris cur sic contra omnem eius consuetidinem Attila pontificem ueneratus fuisset, Attila respondit quod dum simul loquerentur, duos se uidisse uiros supra caput suum strictos tenere gladios, ac mortem minitantes, nisi pontifici parceret. Hi namque Petrus et Paulus apostoli fuere, inde statim mouens, Pamnonias repetiit, et in Noricum ubi nunc Bauaria et Austria est, resedit, ibique a suis militibus paulopost multis vulneribus confossus, interiit. Alibi tamen habetur quod proprio sanguine suffocatus fuerit; hic multas uno tempore habuit uxores, inter quas celebris erat Idicon speciosissima mulierum, cum quadam aliquando dormiret, sanguine effuso suffocatus est.[1]

Similar accounts are found in Alfonsus Ciaconius' *Vitae et gesta omnia summorum Pontificum Romanorum a D. Petro usque ad Clementem VIII, etc.* (2 vols., Rome, 1601, and in subsequent enlarged editions) and in Gonzalo de Illescas' *Primera Parte de la Historia Pontifical y Catholica* (Dueñas, 1565; see *Life of Pope Leo I* in each reference).

In Juan Antonio de Tapia y Robles' *Ilustración del Renombre de Grande,* we have a short account of the meeting between Pope Leo I and Attila, which resembles Vélez' version:

I en el año decimotercio de su Pontificado, assaltando el cruel Atila a Italia, quemando a Aquileya . . . assolando a Pavía, i a Milán, mereciendo sus crueldades el Renombre de Açote de Dios, i amenaçando a Roma, salió León contra Atila (a imitación del Pontífice Hebreo contra Alexandro) i siendo todo su exército sola su persona, sus insignias las armas, la defensa su pecho: con su presencia enfrenó el Bárbaro su orgullo, rindió sus huestes, i prostrado le besó las plantas. Mas ¿qué mucho, si al lado de León vió a San Pedro, i San Pablo, desnudas las espadas, que defendiéndole al Pontífice la vida, amenaçavan al Tirano la muerte?[2]

As for Cristóbal de Virués' tragedy entitled, *Atila furioso,*[3] there is little indication that Vélez was indebted to it. The argument is not the same as in Vélez' play.[4] It is quite possible that our

[1] *Supplementum Chronicorum, omnes fere historias quae ab orbe condito hactenus gestae sunt, iucunda admodum dicendi breuitate complectens, etc.: primum quidem a venerando patre Iacobo Philippo Bergomate ordinem Eremitarum professo conscriptum, etc., Parisiis, MDXXXV,* fols. 221b–222a.

[2] *Ilustración del Renombre de Grande. Principio, Grandeza y Etimología. Pontífices, Santos, Emperadores, Reyes, y Varones Ilustres, que le merecieron en la voz pública de los hombres,* por el Ldo. Don Ivan Antonio de Tapia i Robles. Con Privilegio. En Madrid. En la Imprenta de Francisco Martínez, 1638. *Elogio II; San León I el Grande, Pontífice,* fols. 19–20.

[3] See *Obras Trágicas y Líricas* (Madrid, Alonso Martín, 1609), fols. 84–120.

[4] See Leandro de Moratín; "*Orígenes del Teatro español,*" in B.A.E., II: 215b–216a, for an outline and criticism of this play; also *Jahrbuch f. rom. und engl. Lit.,* II:139–163 (1860); and Cecilia V. Sargent, *A Study of the Dramatic Works of Cristóbal de Virués* (New York, 1930).

author may have adopted from Virués the incident relating to the cause of Attila's death. In the *Atila furioso* the protagonist dies from drinking poison given him by one Flammia, a jealous captive. If Vélez has borrowed this incident from Virués, we have seen from the outline given above how he has modified it. It is interesting to note that Virués places in the mouth of one of his characters, Xanto, the following reference to Attila's encounter with the apostles, Peter and Paul (Jornada III):

i, ¿qué fuera de ti, famosa Roma, si cuando tu Leon salio llorando a pedir paz a este Leon sangriento la vision milagrosa de los viejos tus patronos no viera Pedro i Pablo? i ¿qué pensavas que de aquí adelante hazer pensava *este furioso açote de Dios*, si esta furiosa muerte aora no le matara aquella su insaciable sed de verter umana sangre tanta que corrieran mil rios por la tierra cuales los que corrieron en Tolosa?

Medel (*Indice general*) lists an anonymous *Atila furioso*. Is this possibly a reprint of Virués' tragedy?

[38]

COMEDIA FAMOSA TITULADA

LOS ZELOS HASTA LOS CIELOS Y DESDICHADA ESTEFANÍA

COMPUESTA POR LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Con. ¿Qué hermosa nevada mano
es la que en aquel balcón
hace sola ostentación
de su dueño soberano?

[LAST LINES]

d. Sanch. A esta parte dando fin
y prometiendo segunda
los Zelos hasta los Cielos,
que los rayos del Sol turban.

Printed as a *suelta* in the seventeenth (s.a.) and eighteenth centuries (1745); Brit. Mus., and Schaeffer, XXXIII. (Cotarelo 15.)

CHARACTERS

El emperador don Alonso VIII.	Fernán Ruiz de Castro.
Don Sancho, príncipe de Castilla.	El conde don Vela.
Blanca, princesa de Castilla.	Ximen, criado.
Estefanía, hija del emperador.	Ordoño.
Fortuna, dama.	Mudarra.
El almirante de Castilla.	Lebrel, *gracioso.*
El condestable de Castilla.	Acompañamiento.

JORNADA I

Fernán Ruiz de Castro and the count D. Vela quarrel over a portrait of the infanta Doña Estefanía. The count tears the portrait in two, and each seizes a half. The scuffle is ended by the intervention of the infante D. Sancho el Deseado, who takes the picture and gives orders that the combatants be imprisoned. The count vows that he will be avenged on his rival.

The emperor Alfonso VII (called Alonso VIII by Vélez) enters to inquire the cause of the recent disturbance, and is shocked to discover that the picture is a likeness of his daughter, Estefanía. He resolves to keep the affair quiet, lest her honor be discredited. In

the meantime the emperor has received news for his son. The son's betrothed, the infanta Blanca, is on her way to Toledo, where the wedding is to take place. The sovereign suggests that Estefanía be married at the same time. She appears and is questioned by her father about the portrait. He adds that Estefanía must marry in order to satisfy his ideas of honor and asks her to choose between Fernán Ruiz and the count D. Vela. Estefanía elects the former, greatly to the relief of her maid Fortuna, who is secretly in love with the count.

On the arrival of Blanca at Toledo, the hand of Estefanía is bestowed upon Fernán Ruiz, whereat D. Vela is overcome with jealousy, and his remark explains the title:

> Todo es golfo para mí,
> nada es puerto, todo es playa,
> y llegan de mis sentidos,
> desecho el remo, y las xarcias,
> *mis zelos hasta los Cielos,*
> en la tormenta del alma.

Jornada II

D. Vela, who has been absent from the court, learns of the bad omens which attended the marriage of Fernán Ruiz de Castro and Estefanía, of the happiness of the couple, and of the birth of a son to them. On meeting Estefanía, the count declares his love for her, but she rebukes him severely for this affront. Presently Fortuna presents him with a ring of Estefanía's, saying that her mistress feigned anger at his declaration of love, and that the ring is an assurance of her good faith. D. Vela learns that Fernán Ruiz is about to leave on an expedition against the Moors. Fortuna, who has stolen the ring from her mistress, hopes thereby to carry on an intrigue with the count in which she will assume the rôle of Estefanía. Estafanía is distraught at the loss of her ring, which Fernán Ruiz, about to leave for the war, discovers on the count's finger.

Jornada III

On Fernán Ruiz' return from the war he learns from his servants that Estefanía has been guilty of infidelity. She, it seems, has met on several nights a man who entered her garden. Fernán Ruiz remembers having seen his betrothal ring on the count's finger, and naturally suspects him of being the culprit.

In his troubled state of mind he meets his wife, who is wounded by his coldness toward her. Estefanía retires for the night, while Fortuna, who has been impersonating her mistress, prepares once more to meet the count. Fernán Ruiz hides in the garden to await developments. When D. Vela comes to meet the fictitious Estefanía, Ruiz attacks and slays him, recovers his ring, and throws the body into a pond. He then pursues his wife (as he thinks), who has fled the scene in terror. Arriving at his bedchamber, he finds Estefanía sleeping, and plunges the sword into her breast. Fortuna comes forth, confesses her guilt, and hurls herself from a balcony into the Tagus. Estefanía expires in the arms of her grief-stricken husband, who, on the entrance of the emperor, surrenders himself to justice.

WE HAVE SEEN that the last verses promise a second part. The story of Fernán Ruiz de Castro and his wife Estefanía[1] is found in Prudencio de Sandoval's *Crónica del ínclito emperador de España D. Alonso VII* (1600), and in Juan Arze Solórzano's *Tragedias de Amor* (1604). Lope's *La desdichada Estefanía*[2] is on the same theme, and Vélez' *Los celos hasta los cielos* seems to be a revision of Lope's drama.

The same theme has received poetic treatments by Padre Juan Arolas in his legend *Fernán Ruiz de Castro,*[3] and by D. Ramón Campoamor[4] in one of the *episodios* of *El Drama Universal.*

[1] The earliest known account is in the *Nobiliario,* attributed to Count Pedro de Barcellos, commonly called *O Livro das Linhagens do conde D. Pedro,* first published by J. B. Lavanha, Rome, 1640; there is a Spanish version by M. de Faria e Sousa, Madrid, 1646, published by Alejandro Herculano in *Portugalliae Monumenta Historica, Scriptores,* 1, 266. *Olissipone, typis academicis,* 1860. See A. Herculano: *Memoria sobre a origem provavel dos Livros de Linhagens* in *Memorias da Academia Real das Scienças de Lisboa, Nova Serie,* Vol. I, Part I (Lisbon, 1854); Padre Flórez in *Memorias de las Reynas Cathólicas* (Madrid, Antonio Marín, 1761), I:301–303, has a version of the story taken from the Spanish translation of the *Nobiliario.*

[2] First printed in Part XII of Lope's *Comedias* (1619). Also included in *Doze Comedias Nuevas de Lope y Otros* (Barcelona, 1630), together with its second part, *El pleito por la honra, o el valor de Fernandico.* Printed in *Acad.,* VIII, with an excellent study by Menéndez y Pelayo (pp. lxxviff.) included in his *Estudios, etc.,* IV:78ff. Mesonero Romanos, B.A.E., XLV, Intro., p. xiii, confuses this play with that by Vélez. Maggs, of London, *Catalogue No. 555,* lists as in their possession Lope's autograph of this play.

[3] *Poesías caballerescas y orientales* (Valencia, Imprenta de Cabrerizo, 1840), pp. 73–85. It is based on Sandoval's account; also *Clásicos castellanos,* XCV (1928):109.

[4] *Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro:* see *Obras completas* (Madrid, 1903), VII: 407–416; also *Clásicos castellanos,* XL (1921):183.

A play designated by the name, *La Bella Estefanía,* is known to have been performed by Antonio Granados at Madrid shortly before July 25, 1626. It is not clear whether this was Lope's *La desdichada Estefanía,* Vélez' *Los Celos hasta los cielos, y desdichada Estefanía,* or an entirely different play.[5]

[5] See Rennert, *op. cit.* ("Notes, etc."), II (1906–07), p. 334.

[39]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

EL CERCO DE ROMA POR EL REY DESIDERIO

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Desi. Sobervios muros de Roma,
arruinados y desechos

[LAST LINES]

Tus alabanzas te alaben,
pues aquí acaba la Historia.

Printed often as a *suelta;* the oldest of the seventeenth century bears neither place nor date; the earliest dated reads: "Hallaràse esta Comedia, y otras de diferentes Títulos, en Madrid, en la Imprenta de la calle de la Paz. Año de 1728." Schaeffer, XXXIII, *suelta.* (Cotarelo 16.)

CHARACTERS

El rey Desiderio.	Roldán.	San Pedro.
Leoncio, cardenal.	Reynaldos.	Un alférez.
Valeriana, su hermana.	Iñigo Arista.	Dos moros.
Un Capitán, moro.	Bernardo del Carpio.	Dos soldados.
Carlo Magno.	Adrián, pontífice.	Cuatro cardenales.

JORNADA I

The barbarian king, Desiderio, challenges the strength of Rome. He boasts of his cruelty and of the fact that he is the scourge of the Christians. Leoncio, a Roman cardinal, comes as the pope's ambassador to reach an understanding with him. Both are proud and they begin to quarrel. In the end Desiderio has Leoncio taken captive, thereby violating the right of ambassadors to immunity. The cardinal's sister, Valeriana, from the walls of Rome sees all that has taken place and treats with Desiderio for her brother's ransom.

Desiderio falls asleep and dreams that Charlemagne and Bernardo del Carpio have reached Rome. His dream comes true, for Charlemagne and Bernardo before long arrive independently at the ancient city. Charlemagne's men desire to win the sole honor of conquering the besieger of Rome, but Charlemagne is not averse

to having the Spaniards as allies. Bernardo, however, seeks all the glory for himself. Charlemagne, desiring to proceed unmolested, appeals to Saint Peter not to abandon him. The saint appears to him in a vision, promises victory, and bestows upon him five lilies to blazon on the escutcheon of France. He also reveals that he will place Leoncio on the pontifical throne.

JORNADA II

Leoncio, a captive of Desiderio, is discovered by Charlemagne bound to a tree with iron chains, which Charlemagne tries in vain to break. The feat is accomplished only by Iñigo Arista in a test of strength which earns for him the escutcheon of a noble and the title of king of Navarre. In a battle Pope Adrian, mortally wounded, requests of Charlemagne that Leoncio be appointed his successor. Leoncio and Iñigo Arista, having been taken prisoners, are forced to serve as grooms in the king's stable. By strategy, each obtains permission to wear his armor. The cry to arms is suddenly heard, and Leoncio leaves the camp, armed, and on Desiderio's own horse.

JORNADA III

Valeriana, who has fallen in love with Iñigo Arista, has a dream in which is depicted the future glory of the long line of his and her descendants. The Christian and pagan forces meet for the last time in combat. Desiderio, mortally wounded, hopes to receive his death blow from Bernardo, who finds him, admires his courage, and rejoices to hear that he wishes to be baptized. A fountain appears miraculously, and Desiderio's request is granted shortly before he expires. Leoncio is crowned pope (Leo III), Charlemagne is created Holy Roman Emperor, and Iñigo Arista is confirmed in his title of king of Navarre, and given Valeriana to wife.

THE PLAY IS VERY RHETORICAL, but is full of stirring action and vivid scenes. The characters are well drawn, forceful, and heroic. Vélez reveals his love for the spectacular in the three visions witnessed by Desiderio, Charlemagne, and Valeriana, respectively, in Leoncio's escape from Desiderio's camp, and in the miraculous appearance of a fountain when Desiderio expresses his wish to be baptized. The play throughout lauds Bernardo del Carpio and especially Iñigo Arista, reputed ancestor of the noble family of Zúñiga and the dukes of Béjar.

The facts about Desiderius, who became the last king of the Lombards in 756, were easily accessible to our author in the numerous chronicles, lives of the pontiffs, etc., in both Latin and Spanish, which were current in his time. Desiderius came into opposition with the papacy in seeking to extend the Lombard kingdom in Italy. About 773 the new pope, Hadrian I, implored the aid of Charlemagne against him. Charlemagne besieged Desiderius in his capital of Pavia in 774, took the town, banished that king to Corbie in France, and united the Lombard kingdom with his other Frankish possessions.[1]

[1] Cf. Caesar Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, XIII (1868):70–94; Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, trans. by W. D. Foulke (Philadelphia, 1907), pp. 312–314; Erchemberti, "Historia Langobardorum," *in* Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris), CXXIX (1879):746–747; Anastasius, "Historia de Vitis Romanorum Pontificum," *in* Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXXVIII:1166–1182.

[40]

EL CONDE DON SANCHO NIÑO

COMEDIA FAMOSA

[DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA]

[FIRST LINES]

Sol. Miente quien ha publicado,
doña Leonor, que ay amor;
que ha sido vn común error
en que los hombres han dado.

[LAST LINES]

Rey. Quitadle a Ximen la espada
y retiradle. Aquí *Lauro*
pide perdón de las faltas,
y la historia verdadera
por *el Conde Niño* acaba.

Known only as a *suelta,* without place or date; very rare; copies preserved in Bibl. Palat. Parma and Bibl. Nat. Paris; unknown to Cotarelo (19), Durán's copy having disappeared from the Bibl. Nac. Attributed to Don Pedro Calderón.

CHARACTERS

La infanta Doña Sol.	Don Ximen.
Doña Leonor de Peralta.	El conde.
El rey.	Vn músico.
Luquete, *gracioso.*	Soldados.

JORNADA PRIMERA

Doña Sol and Doña Leonor enter discussing the problem of love and jealousy, an old theme much in vogue at the close of the sixteenth and in the early seventeenth century, with its indebtedness to Aristotelian tidbits and especially to *Los Tres Diálogos de Amor,* of León Hebreo. The profound scorn which Sol displays for all men was an attitude popular on the stage and was therefore much used by playwrights; Moreto's *El Desdén con el Desdén* is the best known example. In her aversion to men and the married state, Sol resembles other superwomen (for whose depiction Vélez had a predilection); her characteristic pastime is the chase.

Finding Leonor alone, King García tells her of his love, but she spurns him with a lofty bit of sentiment—which in some variant form or other can be found in other playwrights.

Que yo, aunque de amor la ley
me puede obligar a amor,
para Reyna soy mejor
que para dama de vn Rey.

Leonor reappears with Sol, who is about to go out to hunt the wild boar. Ximen announces the arrival of the victorious Count Niño, who enters dressed in mourning, first gives the king a report of his victory over the Moors under Marsilio, king of Saragossa, and then explains how, upon his return to his home, he learned of the sudden death of his wife Blanca, turning to grief and bitterness the exultation of victory. Sol, deeply impressed by the count's narrative, renounces the pleasures of the chase and withdraws, confessing that love and fidelity may be found, after all, and that jealousy is a possible factor in both.

JORNADA SEGUNDA

An indefinite time seems to have passed. Sol and Leonor again broach the subject of the nature of love and jealousy, but Sol, deeply affected by the sterling character and integrity of Count Niño, now looks at both from a different angle. She shows, by her disconnected speech and her erratic commands, that her mind is distracted by unusual thoughts. In order to recover her former freedom, she determines to marry Leonor to Count Niño. The count appears in gallant array and begs for an interview with Sol. About to set out on a mission to Burgos to negotiate the marriage of Sol to the king of Castile, he desires to convince her of the expediency of this step. Sol, however, displays violent opposition to any such scheme, and the count attempts to appeal to her duty to her royal brother's will. He paints the advantages to be derived from her position as queen of Castile, but Sol replies that only her body would depart, her soul would remain in Navarre. This dialogue, in which each gradually becomes conscious of the other's love, is subtly constructed and has little of the artifice of such scenes.

As a result Leonor finds the count blind to her infatuation for him, but the king, who enters at this point speaks to her again of his own passion. Leonor, piqued and angry, bids him never again to revert to the subject. Ximen hastily brings to the king news of a sudden illness on the part of Sol, owing, apparently, to her prospective marriage to Castile's king. Her attendants bring her forth, she bemoans her fate, and, as she seems to the king to be speaking

irrationally, he bids Ximen call Niño back and orders the attendants to summon a physician. Upon the return of the count, Sol recovers her equilibrium, and bids him remain and wait upon her. Luquete congratulates her on her recovery, and she withdraws, leaving Leonor amazed and a prey to feelings of jealousy.

JORNADA TERCERA

King García, Count Niño, and Ximen enter discussing the means of explaining to the king of Castile Sol's withdrawal from the proposed marriage. Ximen, who has become envious of Niño's advancement, informs the king of Niño's love for Sol and hands him a letter written by the infanta to the count. The king, in anger, decrees that the count shall die in a tourney about to be held, and that Sol's fate shall be decided thereafter. A popular ballad sung for Sol's pleasure by her musician is heard:

Leuantóse el conde Niño
la mañana de San Juan
para bañar su cauallo
a las orillas del mar.
Tan dulcemente a la orilla
el conde cantando está,
que piensan todos que canta
la sirena de la mar.
A la voz del conde Sol
sus soles al sueño da.

The king remarks, ironically, that Sol had better reserve her pleasures for the joust of which the presiding officer (*mantenedor*) is the count, and he goes off with the meaningful words:

Huélgate mucho, mas mira,
Sol...
Sol. ¿No proseguís? Hablad.
Rey. Que la fiesta del plazer
es víspera del pesar.

The count hears from Leonor of the letter intended for him, and Sol infers that it must have fallen into the hands of the king to the certain discomfiture of the lovers.

The count is commanded by the king to await him in the palace, which disturbs him, as he is expected at the tourney. Ximen enters with the guards and pronounces the count a prisoner, but Niño refuses to surrender his sword to one of inferior station, and Ximen orders the guard to kill the count. They are about to fall upon him when Sol enters, and snatching a sword from a soldier she places herself at the count's side. Ximen falls as the king enters. Sol explains that he has met a deserved fate and that she herself had a hand in it. She furthermore pleads her great love for the count,

and when the count offers his head to the king in redress, García pardons him, bestows upon him the hand of the infanta, and, for himself, makes Leonor his queen.

THIS DRAMA, the attenuated plot of which Vélez calls *historia verdadera,* appears to be wholly unknown. Of the characters, Don García, king of Navarre, and Ximen appear also in *Los fijos de la Barbuda,* and therefore lead us to infer that the period intended is that of a medieval, semilegendary Spain, when the various monarchies of the Peninsula were still in the making, and battles with the Saracens were frequent. This accounts for the presence of Marsilio, king of Saragossa, in *la Barbuda* and his mention in our play as the commander of the forces defeated by Count Niño. The name of García of Navarre is historical, but that of Marsilio is legendary, immortalized, however, because of the part which he plays in the *Chanson de Roland.* From the *Chronicle* of Turpin he made his way into medieval and Renaissance epic and prose fiction and Vélez could have read all about him in the accounts of the ancient kings, in the story of Roncesvalles, and the like. He may also have been influenced by some of the plays of Lope upon similar themes. It is all too mythical and *novelesco* to require precision.

The play is quite typical of our author's dramatic manner. The attribution to Calderón at the top of the page carries less weight than the incorporation of Vélez' poetic signature *Lauro* in the text. It has never been included among the authentic plays of Calderón, either by himself or by any of his editors or critics. La Barrera, without stating where he saw it, says it was already in print in 1672,[1] but he ascribes it to Vélez. Neither Schmidt, Günthner, nor Breymann lists such a title. Moreover, the fact that Sancho Niño is represented as of the Guevara family with the title of count of Oñate, which later became the seat of the noble family of los Vélez de Guevara (the name assumed by Vélez himself), leaves little doubt that the *Lauro* signature gives us the correct ascription. In calling his fictitious hero Sancho Niño, did Vélez also have in mind such a well-known name of his own day as D. Fernando Niño de Guevara, archbishop of Seville, predecessor of his own employer, D. Rodrigo de Castro, and connected with the literary history of his friend, one Miguel de Cervantes?

[1] Vélez uses the phrase *del Rey abajo ninguno:* does this allude to the play of Rojas? If so, was his own composition written shortly before 1644?

[41]

LA CONQVISTA DE ORÁN

Comedia Famosa de Lvis Vélez de Gvebara

[FIRST LINES]

Bel. Como mi amor se promete,
sea de tan larga ausencia

[LAST LINES]

Cen. Aquí pidiendo, Senado,
perdón de lo que faltare,
el segundo Iosué,
y Orán Bautizado acabe.

First known impression: *Parte treinta y cinco. Comedias nuevas, escritas por los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1671); Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 20.)

Characters

La reina doña Isabel.
Fray Francisco Ximénez.
Fray Olofernes, motilón.
El marqués del Zenete.
Velasquillo, *gracioso.*
Doña Ana de Guzmán.
Doña Elvira de Mendoza.
Doña Urraca de la Cerda.
El marqués don Gutierre.
El conde D. Pedro Navarro.
El capitán de la Guarda.
Don Luis Manrique.
Benzayde Abenzanex, Alcaide de Orán.
Celín, moro.
Un cautivo.

Jornada I

The marqués del Zenete, on returning from Andalusia to Madrid, learns that Doña Ana de Guzmán, to whom he had paid court, has, in his absence, encouraged the attentions of the marqués D. Gutierre. Doña Ana appears on a balcony and lets fall a glove, which Zenete picks up. D. Gutierre, who has witnessed the action, requests Zenete to give him the glove in order that he may return it to Doña Ana. Zenete refuses, and the two are about to quarrel over the incident when Queen Isabella appears unexpectedly, has D. Gutierre arrested, and interrogates Zenete about the state of affairs in Andalusia. He tells her that Orán is in sore straits owing to the repeated attacks of Moorish pirates. Having obtained this information, Isabella has both Zenete and Doña Ana imprisoned until she can ascertain the true cause of the altercation between the two

men. Soon afterwards the queen welcomes Fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, who comes to the court to be her confessor.

Jornada II

In spite of the protests of Olofernes, a lay brother, Fray Francisco persists in living in a humble way at court. Olofernes desires ease, comfort, and honor, but Cisneros will have none of these. Meanwhile, Doña Ana has revived her love for Zenete, chiefly because she fancies herself despised by him.

Isabella offers the archbishopric of Toledo to Cisneros (Fray Francisco), which he refuses because he does not covet worldly honors. He even flees the court in company with the protesting Olofernes, but is overtaken in a hermitage by the court messengers, who give him a papal bull compelling him to accept the office.

Jornada III

Bençayde Abençanex, the Moorish alcaide of Orán, receives warning that a great Christian armada is coming against his city. A Christian captive gives him the same information, showing him a portrait of Cisneros (reported to be the commander of the armada), which the alcaide recognizes as that of a man seen in dreams, who bids him surrender Orán to the king of Spain. Abençanex, in anger, orders the captive to be thrown into the sea, but when he is about to be seized by the alcaide's men, the earth opens and swallows him.

Olofernes enters with an embassy from the archbishop, who demands that Orán be surrendered to him: if the alcaide will comply, all the citizens will be permitted to leave the city unmolested; if not, the town will be burned. The alcaide refuses, and the Christians begin the attack. In the battle, Cisneros commands the sun to stop till his men are victorious, thereby winning for himself the name of Second Joshua. Victory ultimately rests with the Christians, and Bençayde seeks mercy at the feet of the victor.

The play is of unequal merit, the last act and a half excelling the preceding. The love affair between Zenete and Doña Ana is left unfinished and could well be omitted, as it has no vital connection with the plot. The drama is really a eulogy of Cardinal Cisneros. His traditional humility is emphasized but he is nevertheless cap-

able of exercising authority, as, for example, at the siege of Orán when disputes over precedence arise among the leaders. The character of the lay brother, Olofernes, is admirably drawn. Fond of the good things of this world, and a misfit in his calling, he proves himself a valiant and courageous soldier in the siege. Another insight into his character is given in the scene at the hermitage, where by sheer physical strength he overpowers several robbers who have sought refuge there, barricades the door against them, and proceeds to partake at leisure of their food.

There is no internal evidence of the date of composition, nor can any special work be designated in particular as the source from which Vélez drew, as there are several accounts of the life of the cardinal with which he may have been familiar. One of these is the *Compendio de la Vida y Hazañas del Cardenal don fray Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros* by the maestro Eugenio de Robles (Toledo, 1604), which agrees with Vélez' delineation of the character of the cardinal, and with his version of the conquest of Orán. (For this version see pp. 243–256 in Robles.) Moreover, in Fray Antonio Daza's *Qvarta parte de la crónica general* (Valladolid, 1611) several chapters are devoted to the life of Cisneros (Part I, Chapters XVII to XXV inclusive). Thus Chapter XVIII recounts *"Como este siervo de Dios vino a ser confessor de la Reyna, y le cometio el Sumo Pontifice la reformacion de todas las regiones de España"*; Chapter XIX, *"Como este siervo de Dios fue electo Arçobispo de Toledo, y lo que acerca desto passô"*; and Chapter XXIII, *"De la famosa conquista de Orán, y de las muchas maravillas, y grandes milagros que en ella se vieron."* Previous to either of these accounts there appeared in Alcalá in 1569 Alvar Gómez de Castro's *De rebus gestis Francisci Ximenii S.R.E. Cardinalis Archiepiscopi,* which Vélez may have known.

Short biographies of Cisneros are found in Marieta[1] and in Alonso de Villegas.[2] The most likely source from which Vélez drew, however, is Robles' biography.

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[1] *Historia eclesiástica, y flores de Santos de España,* por el Reverendo Padre Fray Juan de Marieta, de la Orden de Santo Domingo, natural de la ciudad de Victoria (Cuenca, 1594), Vol. I, Bk. V, chaps. 96–97. Chapter 97 is entitled *"De la ganada de Orán que hizo este santo Arçobispo"*; see also Cayetano Rosell, *Expedición a Orán del Cardenal Cisneros* (Madrid, 1857).

[2] *Flos Sanctorvm. Tercera parte* (Valladolid, 1614). See pp. 599–602 of the edition of Madrid, 1674.

Dos ingenios (Diamante and Lanini Sagredo) wrote two dramas, a first and a second part, respectively, on the life of Cisneros. The first of these, of which there is a manuscript copy in the Biblioteca Nacional, is entitled: *El Gran Cardenal de España fr. Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros; De Don Juan Bautista Diamante y Don Pedro Francisco Lanini Sagredo. Primera Parte.* The manuscript (No. 17042) bears censures dated at Madrid, November 27, 1699, November 30, 1699, and December 4, 1699. The first and last lines of the copy are, respectively:

d. diego. Muera el que infame se atreue
a profanar de mi Cassa
el sagrado

and

todos. Y aquí felizemente acaua
la primer parte de aquel
insigne Varón de España
d. fr. fran. Ximénez,
convidando, si ésta agrada,
a la segunda, y pidiendo
perdón de sus muchas faltas.

This play was published as a *suelta* in the eighteenth century[3] with the following title: *Comedia Nueva. Pluma, púrpura y espada sólo en Cisneros se halla, y restauración de Orán. De un ingenio de esta Corte;* it begins:

Dieg. Muera, amigos, quien se atreve
A profanar assi fiero
el sagrado de mi casa.

and ends:

Y aquí, Auditorio, acaba
la gran comedia de aquel
insigne Varón de España
Fray Francisco de Cisneros;
perdonad sus muchas faltas.

With a few variants it is identical with the previously cited manuscript. The argument is very similar to that of Vélez' play, introducing Cisneros' hesitation about receiving the archbishopric of Toledo, the expostulations of his companion, the lay brother, Giropa, and ending with the conquest of Orán. Miracles and wonder working are very much in evidence, but otherwise the play seems to be an imitation of *La conquista de Orán.*

[3] Madrid, Antonio Sanz, 1740.

With the second part we are hardly concerned, as it deals with events in the life of the cardinal subsequent to those depicted in the first part. A late seventeenth-century manuscript copy, No. 15693, is in the Biblioteca Nacional: *Comedia de fray franco. Ximénez de Cisneros. Segunda Parte.* On the first page of the text another handwriting has added *De Diamante.* This second part was subsequently published as a *suelta,* attributed to *un ingenio,* and entitled, *El Gran Cardenal de España, Fray Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, segunda parte.*[4] No. II, La Barrera, p. 550b, lists: *Fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. Dos ingenios: Diamante y Lanini Sagredo.*

The priority of the manuscripts with the ascriptions to two authors would indicate that these plays were written in collaboration.[5]

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[4] Madrid, Imprenta de Sanz, 1741. (Bibl. Nac.)

[5] For works on Cisneros see the list of titles in B. Sánchez Alonso, *Fuentes de la historia española, etc.* (ed. 2; Madrid, 1927), items 2706ff.

[42]

EL HÉRCULES DE OCAÑA

COMEDIA FAMOSA DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

REPRESENTÓLA GRANADOS

[FIRST LINES]

Don Rodrigo. ¿No viste a Doña María?
Montalván. Desde un balcón daba al Sol

[LAST LINES]

Don. Rodrigo. Y aquí *el Hércules famoso*
de Ocaña da fin, y *Lauro*,
prometiendo al auditorio
si le perdonan las faltas,
segunda parte en retorno.

Only copy, and of unknown date, in Schaeffer's library. See his *Ocho comedias desconocidas*, II:217–293. (Cotarelo 35.)

CHARACTERS

Don Rodrigo.	Montalbán, lacayo.	Una ventera.
Céspedes.	Guzmán, soldado.	Tres molineros.
El rey.	Doña María.	Dos criados.
Don Fernando.	Teodora, criada.	El padre de Marina.
El duque de Alba.	Laura, dama.	Escoto.
El sargento mayor.	Marina, villana.	Un sacristán.

ACTO I

Céspedes, known as the Hercules of Ocaña, enraged against Don Rodrigo, who refuses to explain the favors which he has been bestowing upon Céspedes' sister, Dona María, hurls him from a window and is forced to seek safety from the law in flight. When the governor of Ocaña and other officials come to arrest her brother, Doña María, another of Vélez' women cast in heroic mould, bars the entrance to her house and refuses to let it be searched. The governor, struck with admiration at her courage and independence, yields to her and leaves without enforcing his authority.

Céspedes meets King Philip and begs the privilege of serving him in Flanders. Don Rodrigo, who apparently was not killed when hurled from the window, also departs for the Low Countries.

In another scene Céspedes, as a proof of his unusual strength, stops the working of a mill, to the amazement of all present.

ACTO II

Having lost his way in the darkness, Céspedes breaks into an inn, where he has an exciting skirmish with the innkeeper, whom he finds laid out in state for his last sleep. Laura, a young maiden whom Don Rodrigo has betrayed and who has followed him to the wars in Flanders in order to kill him, appeals to Céspedes to champion her cause. Céspedes meets Don Rodrigo, who tells him that he has come thither to avenge an insult earlier offered him, and that he will engage in combat with Céspedes at some more propitious moment. Later, Céspedes performs a most hazardous and dangerous exploit in holding a bridge against the enemy until the arrival of the duke of Alba with his forces.

ACTO III

This heroic feat of Céspedes is followed by the slaughter, single-handed, of some three hundred Huguenots from Liège (Lieja). Shortly after, when he and Rodrigo are about to settle their quarrel, the duke intervenes, saying that their present duty is to help in the siege of Orleans. Céspedes shows remarkable valor in the attack and wins thereby the admiration of Don Rodrigo, who now wishes to become his friend.

Doña María, offended by the governor's unwelcome attentions, has overthrown him and worsted his companions in the market place; then, disguised as a soldier, she has set out for Flanders, where her prowess wins her fame and honor.

When the victorious army returns to Spain, Céspedes is rewarded for his services by the king himself. Don Rodrigo and Laura are betrothed, and the hand of María is bestowed upon the governor.

A second part is promised, which is to deal with Céspedes' feats against the rebellious Moriscos in the Alpujarras.

THIS IS A MOST UNUSUAL PLAY, of the heroic type, full of astounding though somewhat unrelated incidents, but often bordering upon the purely bombastic. Especially vivid and spirited are the scenes depicting Céspedes' strength in stopping the working of the mill, his encounter with the dead innkeeper, his defense of the bridge against the enemy, and his heroism in the siege of Orléans. Doña María, his sister, is clearly of the same blood and valor.

The theme is based on the exploits of Alonso de Céspedes, who won distinction as a valiant soldier in the armies of Charles V. Because of his great physical strength, he was called *el fuerte, el de las grandes fuerzas, Alcides castellano,* and *Hércules de Ocaña.* Popular fancy soon wove many legends about his name, with which Vélez was undoubtedly familiar.

Don Luis Zapata in his *Miscelánea*[1] speaks of Alonso de Céspedes, as does Don Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses in his novel entitled *La Fortuna varia del soldado Píndaro.*[2] Lope, too, in *El valiente Céspedes,*[3] describes several exploits of the hero.

Lope's argument in the main is similar to that of Vélez. Céspedes flees his country after killing one Trillo in a quarrel. After his flight, Doña María, Céspedes' sister, prevents the *Corregidor* from entering her house in order to apprehend her brother, whom she later joins in the wars. She is in love with Don Diego, a nephew of Trillo, who seeks to kill Céspedes to avenge his uncle's death.

The rest of Lope's comedy is taken up with scenes depicting camp life in which the hero has occasion to perform many feats. The play ends with the heroic crossing of the Albis, the rescue of Don Diego by Céspedes, who thereby wins his gratitude, and finally the capture by the hero of Duke Frederick of Saxony. Diego is betrothed to Doña María, and Céspedes to Teodora, who has long been infatuated with him.

This similarity between Lope's and Vélez' plays is strong evidence that Vélez borrowed from Lope.[4] Céspedes' adventure with the dead innkeeper in Vélez' play is very similar to a struggle, between the hero and a dead man whom he has slain in battle, which occurs in *El soldado Píndaro,* published in 1626. If Vélez is the imitator, this similarity would place the date of the play's composition after that year, in contradiction to Schaeffer's supposition that the book of plays in which *El Hércules de Ocaña* is included was published between 1612 and 1616.[5]

[1] *Memorial Histórico Español,* XI:259 (Madrid, 1859). The *Miscelánea* was written in the last decade of the 16th century (*ibid.,* Intro., p. xi).

[2] Published in 1626; B.A.E., XVIII:273–375.

[3] First published in Part XX, 1625, and composed prior to 1618, since it is in the second list of plays in *El Peregrino.* See Morley: *Lope de Vega's Peregrino lists, op. cit.,* XIV, 5, p. 364.

[4] See *Obras de Lope de Vega, Acad.,* XII, Intro., pp. lxxxix-xci; reprinted in Menéndez y Pelayo's *Estudios sobre el teatro de L. de V.,* VI:82ff.

[5] *Op. cit.,* I, Intro., pp. ix-x.

If the play by Lope and the novel by Céspedes y Meneses were Vélez' principal sources, he has greatly altered several of the events there recorded, in order, doubtless, to get greater dramatic effect in the heroic episodes which he introduces; it is quite possible that he was also influenced by stories gathered from oral tradition. Finally, the scene of Céspedes' feats in battle is placed in the Netherlands, not in Germany, and in the reign of Philip II, instead of that of Emperor Charles V. The life of Céspedes, together with many legends which had gathered around his name, was written by the Portuguese, Rodrigo Méndez Silva, and published in 1647.[6]

Don Juan Bautista Diamante wrote a play entitled *El Hércules de Ocaña*[7] in which he followed Lope and Vélez, mainly Vélez as, for example, in the scene with the corpse at the inn; the play is full of *gongorismo*. In the nineteenth century Florencio Moreno Godino wrote a novel entitled *La cruz de plata*,[8] in which one of the characters is *El Hércules de Ocaña*.

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[6] *Compendio de las más señaladas hazañas que obró el Capitán Alonso de Céspedes Alcides Castellano* . . . Publícalo Rodrigo Méndez Silva, Coronista general destos Reynos de su Majestad, con Privilegio, en Madrid por Diego Díaz, Año 1647.

[7] *Comedias de F. Don Ivan Bautista Diamante*, Madrid, Andrés García de la Iglesia, 1670.

[8] Madrid, 1868 (2 vols. in 4°). For a cursory consideration of Vélez' play, see T. G. Ahrens, *Zur Charakteristik des spanischen Dramas, etc.* (Halle a. S., 1911), pp. 57ff.

[43]

EL HIJO DEL ÁGUILA

Comedia de Luis Vélez de Guevara

[FIRST LINES]

Dn. Phe. Deme buestra Magestad
su mano, y buélbale dios
a españa

[LAST LINES]

a ser partízipe benga
también.
Ierg. Y con esto tenga
del águila el hijo fin.

Manuscript (No. 16421) of the seventeenth century. (Cotarelo 38.) (Paz y Melia, No. 1513); also *suelta* s.l.n.a. (Bibl. Mun., Madrid).

Characters

Carlos Quinto.	Bartolomé.	Jila, labradora.
Don Felipe Segundo.	Don Juan de Austria.	Jergón, lacayo, *gracioso.*
Luis Quijada.	Pelaya, labradora.	Pedro.
Un caballero alemán.		Juan.

Jornada I

Emperor Charles V, who is about to leave on an expedition against the Turks, entrusts to the care of Luis Quijada his young son, Don Juan of Austria, but he does not tell Quijada who is the father of his new charge.

Don Juan is taken by Quijada to Villagarcía. Fretting against the restraint imposed upon him there, he decides to make his escape. Just before leaving, he goes to drink from a fountain, and as he is about to raise to his lips a broken cup that he has found near by, an eagle swoops down from heaven and snatches it from him. Don Juan discovers to his surprise that the cup contained a serpent. Convinced that Providence has great things in store for him, the young man decides to remain where he is and await developments.

Jornada II

Don Juan's pleasing personality and physical charm attract the attention of a peasant girl, Pelaya, who favors the young man with a ribbon. This act is resented by one of her suitors, Bartolomé, who enters Don Juan's study and demands that he surrender the token.

Don Juan refuses. In the ensuing struggle, the emperor's portrait falls from the wall, whereupon the prince, kneeling, begs pardon of the absent monarch for having shown such disrespect in the presence of his image. Bartolomé seizes the opportunity to pick up the ribbon which Don Juan has let fall, and rushing with it to Pelaya, he tells her that Don Juan lost it in fair fight. The young prince, on being censured by Pelaya for lack of bravery in defending her favor, vows vengeance on the cowardly Bartolomé.

Prince Philip, heir of Charles V, and Juan's half-brother, passes by and enters into conversation with Pelaya and her friend Jila. Don Juan objects to this and defends the girls against what he thinks are a courtier's unwarranted advances. When he learns Philip's identity, he humbly begs pardon, pleading his ignorance of the other's rank and station. Philip accepts his apology, to which Don Juan replies:

> Señor,
> Si buestra alteza lebanta
> mi humildad a la grandeza
> buestra con mercedes tantas,
> hijo de águila seré
> Real; pues que, cara a cara,
> en los rrayos me examina
> del Dibino Sol de España.

JORNADA III

News is brought to Don Juan of Charles's victory over the Turk, and, further, of Charles's decision to divide his empire between his brother Ferdinand and his son Philip, in order to retire, unhampered by worldly cares, to the monastery of Yuste. This news is followed by duels between several of the men, which Quijada interrupts, ordering that both Don Juan and Jergón be imprisoned.

Don Juan's parentage is revealed, and Quijada is ordered to bring the young prince to court at once, but not to disclose his identity to the boy. Meanwhile, both Don Juan and Jergón have made their escape. As the two are journeying along together, Don Juan, carried away by his imagination, sees himself participating in a great naval battle against the Turk. After this scene, in which Don Juan's victory over the Moslem forces is presaged, Quijada overtakes them. He bids Don Juan accompany him to the court, where Don Juan is acquainted with the truth of his birth and learns that his brother, Philip, is about to come to welcome him. The two meet and go to see Charles, who greets his newly acknowledged son and proclaims him general of the Spanish forces on land and sea.

EL HIJO DEL ÁGUILA is an excellent portrayal of the ideals and ambitions of the young prince Juan. Interest is maintained in a succession of scenes which are both pleasing and entertaining. The last scene of Act I, in which the timely intervention of an eagle saves his life and is taken as a good omen by Juan, is impressive; the imaginary naval battle (beginning of Act III) ingeniously foreshadows his victory at Lepanto. Vélez either took his title from oral tradition or invented it, as we have not found it in any of the histories of Don Juan. Van der Hammen,[1] who relates several anecdotes of the young prince, does not include this among the number; it is therefore quite probable that it was of popular origin.

La Barrera records a *suelta* with the title of *El hijo del águila* or *Señor don Juan de Austria,* which he confuses with *El águila del agua, y batalla naval de Lepanto.* If the date of composition, which is difficult to determine, is after 1627, Vélez may have drawn from Van der Hammen, whose account of Don Juan's youth is similar in many respects to that presented by Vélez. Other historians of the time either rapidly pass over this period of Don Juan's life, or fail to mention it.[2]

Canto V of Juan Rufo's *La Austriada* (Madrid, 1584; reprinted in Vol. XXIX of B.A.E.) deals briefly with Don Juan's youth. Mention, too, may be made of Juan de Ariza's novel, *Don Juan de Austria o las guerras de Flandes* (Madrid, 1847), and Leandro Angel Herrero's *Leyenda religiosa tradicional del siglo XVI,* a historical novel entitled *El monje del monasterio de Yuste* (*Ultimos momentos del Emperador Carlos V*) (Madrid, 1871), in which young Don Juan is one of the principal characters.[3]

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[1] *Don Ivan de Austria,* by Lorenzo van der Hammen (Madrid, 1627).

[2] William Stirling-Maxwell, *Don John of Austria* (London, 1883), I:1–49. Balt. Porreño, *Historia del serenissimo señor D. Juan de Austria,* in *Bibliof. esp.* (Madrid, 1899), pp. 7–29; Padre Luis Coloma, *The Story of Don John of Austria,* trans. by Lady Moreton (London, 1912), pp. 3–93; F. A. Mignet, *Charles-Quint, son abdication, son séjour et sa mort au monastère de Yuste* (Paris, 1891); William Stirling-Maxwell, *The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth* (London, 1853); Edward Armstrong, *The Emperor Charles V* (London, 1902, 2 vols.); William Robertson, *The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles the Fifth,* with *An Account of the Emperor's Life after his Abdication* by William H. Prescott (new ed.; London, 1902). See also *El águila del agua,* p. 135 above.

[3] See also *Obras de Lope de Vega, Acad.* ed., XII, Intro., pp. cix-cxxxix for other items on the literature of D. Juan de Austria; reprinted in Menéndez y Pelayo's *Estudios, op. cit.,* VI:125ff.

[44]

DE IVLIANO APÓSTATA

Comedia famosa de Lvis Vélez de Gvevara

[FIRST LINES]

Suenan dentro vozes y música y sale Iuliano, Emperador; Mercurio y Máximo, Frisón, y acompañamiento.

Dentro. ¡Viua el gran Iuliano, un siglo viua!
Max. Goze el imperio por felizes años.
Iul. Ya es justo que reciba
la noble voluntad de vuestro pecho
y los passados daños
remedio con valor, y con prudencia.

[LAST LINES]

Basi. ¿Frisón, qué miedo te aflige?
Ya Sofonisva murió,
para que su muerte embidien;
y aquí acaba esta tragedia
verdadera como insigne.

A rare play preserved in *suelta* form s.l.n.a. (seventeenth century?), a unique copy of which may be found in the Brit. Mus. Not available to Cotarelo. Also a manuscript copy in Bibl. Nac.; erroneously ascribed by Paz y Melia (*Cat.*, *op. cit.*, No. 1698, sig. MSS 15.591) to Juan Vélez. Professor Buceta, who has kindly reëxamined the manuscript, finds that it is ascribed to Luis Vélez, twice in a hand of the seventeenth century, and once in one of the nineteenth century. La Barrera, copying Medel's list, also ascribes the drama to Juan Vélez.

Characters

Iuliano emperador.	Mercurio.	San Basilio.
Máximo.	Constancia.	Flabio.
Frisón.	Sofonisva.	Lizimón.
Un capitán.	Rubén.	Ascr.
Eliud.	Abidias.	San Miguel.

Jornada I

Juliano is acclaimed as emperor, succeeding Constancio, who had inherited the throne from Constantine the great. He thanks the assembled multitude and begs to be left alone with Maximo, his favorite counselor. In a long speech he gives an account of his early career and victorious campaign. He speaks in boastful terms of his purpose to rule as a pagan, and to restore the worship of the an-

cient deities together with their temples. There is to be no more tolerance of the Christian worship of "the Galilean."

Constancia, his wife, and Sofonisva, both ardent Christians, enter. Constancia is immediately made aware of Juliano's mocking disfavor because of her belief in the Holy Trinity. Sofonisva stirs his passion because of her beauty, and the emperor is restrained only by her confession that she loves her husband, Mercurio. Juliano thinks that she means the pagan god, Mercury, whom he had planned to honor, and therefore takes Sofonisva to be a Gentile. In a new scene Mercurio is lamenting his prolonged separation from Sofonisva, when she enters to apprise him of Juliano's intentions to bestow new favors on him. The emperor appears with Maximo. On learning that a mortal man, Mercurio, is Sofonisva's husband, he is incensed and attempts to carry her away. Mercurio defies him and draws his sword. Juliano, temporarily cowed, withdraws in anger to plan a fitting punishment of this *lèse majesté* on Mercurio's part.

After Juliano's departure Mercurio entertains the unhappy suspicion that Sofonisva may by some act have encouraged the emperor in his base suit, and his wife, angered and hurt, reproves him for doubting her loyalty. The court assembles and the emperor receives memoranda, reports, and complaints, those from Christians meeting with a harsh rebuff, whereas the losses of the Gentiles are compensated and their requests granted. Mercurio is brought in bound as a captive, and Juliano in a fit of rage throws him to the ground and stamps upon him. Sofonisva tries to intervene, but the emperor orders her taken off to her house as a prisoner. Mercurio is remanded to a tower, there to await execution.

Jornada II

Sofonisva pleads with the empress Constancia to intercede with her husband on behalf of Mercurio, but Juliano has devised a scheme to deceive both Sofonisva and Mercurio. He tells her that Mercurio has given his consent that she surrender to his desires, and Maximo conveys to Mercurio the information that Sofonisva has yielded to Juliano. Sofonisva enters the prison in which her husband is confined, to reproach him for his base action. Mercurio, enraged at her supposed infidelity, is about to kill her when he is interrupted by the entrance of Juliano and Maximo. The emperor

orders Mercurio led away to immediate execution. Sofonisva learns from Frisón, Mercurio's attendant, how the emperor has deceived them both and hastens to her husband's aid.

The scene changes, and we learn that the Jews are attempting to rebuild Solomon's temple at Jerusalem; but a miracle prevents their effort, which is set at naught by earthquake and fire. Juliano, who has entered, ridicules their fears, and when the earth is rent and a cavern opens, he has Aser lowered into the mouth to explore its secrets. Aser returns with a well-preserved book in his hands which turns out to be the *Gospel according to John.* Juliano tries to tear the book to pieces and hurls it into the air, where it floats resplendent. The Jew, Aser, converted by this miracle, proclaims his new faith and is destroyed by the angry crowd.

Sofonisva and Frisón arrive at Caesarea. San Basilio enters and relates to them the details of the enviable death of Mercurio, who has suffered martyrdom as a faithful follower of Christ. Sofonisva follows Basilio out to give her husband burial.

Jornada III

The plot assumes a warlike character. Juliano is engaged in his campaign against the Persian Empire. Basilio enters and reproaches him for his apostasy and cruelty. He tells him that the remains of Mercurio stay fresh and lifelike even in the tomb and have become the source of many miracles. Juliano's anger is aroused by Basilio's frankness and in an arrogant reply he promises to return after battle to chastise the Christians of Caesarea.

When Basilio and his followers have left, the scene changes to the church in which Mercurio lies buried. Sofonisva enters *en traje humilde* with Frisón as sacristan and approaches her husband's sepulcher, beside which she is accustomed to sleep. Above the tomb is suspended Mercurio's armor. Saint Michael appears aloft in the temple. At his bidding Mercurio arises from the sepulcher and, with the aid of Saint Michael, arrays himself in his armor. Without the temple a white charger awaits him and he rides off to battle. Sofonisva, who has seen this vision in her sleep, encourages him and, upon awakening, finds his armor gone.

On the battlefield Juliano, arrogant and sure of victory, is directing his forces. In the midst of the battle a strange apparition attracts his attention. It is Mercurio, by whom Juliano is slain,

breathing defiance to the last, and cursing God and Christ. According to a historical tradition which Vélez found in his sources, Juliano confesses Christ's power in his final words: "ya venciste, Galileo."

At Mercurio's sepulcher again, we find Sofonisva with the servant Frisón. He is terrified by the apparitions and miracles which he has witnessed and, like all *graciosos,* is eager for bed and sleep. Mercurio reappears with bloodstained lance, which, together with his armor, he hangs over the tomb. Addressing his wife, he assures her that she too shall presently be rewarded for her loyalty by a place among the blessed. Mercurio slowly vanishes in the sepulcher and Sofonisva falls lifeless to the ground. Basilio enters with his Christian followers, and they decide to raise to Mercurio's memory a temple nobler than the one in which he reposes.

FROM THE LANGUAGE and technique, this play may be considered one of Vélez' later compositions. It has many ornate and *culto* traits, together with those peculiar and elaborate poetic forms in which Vélez pointed the way for Calderón, his junior by twenty years. No play more typical of Vélez' style could be chosen from his numerous creations. There action, variety, and splendor are thrown upon a large canvas and mingled with the miraculous and supernatural. Over the whole, towers the superb and forceful creation of Juliano, proud, defiant, powerful, but doomed from the outset. To Vélez, an apostate could have no redeeming feature, and the pagan qualities of the emperor are constantly opposed to the virtues of the saintly Christians. The historical nucleus which Vélez used is entirely overlaid with the inventions of his exuberant and limitless fancy, but he attempted to recreate the atmosphere of ancient and semibarbarous times as well as the peculiar irreligious sentiments which make of the hero and of his followers striking personages.

Vélez' source seems to have been a chapter in the popular and well-known work of Pero Mexía entitled *Historia imperial y Cesarea en la qual en summa se contienen las vidas y hechos de todos los Césares, Emperadores de Roma, desde Julio César hasta el Emperador Carlos Quinto.* First printed in Seville (1545). I have before me an edition of Antwerp, 1578. The chapter connected with our play begins "Comienza la vida del Emperador Juliano, solo

deste nombre, llamado Apóstata: la cual se escriue en solo este capítulo." At the close of the chapter, Mexía as usual mentions the sources which he asserts he has used. In the drama the portraiture of the hero is almost entirely Vélez' own, whereas Mexía adheres closely to his sources and therefore depicts Juliano with many admirable qualities. Vélez, as was his habit, created a superman, a heretic, pagan, tyrant, warrior, all in one. The secondary characters, the meek wife and the valiant Sofonisva, are intended as foils for Juliano's cruelty and brutality. The saintly Mercurio and San Basilio are such personages as Vélez occasionally placed beside his superhero to offset the evil of his character. There are passages of great rhetorical and poetical beauty as well as others conceived in that bombastic vein by means of which Vélez astonished his contemporaries, and by which posterity can frequently detect his peculiar hand.

In his play *El Cardenal de Belén* (*Acad.* ed., IV:151ff.) Lope briefly introduces "el Emperador Juliano," giving this character the same traits which he has in Vélez' play. Lope's work was first printed in 1620.

[45]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

EL LUZERO DE CASTILLA, Y LUNA DE ARAGÓN

[DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA]

[See *El privado perseguido.* (55)]

[46]

COMEDIA FAMOSA TITULADA

MÁS PESA EL REY QUE LA SANGRE, Y BLASÓN DE LOS GUZMANES

[COMPUESTA POR LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA]

[FIRST LINES]

Constanilla. Moro, mas preguntador
Que un señor en su lugar

[LAST LINES]

Todos. Y tenga
fin con tal suceso
el Blasón de los Guzmanes,
en cuyos heroicos pechos
más pesa el Rey que la sangre;
y perdonad nuestros yerros.

First printed as a *suelta* in the seventeenth century; B.A.E., XLV; Schaeffer, XLVII. (Cotarelo 46.)

CHARACTERS

El rey don Sancho.	Doña María.	Aliatar.
El infante.	Elvira, criada.	Jafer.
Don Alonso de Guzmán.	El maestre.	Costanilla.
Don Pedro, su hijo.	Aben Jacob.	Criados.

JORNADA I

Don Sancho el Bravo of Castile, in spite of the many services rendered him by Don Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, still cherishes a grudge against him because Guzmán favored the cause of Sancho's

nephews when he aspired to the throne. So great is his resentment that he insults Guzmán publicly before his court in Seville, and banishes him from the kingdom. Later Sancho quarrels with his own brother, Enrique, for defending Guzmán, and because he suspects him of contemplating treachery. When the king in anger draws his dagger upon his brother, the brother, too, leaves the court. The Moor, Aliatar, who has been hired to assassinate Sancho and who has entered the palace unobserved, is so overcome with fear on seeing the king in this angry mood, that he confesses his errand. Sancho pardons him and bids him tell his master, the Moorish commander, Aben Jacob Almanzor, to leave Spain, or no mercy will be shown him.

Don Alonso has decided to serve Aben Jacob, not against the Christians but against the Moor's Mohammedan enemies, until King Sancho recognizes his true merits and restores him to favor. On meeting Don Enrique, he entrusts his young son, Don Pedro, to Enrique's care with the request that the boy be taken safely to the court of Portugal, where Don Alonso wishes him to be educated.

Jornada II

When Don Alonso offers his services to Aben Jacob, the Moor accepts them, and before embarking on his African wars, presents Alonso with a dagger which King Sancho had sent to him as a warning to quit Spain. Don Alonso accepts the gift and vows to honor it. Aben Jacob soon becomes jealous of Don Alonso's many victories and his increasing popularity and seeks to be rid of him by having him perform all manner of dangerous and difficult feats. One of these exploits is to slay a dragon which has been causing havoc in Aben Jacob's territory. Don Alonso kills the dragon, but refuses to serve any longer a treacherous and ungrateful master.

Jornada III

Don Alonso, on returning to Spain, meets his wife, Doña María, at Tarifa and learns that Don Enrique failed to receive a welcome at the court of Lisbon, the king of Portugal fearing lest he might thereby incur Sancho's enmity. Enrique proceeded in anger to Africa, and his ward, Don Pedro, Alonso's young son, accompanied him thither in the hope of meeting his father. Don Alonso, hearing, also, that Rodrigo Hurtado de Mendoza, in whose hands the impor-

tant outpost of Tarifa has been placed, is on the point of death, and fearing lest Almanzor might plan another punitive expedition into Spain, because Alonso has abandoned him, resolves to defend the garrison until the arrival of Sancho, as befits a loyal subject, even though his sovereign is temporarily displeased with him.

Almanzor has indeed decided to march against Sancho, and Enrique has joined him. Young Pedro refuses to bear arms against his lawful sovereign, incurring thereby the anger of Enrique, who has him imprisoned and deprived of his sword. The invaders, in a parley with the garrison of Tarifa, learn that Don Alonso has succeeded the late Don Rodrigo as commander of the fortress and that he intends to hold it until the arrival of Sancho, who is reported to be on his way there with a relieving force. At this, Enrique threatens to slay Alonso's son, Pedro, unless Tarifa is surrendered. Don Alonso, confronted with this cruel alternative, decides, after a struggle between parental love and loyalty to his king:

> que entre la sangre y el Rey
> más pesa el Rey que la sangre.

As a fitting climax to this noble act of heroism, he throws down from the walls for the execution of Enrique's cruel proposal the dagger which Almanzor has given him, and which Sancho had sent the Moor as a warning not to attempt any invasion of his territory. Nor is the son unworthy of the father, for he meets his fate courageously at the hands of his unscrupulous enemies. Soon after this bloody execution Sancho arrives at Tarifa with reinforcements. Marveling at Don Alonso's remarkable heroism and unexcelled loyalty, he restores him to favor and bestows upon him the well-won title of *Guzmán el Bueno,* the Steadfast.

THIS PLAY LACKS SMOOTHNESS, its various parts having been put together without sufficient regard for the unity of the whole, but it is never without definite interest. The character of Guzmán is splendidly depicted, and the same may be said of the other principal personages, Don Pedro, Doña María Coronel, the king, and the infante. The language is marked by nobility of sentiment, frequently exalted to suit the theme. Some of the speeches are of a remarkable eloquence. Indeed, the reader, or the spectator at the theater, would often be carried away by the heroic spirit of the play.

Similar themes were especially adapted to Vélez' genius, and in spite of the faults of construction in this particular drama, it may be placed among his very best.

Salvá[1] mentions an old impression, a *suelta* attributed to Lope, with the title, *Más pesa el rei que la sangre,* and followed by a *loa sacramental a lo morisco.* A copy of this edition, from the library of Lord Holland, is in the British Museum.[2] Medel attributes this wrongly to Rojas Zorrilla.[3] The same play has been printed with the title *El honor de los Guzmanes y defensa de Tarifa.* La Barrera[4] so lists it, but elsewhere says[5] that it is also printed with the title *Más pesa el rey que la sangre, y blasón de los Guzmanes. El honor de los Guzmanes* is wrongly attributed by Medel to Juan Vélez. All the eighteenth-century *sueltas* of this play that we have seen give it the title *Más pesa el rey que la sangre, y blasón de los Guzmanes.*

The *Crónica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo, Fijo del Rey Don Alfonso Décimo*[6] gives a brief account of Guzmán el Bueno's act of heroism at the siege of Tarifa (B.A.E., LXVI:88–89). Mariana's *Historia General de España* (Toledo, 1601; Bk. XIV, Chap. V) speaks of King Alfonso's sending for aid to Guzmán, who was then in Morocco, the cause of his absence not being known, of Guzmán's becoming governor of Tarifa to succeed D. Rodrigo, *maestre* of Calatrava (Bk. XIV, Chap. XV), and of the siege of Tarifa (Bk. XIV, Chap. XVI). Garibay also gives a short account of the siege.[7]

Romance No. 954 of Durán's *Romancero General,* II:28, gives the legend of Guzmán's taming the lion and slaying the dragon, which story Vélez has made one of the incidents of his play; the heading reads: "De cómo estando Guzmán el Bueno a servicio del

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[1] *Cat.*, I:620.

[2] See Rennert: Bibliography, *op. cit.*, *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXIII (1915):263. Restori in *La Coll. CC IV. 28033 della Bibl. Palat.-Parm.* (*op. cit.*, p. 117) mentions in the group of Vélez' plays an early *suelta* without date or place of publication, entitled *Honor de los Guzmanes y defensa de Tarifa—Más pesa el rey que la sangre.*

[3] *Indice General,* edition of J. M. Hill.

[4] *Cat.*, p. 555. *Más pesa . . . sangre* is given as an equivalent title.

[5] *Cat.*, p. 467, n. 5.

[6] First published in Valladolid, 1554.

[7] *Compendio Historial de las Crónicas y Universal Historia de Todos los Reynos de España,* by Estevan de Garibay y Zamalloa (second edition, Barcelona, 1628; 4 volumes in folio), II:235–236 (Bk. XIII, chap. 24). See also Ahrens, *op. cit.*, pp. 18ff.

Rey de Marruecos, mató una sierpe, y domó un león que con ella combatía." The ballad is taken from a *Códice de la Biblioteca de Salazar, Genealogía de la Casa de Guzmán.* Four other *romances* (Nos. 955–958) deal with Guzmán's heroic defense of Tarifa.

Vélez would naturally know the story of the siege of Tarifa without needing to consult any authority in particular, but his familiarity with many incidents in the life of the hero, some of which he has slightly altered, would indicate that he had read and utilized some history of the house of the dukes of Medina-Sidonia, possibly that by Pedro de Medina.[8] It is possible that Vélez saw this or similar histories, since his knowledge of incidents in the life of Guzmán other than those found in the meager accounts given in the general histories would indicate that he had consulted specific sources; he may also have acquired some knowledge from oral tradition.

Several other dramas have been written on the theme of Guzmán's heroic defense of Tarifa, but they do not show any traces of Vélez' influence. First, there is the *comedia famosa,* by D. Juan Claudio de la Hoz y Mota, entitled *El Abrahan castellano y blasón de los Guzmanes.*[9]

The Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid contains three anonymous manuscripts of a drama with censures dated 1786, the title of which reads *Comedia nueva intitulada El vasallo más leal que por su Rey y su honor el hijo sacrificó. Guzmán el Vueno.*[10] It is a recast of Hoz y Mota's *El Abrahan castellano.* The same library has a manuscript copy of a play on the same theme, with censures dated December, 1825, a tragedy in five acts, in verse, anonymous, with

[8] *Chronica De Los Mui excelentissimos señores duques de Medinacidonia etc., Por el Maestro Pedro de Medina* in *Col. de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España,* XXXIX:5ff. In this chronicle, Chap. XIII, Bk. I, is entitled "Del gran Trauajo que Don Alonso Pérez de Guzmán pasaua con el Rey Aben Jacob y como mató vna cierpe qandaua serca de Fez"; Chap. XXI, Bk. I, "Como Don Alonso Pérez de Guzmán y su Muger dieron su hijo mayor al infante Don Juan que lo lleuase al Rey de Portugal"; Chapters XXII–XXVIII, inc., of Bk. I, deal with the siege of Tarifa.

[9] Published as a *suelta;* Medel lists it as *El blasón de los Guzmanes.*

[10] The first and last lines are:

Zebellon. Infante Don Juan Señor,
¿qué te llega a suspender?

. . .

Todos. El vasallo más leal
y grande Guzmán el Vueno.

the title *Guzmán el Bueno.*[11] These are prompters' copies of slight merit, but indicative of the continued popularity of the theme.

The Biblioteca Nacional contains an autograph manuscript copy (No. 16456) of a *tragicomedia nueva* entitled *Guzmán el Bueno* (by Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor?). In the *argumento y advertencia* which precedes the play the author says: "Tenemos en efecto dos comedias Españolas intituladas, la una: *El Abrahan Castellano y Blasón de los Guzmanes.* Su Autor. dn. Juan Claudio de la Hoz, y la otra *Más pesa el Rey que la sangre, y Bláson de los Guzmanes* de Dn. Luis Vélez de Guevara, pero ambas llenas de absurdos é impropiedades . . . "

Another play on the same theme is by Antonio de Zamora, entitled *La defensa de Tarifa, y blasón de los Guzmanes* (La Barrera, *Cat.*, pp. 505 and 540) or *El blasón de los Guzmanes* y *defensa de Tarifa* (Moratín, *Cat.*, B.A.E., II :327) ; and Paz y Melia, *Cat.*, No. 372. The play has been published as a *suelta,* and there is an eighteenth-century manuscript copy of it (No. 15371) in the Biblioteca Nacional. The story of Guzmán retained its popularity throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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[11] The first and last lines read:

Leonor. Desventurados, cese vuestro llanto

. . .

Con tal que tu esplendor recobres.

[47]

LA MAYOR DESGRACIA DE CARLOS V Y JORNADA DE ARGEL

[COMEDIA FAMOSA DE LVIS VÉLEZ DE GVEVARA]

[FIRST LINES]

Mar. Ya loor Christo tocamos
tierra, a pesar de los vientos

[LAST LINES]

Duq. Y aquí acaba la comedia
de *la jornada de Argel,*
mayor desgracia del César.

First printed in *Parte XXIV extravagante* of Lope's *Comedias* (Zaragoza, 1633); as a *suelta* without date or place, ascribed to Luis Vélez de Guevara; Brit. Mus. Unknown to Cotarelo. Durán's copy in Bibl. Nac. had disappeared. (Cotarelo 40.)

CHARACTERS

Carlos V.	Jorge Frontispero.	Dragut.
El duque de Alba.	Soldados.	Hamete.
Fernán Cortés.	Martín Alonso Tamayo.	Asanaga.
Dos hijos suyos.	María Montaña.	Lela.
Antonio de Oria.		Axá.

JORNADA I

Carlos V and the duke of Alba bring a Catholic armada gathered from Spain, Genoa, Flanders, Milan, and elsewhere to besiege Algiers. A soldier enters, bringing to Carlos word of a Turkish spy. The soldier proves to be an old friend of the emperor, who had once fought in single combat, between two armies, in Germany. The scene changes to the Mohammedan forces, where the leaders comment on the attacking armada and receive the report of the spy.

JORNADA II

The Mohammedan leaders visit a tomb where a dead body announces to them the will of the great prophet. If they sacrifice according to his instructions, the efforts of Carlos will be in vain. In the next scene the ruler and the nobles of the Spanish forces determine their line of action. Carlos receives conflicting advice, and decides to attack at once. A great storm with lightning, thunder, and darkness causes the soldiers to retire and destroys the ships.

JORNADA III

The loss of men, ships, and artillery has been a blow to the Spanish cause. Carlos orders a retreat to Spain in the boats which survive the storm. Because of lack of space the horses are thrown overboard. The play ends with the victory of Carlos over the Turks at Tunis.

THE SUELTA IS EXCEEDINGLY RARE and seems to be of the late seventeenth century. The title of our play is occasionally cited in reverse order as *La jornada de Argel y mayor desgracia de Carlos V*, but is also attributed to Vélez. The composition found in *Parte XXIV extravagante* of Lope's *comedias* (Zaragoza, 1633) has been reprinted by Menéndez y Pelayo in the Academy edition, Volume XII. There the title is given as *La mayor desgracia de Carlos Quinto y hechicerías de Argel,* and an attempt was made by the editor to correct some of the words of his original. Barring a few unimportant textual variants, a number of misprints, the addition of scene 7 of Act II (the incident of the ringing of the bell of Velilla de Ebro), and different closing lines, it is identical with the play printed under Vélez' name. The style and manner point to Vélez as the author, and the ascription to Lope in *Parte XXIV extravagante,* a volume containing a mixture of plays by different writers, is without any authority. We express this dissent from the opinion of Menéndez y Pelayo with regret.[1] In the Preface to Volume XII of Lope's works the noted scholar included an extensive study of the play under discussion. It has been reprinted in his *Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1927), VI: 62–82.

[1] Fajardo says that a play entitled *La mayor desgracia de Carlos Quinto y conquista de Argel* was included in a *Parte XLIII de comedias de diferentes autores* (Valencia, 1660), ascribed therein to Jiménez de Enciso. But nothing is otherwise known of this collection. See La Barrera, *Catálogo,* pp. 686 and 687. No play with this title appears in the true *Diferentes XLIII* of Zaragoza, 1650. Perhaps Fajardo mistook this play for *La mayor hazaña de Carlos Quinto,* which is by Enciso, and which is found in *Diferentes XXXIII* (Valencia, 1642), also in *Comedias de los mejores y más insignes ingenios de España* (Lisbon, 1652), and as a *suelta.* Medel's *Indice general* lists three plays entitled *La mayor desgracia de Carlos Quinto,* ascribing them to Lope, Vélez de Guevara, and Bartolomé de Enciso. See Rennert-Castro, *op. cit.,* p. 495.

[48]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

LA MONTAÑESA DE ASTURIAS

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Mend. ¡Estraña melancolía!
Bl. ¿Adónde el Príncipe va?

[LAST LINES]

con que se acaua
la Montañesa de Asturias
historia antigua de España.

First printed in *Comedias nuevas, y escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España, Parte treinta* (Madrid, 1668). Later reprinted as a *suelta;* Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 50.)

CHARACTERS

Ordoño, rey de León.	Doña Sancha, infanta.	Olaya.
Ramiro, príncipe.	Don Manrique de Lara.	Mengo.
Blanca, infanta.	Suero, *gracioso.*	Ortuño.
García Fernández, conde de Castilla.	Pelaya.	Mendo } criados.
	Toribio.	Ximen } criados.

JORNADA I

Garci-Fernández, count of Castile, comes to the court of King Ordoño of León to protest against the king's request that Castile pay fealty after she had been declared free and independent of León, and to ask for the interest long overdue on a horse and hawk which his father many years before had lent the king of León, with the understanding that if by a certain date the value were not received, each day thereafter double the amount would be added to the original price. D. Ramiro, son of Ordoño, has gone hunting, after learning from his sister Blanca, to his surprise and disgust, of her unnatural infatuation for him. He and his followers rest from the arduous toil of the hunt, while Suero, the *gracioso,* discourses at length to the effect that both Fortune and Nature rarely bestow their gifts upon the same individual. The prince soon falls asleep, and while slumbering is seen by the mountain maid, Pelaya, who at once falls in love with him. On awakening, he is similarly affected and makes violent love to her. She calls out for help and,

much to her regret, her brother Toribio appears in answer to her summons. Pelaya tells him that the stranger, whom she takes for some nobleman, has lost his way in the forest and needs to be shown the way out.

JORNADA II

Garci-Fernández again comes to claim the value of his horse and hawk. His dispute with Ordoño is settled amicably by D. Manrique de Lara, a Castilian nobleman, whose main argument is the need of unity among the Christian princes if the Moor is to be driven from Spain. The mutual understanding between the princes is to be sealed by the marriage of Garci-Fernández with Blanca, and that of Ramiro with Sancha, infanta of Castile. The two children of Ordoño consent to this agreement, although both have other loves.

Pelaya, too, is to be married by her brother to one Mendo, a boor for whom she has little liking. When Toribio is away from home for the purpose of making final arrangements for her marriage, she is serenaded by Ramiro, whom she invites into the house to spend the night.

The following morning, her ruin accomplished, she flees from the home of her girlhood, leaving the prince peacefully sleeping in her bed. But when she returns to slay him, she finds that he has escaped from her brother, whom, in her desire for vengeance, she attempts to kill. She also declares her intention of waging ceaseless war on all men.

JORNADA III

D. Manrique de Lara brings rich gifts to Ordoño, who refuses to accept them on the ground that Doña Sancha is a bastard, and that the marriage between her and Ramiro is therefore impossible. At this D. Manrique offers to meet in single combat anyone who dares maintain that Sancha is of illegitimate birth. Toribio comes to court to seek the one who has wronged his sister. He discovers that the prince is the offender, nevertheless warns him that there is no such thing as a "faithful enemy," and returns to the mountains determined to wage war on all women. In accord with this determination he is about to slay Olalla, who has nursed him back to health from the wounds inflicted on him by his sister, when Pelaya prevents him. The struggle between brother and sister is inter-

rupted because of Pelaya's desire to learn if her betrayer is among a party of courtiers who are approaching.

Meanwhile, Sancha is welcomed by Ramiro, who nobly champions her against the false charges that have been circulated about her birth. Blanca, who, it seems, was responsible for these rumors, welcomes her, also, having been cured of her mad love for her brother by a dreadful warning which she has received from the shade of Rodrigo, king of the Goths. Pelaya and Toribio, made captive by Garci-Fernández and Manrique, are brought before the royal party. Pelaya learns that the prince is her betrayer, whereupon she asks permission to enter a nunnery, and her request is granted.

THE TITLE OF THIS PLAY seems ill chosen, as the story is chiefly concerned with the double alliance between the houses of León and Castile, and the episodes in which Pelaya appears really form a minor plot. This same theme of the outraged mountain maid who seeks redress for her wrongs by slaying all men who fall into her hands, is treated by Vélez in *La serrana de la Vera.*

In *La montañesa de Asturias* we have some interesting studies in character, but the plot on the whole strains our sense of reality. The mad idea of Pelaya and her brother to wreak vengeance on the opposite sex could take root only in the fierce, primitive, warlike natures that are ascribed to them. Ramiro is in some respects a weak nature. His love for Pelaya is a fleeting emotion, and he readily forgets her once she has yielded to him. The character of Blanca is better drawn, the force and violence of her unnatural love for her brother being vividly and realistically portrayed. Vélez has given less care to the character of Pelaya. D. Manrique de Lara, noble and chivalrous, is a striking Spanish type and, together with Garci-Fernández, stands out among the men.

A clever bit of comedy is the episode in the forest wherein Suero, utterly oblivious of the danger to which the sleeping Ramiro is exposed, and with no thought except for his own safety, hastily climbs a tree when he hears the alarm given of the approach of a bear. The scene depicting the clownish, thick-witted Mendo's unsuccessful efforts at courting is also very good and recalls certain elements of Lopean humor. Finally, mention should be made of D. Manrique's eloquent harangue for unity among the Christian

princes, which leads to a mutual understanding between Garci-Fernández and the king of León.

As for the historical background of this story, Vélez is guilty of many inaccuracies and anachronisms. In the first place, Castile's independence of León was obtained in the time of Sancho the Fat, of León (955–967), and Fernán-González (927–970). It was García II, count of Castile (1017–1028), and not Garci-Fernández, who, shortly before his death, sought the hand of Sancha, sister of Bermudo III of León (1027–1037) and daughter of Alfonso V (994–1027). Bermudo III was married to Teresa, daughter of Count Sancho Garcés of Castile (996–1017). Nor is there any mention in the chronicles of the love of a Blanca of León for her brother, Ramiro. These divergences from history on the part of our author incline us to believe that he invented the greater part of the argument referring to the double marriage between the ruling houses of the kingdom of León and the county of Castile.

As for the well-known story of the horse and the hawk, mention should be made of the account to be found in *Parte III* of the *Crónica General,*[1] of Lope's *El conde Fernán González,*[2] and of another play on the same theme which has been attributed to Hurtado de Velarde, entitled, *Comedia de la libertad de Castilla por el conde Fernán Gonçales, en lengua antigua.*[3] Vélez has somewhat altered the account as given in the *Crónica* by causing Garci-Fernández, and not Fernán-González, to come to a final settlement in the question of Castile's independence of León, by having Garci-Fernández sum up the conditions of the original agreement in his first protest against the king of León's exacting fealty of Castile, and by omitting all reference to the imprisonments to which Fernán-González was subjected by Sancho the Fat.[4]

[1] See *Las quatro partes enteras de la Crónica de España* . . . por el maestro Florian Docampo (edition of Zamora, 1541, fols. ccxlvii b and cclí b). This work was derived from the *Tercera Crónica general.*

[2] Published in *Parte XIX* of Lope's *Comedias* (Madrid, 1623).

[3] Published in *Seis Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio* (Lisboa, Impresso por Pedro Craesbeeck, anno 1603).

[4] See on the extensive literature concerning Fernán-González, the comprehensive studies by Menéndez y Pelayo in *Obras de Lope de Vega* (ed. *Acad.*, Vol. VII, Madrid, 1897), Intro., pp. clxxxix–ccxvii; and Tomo I, capítulo iv (pp. 217–241), of *Tratado de los romances viejos* (Vol. XI of *Antología, op. cit.;* Madrid, 1903). Also Milá y Fontanals: *De la Poesía Heroico-Popular Castellana, Obras Completas,* VII, Chaps. IV and V (Barcelona, 1896), Ramón Menéndez Pidal: *El romancero de Fernán González* in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo,* I:429–507 (Madrid, 1899).

[49]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

LA NUEVA IRA DE DIOS Y GRAN TAMORLÁN DE PERSIA

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Aur. ¿Que al fin te vas, bien mio?
Bay. Es forçoso el partirme, prenda hermosa

[LAST LINES]

Y aquí acaba la Comedia
de *la nueva ira de Dios*
y gran Tamorlán de Persia.

First printed in *Parte treynta y tres de doze comedias famosas de varios autores* (Valencia, 1642), where the play is wrongly ascribed to Lope. (Brit. Mus.) It has had several impressions as a *suelta*, ranging from the close of the seventeenth century; among others one of Madrid, Antonio Sanz, 1730; Schaeffer, XXXIII. (Cotarelo 56.)

CHARACTERS

El Gran Tamorlán.	Aliatar.	Alezara (or Eleazara).
Corcut.	Dos reyes moros.	Osmán.
Celimo.	El emperador.	Abenzafir.
Alboacen.	Aurelia.	Un escribano.
Bayaceto.	Soldados.	Tomás, *negro.*
Tarife.		Boali.

JORNADA I

Bayaceto, emperor of the Turks, has secretly entered the camp of his enemy the Christian emperor (of Constantinople?) in order to see the emperor's daughter, Aurelia, with whom he has fallen in love. They are about to take leave of each other when he is surprised and captured by the emperor's guard. When the emperor hears of Bayaceto's determination to marry his daughter, he has him imprisoned.

In a conversation between Tamorlán and some of his followers we learn of Tamorlán's ambition to become a great ruler. In the course of his speech he says that his name signifies Lame Iron, which is a fitting appellation as he is both lame and strong.

Meanwhile, the emperor has consented to his daughter's marriage with Bayaceto, and the happy pair are about to set off to-

gether when Lela Eleazara, a royal princess of Turkey and a former mistress of Bayaceto, suddenly appears and berates him for his infidelity. After the angry woman's departure, Aurelia takes a sad farewell of her father and the city of her birth.

Tamorlán, in the meantime, with the help of some of his followers, kills the soldiers whom Bayaceto has lodged among them. Two he pardons, bidding them tell Bayaceto that Tamorlán and his men have declared war to the death upon their sovereign. Bayaceto learns from Tarife of this act of insubordination on the part of Tamorlán, and sets out at once to punish him.

Jornada II

The first encounter between Bayaceto and Tamorlán proves disastrous to Bayaceto, who is speedily defeated and taken captive. Aurelia, who because of a bad dream is anxious for her husband's safety, has her fears confirmed on hearing of his capture and imprisonment. She at once makes preparations to aid him. Eleazara, having heard of Bayaceto's captivity, in the hope of being of service to him has come, disguised as a fool, to the court of Tamorlán. She finds that Tamorlán keeps him caged as a wild beast. When chance leaves her alone for a time with the captive, she at first taunts him, but soon confesses that she will aid him if she can.

Meanwhile two kings, subjects of Bayaceto, come to treat with Tamorlán for his prisoner's ransom, but Tamorlán disdainfully rejects all their offers. When they and Bayaceto protest against such treatment, he violates the immunity of ambassadors by ordering the chief offender to be hanged.

Jornada III

When Aurelia comes to the court of Tamorlán to plead for her husband's release, his captor turns a deaf ear to all her entreaties. She is permitted, however, to speak with Bayaceto, and in Tamorlán's momentary absence, Eleazara, making known her identity to Aurelia, tells her that she has arranged that Tamorlán shall die that very day by poison.

Meanwhile, Corcut, who has helped Tamorlán to his position of power, turns against him and joins the forces of the Christian emperor, whom he promises to aid in entering Tamorlán's camp. Tamorlán drinks mockingly to the health of Bayaceto from a cup

into which Eleazara has thrown some deadly powders. Bayaceto, who has been temporarily let out of the cage in which Tamorlán keeps him confined, inveighs against his captor and stabs himself with a file which Eleazara has brought him. At this, Corcut informs Tamorlán that there are many dissensions among his men (dissensions for which Corcut is responsible), and that the emperor has entered the camp. Tamorlán starts up to take command of his army, but the poison has already done its work, and after a short struggle he dies. The Christian emperor arrives, but too late to be of service to Bayaceto. Eleazara announces her intentions of becoming a Christian and a nun, and Aurelia, too, decides to enter a convent. Bayaceto's kingdom passes to his nephew Tarife, and Corcut and Osmán (a faithful attendant of Eleazara) are rewarded.

THIS PLAY IS DRAMATICALLY CONCEIVED, and contains several scenes of unusual intensity. Our interest is maintained until the last, and although the ending is rather unexpected, it is not lacking in effectiveness. The scenes in which Tamorlán torments the caged Bayaceto are highly realistic. Other noteworthy passages in the play are: Eleazara's imprecations against Bayaceto (Jornada I), Tarife's description of Tamorlán's personal appearance (Jornada I), his account to Aurelia of the battle between Bayaceto and Tamorlán (Jornada II), and Eleazara's private interview with the caged Bayaceto (Jornada II). The characters are conceived with unusual care. The excessive ambition, the conceit, and heartless cruelty of Tamorlán are minutely and convincingly depicted. Among the women the character of Eleazara is very satisfactorily portrayed. In fact, she is the real heroine of the play; her noble forgetfulness of self in her efforts to save the man who had wronged her, claims our interest and arouses our sympathies.

In 1582 appeared Ruy González Clavijo's *Historia del Gran Tamorlán.*[1] This history refers but briefly to Timur's relations with Bayezid. It is prefaced, however, by two lives of the Mongol conqueror, composed by Pero Mexía and Paulo Jovio, respectively, which recount at length the struggles and rivalries between the two

[1] *Historia del Gran Tamorlan e Itinerario y Enarracion del Viage y Relacion de la Embaxada que Ruy Gonçalez de Clavigo le hizo, etc.* (Sevilla, Andrea Pescioni, 1582); reprint by A. de Sancha (Madrid, 1782), vol. 3, pt. 2 of *Colección de Crónicas de Castilla.* A detailed account of the life of Bayezid I (1347–1403) can be found in J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches,* I.

rulers and the treatment suffered by Bayezid at the hands of his captor. Mexía's account is taken from Book II, chapter 28, of his *Silva de varia lección.*[2] The *Vida del Gran Tamorlán, escripta por Paulo Iovio, obispo de Nochera, en sus Elogios, traduzidos por el licenciado Gaspar de Baeça* (Granada, 1568), which follows Mexía's account in the above-mentioned preface, is very similar to it in many respects. Mexía, indeed, confesses his indebtedness to Iovio among others at the end of the chapter.

Vélez may also have recalled the account to be found in Juan Ochoa de la Salde's version of the *Chronicle of Iskanderberg,* as he drew largely from this work for his two plays on the "Albanian conqueror."[3] Our author's knowledge of Bayezid's marriage with a Christian princess, an event which he introduces into his play, must have been obtained from some other source, for history tells us that in 1387, two years previous to his accession, Bayezid married a daughter of the emperor John Palaeologus. His first wife was Devlet Shah Khatun, daughter of the prince of Kermian. This first wife is possibly the original of Eleazara, unless her rôle in the play, as well as all that relates to Bayaceto's marriage with Aurelia, is a pure invention on the part of the author. The delineation of the character of Timur is evidently in conformity with what must have been the general opinion then current in Europe with respect to the history and personal characteristics of the great Mongol conqueror, as is evidenced by Marlowe's play of *Tamburlaine the Great* (enacted prior to 1587 and published in 1590).

Although *La nueva ira de Dios, y gran Tamorlán de Persia,* in *Parte 33* of *Varios,* was attributed to Lope,[4] this volume with its mixture of plays is not authoritative; the style, technique, and peculiar treatment of this subject seem more typical of Vélez, and we are inclined to consider the *suelta* ascriptions to him as entirely

[2] First edition Seville, 1540, in folio; frequently reprinted. The chapter is headed: *Vida del gran Tamorlán escripta por Pero Mexía Cronista de su Magestad, en el Capítulo 28 de su Silua de Varia leción.* See also Libro I, Capítulo 14. Bayezid's early exploits and his defeat by Timur are therein recounted.

[3] See study on *El príncipe esclavo,* p. 225.

[4] Rennert, *op. cit., Rev. Hisp.,* XXXIII:57, mentions a *suelta* entitled *El gran Tamorlán de Persia,* ascribed to Lope, but says it is Vélez' *La nueva ira de Dios.* Cotarelo, *op. cit.,* discusses the authorship, p. 302: "¿Qué razón hubo para desposeer a Lope de esta obra? Suponemos que únicamente la rareza y desconocimiento de esta primera edición y la abundancia de ejemplares de las del siglo XVIII. Creemos, pues, que Lope tiene más derecho a ella, mientras no se demuestra que es ciertamente de Vélez por otras razones que la adjudicación en impresiones modernas."

acceptable. Previous to this, a play entitled *El Tamorlán* had been performed before the king and queen on September 16, 1635, by the company of Juan Martínez de los Ríos.[5] This is either a reference to Vélez' play, or, more likely, to a play a manuscript copy of which, dated 1635, is still preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. The title page reads as follows:

La gran comedia del billano gran señor y gran Tamorlan de Persia. Compuesta la primera jornada por don Francisco de Rojas, la segunda por don Jeronimo de Villanueva y la terçera por el lizençiado Gabriel de Roa, pohetas famosos, este año de 1635.

The copy is by Diego Martínez de Mora, with some corrections in the handwriting of Rojas, among which is an emendation on the title page reading *la nueba*. Durán says of this play, "con título de *La nueva ira de Dios* se ha atribuido a un Don Jerónimo de Villanueva."[6] In this play Timur and Bayèzid are represented as both in love with the fair Celinda. She finally consents to become the wife of Timur in order to free Bayezid, who is kept caged and is subjected to repeated insults at the hands of his captor. All efforts to liberate him, however, are in vain, and the captive, in despair, takes his life with a file which has been given to him secretly that he may effect his escape. The authors promise a second part.

As we do not know the date of composition of Vélez' *comedia,* it is impossible to say whether he is the imitator, or whether the authors of the 1635 play are indebted to him. The Biblioteca Nacional has an autograph copy of another play on the same theme, entitled *El baquero emperador*. This *comedia* was written in collaboration by D. Juan de Matos Fragoso, D. Juan Diamante, and D. Andrés Gil Enríquez. The *censura* of D. Francisco de Avellaneda, dated April 28, 1672, and that of D. Fermín de Sarasa y Arce, dated April 29, 1672, refer to it as *esta comedia del gran Tamorlán de Persia.*[7] It was printed in *Parte 39* of *Escogidas* (Madrid, 1673), with the title of *El baquero emperador*.

The play deals with the life and exploits of Timur until his capture of Bayaceto, whom he treats in much the same fashion as in the preceding plays. A large part of the argument, however, deals with Timur's love for, and final marriage with, Ismenia. At the end a second part is promised.

[5] Rennert, "Notes, etc.," *op. cit., Mod. Lang. Rev.,* III:54.
[6] La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 488.
[7] These censures are found at the end of the second jornada.

[50]

EL OLLERO DE OCAÑA

Comedia Famosa de Lvis Vélez de Gvevara

[FIRST LINES]

Men. Oy has de perder el sesso.
San. Pues si me vengo a casar.

[LAST LINES]

Nuñ. Premiado saldrás, Martín,
dando a la famosa historia
fin *el Ollero de Ocaña,*
si nuestras faltas perdonan.

First printed as a *suelta* without license, date, or place of publication; Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 57.) Various other impressions as *sueltas;* also in the *Comedias escogidas de Luis Vélez de Guevara* (Madrid, 1832); B.A.E., Vol. XLV. La Barrera, *Cat.*, p. 467b, lists it with the peculiar title *El ollero de Ocaña, o no es barro lo del puchero.*

Characters

Sancho de Ançures.	Blanca.	Don Nuño.
Payo de Lara.	Elvira.	El rey.
Mendo.	Martín.	Fortún.

Jornada I

Doña Blanca de Lara, daughter of Payo de Lara, fearing to disobey her father's will, is to wed D. Sancho Anzures although she is in love with D. Nuño Almegir, who, according to vague rumors, has died in captivity. Her sister, Elvira, loves D. Sancho but he thinks only of Blanca.

Sancho's dead father, D. Pedro, and Payo de Lara were given the custody of Toledo by King Sancho III, with the charge that his young son, Alfonso VIII, should not be allowed to enter the city until he had attained the age of fifteen years and one day. Although neither Sancho nor Payo de Lara will admit the young king into the city, they are both willing to serve him in every other way. While Sancho and Payo de Lara are conversing, a letter is brought to Sancho by the *gracioso,* Martín, warning him that Doña Blanca already loves another, and that, if he persists in marrying her, he will pay the penalty with his life. Martín is forced to reveal that it is from Nuño, better known as Diego Bellido, the *ollero* of Ocaña, a man famous for his many exploits. Martín fur-

ther informs Sancho that Diego Bellido has killed one Martín Anzures, a cousin of Sancho.

Doña Blanca, on hearing of the contents of the letter, thinks that Diego, whose identity is unknown to her, has betrayed her love for another, and bids D. Sancho punish the insult offered her by a peasant (*villano*). Meanwhile, Nuño, disguised as a potter, bewails the inconstancy of Blanca. Martín announces the expected arrival of Sancho, seeking to be avenged on the potter of Ocaña. After a short parley between him and Bellido, in which Bellido admits that he has killed Martín Anzures for having made disparaging remarks about the young king, the two draw their swords. In the engagement Nuño so admires his opponent's skill that he permits him to escape from the king's men, who are about to take him captive; and in reply to Alfonso's reproof for permitting the escape of one of the men who is responsible for keeping Alfonso out of Toledo, he assures him that before long the king shall claim that city as his.

Jornada II

Sancho is informed by Elvira that Blanca does not love him. Blanca carries a picture of Nuño with her, in which Sancho recognizes the features of the *ollero* of Ocaña. Soon afterward Alfonso, Nuño, and Martín approach one of the gates of Toledo, disguised as potters. Through Nuño's cleverness and the stupidity of the guards, they easily effect an entrance into the city. The nobles of Toledo are preparing to hold services in honor of the memory of the late king, when Alfonso and his two companions appear suddenly in the church tower, and Nuño, appealing to the sentiments of the inhabitants of the city, succeeds in having Alfonso acknowledged king. Through his mediation, also, Sancho and Payo de Lara are pardoned, their only offense being that they did not fulfill the late king's wishes and keep Alfonso, his son, out of Toledo. Blanca again meets Sancho and demands that he avenge the wrong done her by the "potter." Sancho meets Nuño, but refuses to fight with him until three days have elapsed.

Jornada III

Owing to Blanca's desire for vengeance, her father and Sancho, who have been appointed governors of Toledo during the king's temporary absence from the city, have had Nuño imprisoned and

sentenced to immediate death. He is about to be thrown from a cliff into the Tagus River when Blanca recognizes him and has him taken back to prison. Soon afterward he is liberated from prison by Sancho's orders, who likewise writes to him offering him combat the following day if he is a nobleman in disguise, the victor to claim the hand of Blanca.

On the following day Sancho, in the presence of the king, publicly challenges all who may dispute his right to marry Blanca. Blanca appears and makes known her wish to marry D. Nuño, who, she says, has been living disguised as the *potter of Ocaña.* Nuño appears and tells how jealousy and quarrels between him and his general forced him to assume the dress of a peasant; he sets forth his services to the king as suitable grounds for the king's clemency and begs to be allowed to enter the lists with Sancho. Thereupon Sancho magnanimously yields Blanca up and asks for the hand of Elvira in her stead.

THIS PLAY RANKS HIGH among Vélez' dramatic works for its sustained interest and good construction. Among the best scenes are those in which the two rivals for the hand of Blanca meet for the first time and Nuño permits Sancho to escape from the king's men; that in which Sancho's jealousy is aroused on seeing Blanca with Nuño's picture; that depicting the clever entrance of the king and Nuño into Toledo; that of the king's unexpected appearance in the church tower; and that in which Blanca recognizes Nuño as he is about to be executed. The characters are well depicted. Nuño and Sancho are both superior types of heroes, fearless, noble, and magnanimous. The *gracioso,* Martín, is a notable example of that popular personage, possessing more cleverness and wit than is usually allotted to the average clown. Act II would be stronger, however, had it ended with the proclamation of Alfonso as king.

Vélez, with his usual disregard for historical accuracy, has made free use of poetic license in the present play. It has been recorded[1] that king Alfonso was kept out of Toledo by Fernán Ruiz de Castro. Alfonso was accompanied by D. Manrique de Lara, an enemy of the Castros; Estéban Illán was the one responsible for getting him secretly into Toledo.

[1] See Ocampo's *Crónica General,* Fols. CCCLXXX-CCCLXXXIII, edit. of Zamora, 1541.

The date of composition can only be fixed approximately from other plays, if we assume that it is a late work of the author.

Lope, in *Las paces de los Reyes, y Judía de Toledo,*[2] wrote on the subject of Alfonso VIII's furtive entrance into Toledo. Only the first act deals with this incident, the last two being concerned with the king's love for Rachel, the beautiful Jewess of Toledo. Moreover, Lope's play begins where Vélez' ends, as in the opening scene the young king is seen in Toledo in the tower. There is therefore little probability that Vélez imitated Lope in this *comedia.* There is another play, however, dealing with an earlier incident in the life of Alfonso, to which Vélez may have been indebted. This play is *El sastre del campillo,* by Luis Belmonte Bermúdez.[3] In this play D. Manrique de Lara rescues the young Alfonso from the unfavorable guardianship of his uncle, the king of León, by the simple expedient of carrying him off after the manner of Nuño Almegir. In order to escape detection he passes himself off as a tailor who has recently been killed and whom he has the good fortune to resemble in personal appearance. He is taken prisoner, however, by his enemy, Fernán Ruiz de Castro, who suspects his identity. Manrique nevertheless succeeds in deceiving both the king of León and the infanta Doña Blanca, with whom he is in love. Fernán Ruiz challenges him as a traitor, but in the end Manrique is vindicated and wins Blanca for his wife.

Belmonte's drama was subsequently revised by Francisco Bances Candamo.[4] The revision differs but slightly from the original. D. Manrique, escaping from his pursuers, meets his half-brother, who has been living as a tailor and has just received his death wound from a jealous peasant. He at once puts on the tailor's clothes, and dresses the body with his own, thereby deceiving the Leonese, who

[2] Printed in *Parte VII* of Lope's *Comedias* (Madrid, Barcelona, 1617); listed in *El Peregrino* (1618), and reprinted in the *Acad.*, VIII; see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estud. sobre Lope de Vega,* IV:129ff.; Ahrens, *op. cit.*, pp. 51ff.

[3] Autograph manuscript copy, No. Va. 18–12, in the Bibl. Nac., dated August 1, 1624, and with censures of the years 1624, 1626, and 1631. Printed in *Parte XXVII, Extravagante,* of Lope's *Comedias* (Barcelona, 1633), wrongly attributed to Lope; see H. C. Heaton, *Romanic Review,* XV:100, and W. A. Kincaid, "Life and Works of Luis de Belmonte," *Rev. Hisp.*, LXXIX:76.

[4] *El sastre del campillo, y duelos de honor y de celos.* Printed in *Poesías cómicas—obras póstumas de don Francisco Banzes Candamo. Tomo Segundo* (Madrid, 1722). There are two manuscript copies of this play in the Biblioteca Nacional, one (No. 16988) of the late seventeenth century, the other (No. 16429) of the eighteenth; reprinted in B.A.E., XLIX:349–368.

now arrive on the scene and think it is Manrique who is dead. Alfonso, meanwhile, has been handed over to the *barba,* Nuño Almegir, who conducts him safely to San Estéban de Gormaz. Manrique lives for some time, his identity unsuspected, but the king, who is a rival suitor for the hand of Blanca, grows suspicious, and asks D. Fernán Ruiz de Castro to challenge the pseudo-tailor as a traitor. In the end, however, Manrique is declared a *buen caballero* and betrothed to Blanca, and Fernán Ruiz is made happy by being given the hand of Elvira, Manrique's sister.

The date of composition of Bances' play is not known, nor in the present comparison is it important, because of the similarity of the plot to the original. It is quite evident that Vélez got the main outline of his plot from Belmonte, as a comparison of the two plays will show. Vélez' play may therefore be assigned a date subsequent to the writing of *El sastre del campillo* (1624), or perhaps to its first impression (1633).

No trace of the legend of the *sastre del campillo* or of the *ollero de Ocaña* is found either in the older chronicles or in the histories posterior to Vélez' death.[5] The story may have sprung from an oral tradition or it may be the invention of some playwright. The former hypothesis seems the more likely. The idea of a combat between the champion of the young king and the former's enemy may have been taken from the chapter in Ocampo headed: "Batalla grande de don Ferrán Ruyz de Castro con el conde don Malrrique de Lara, en que morió don Malrrique."[6]

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[5] Cf. *Crónica de los Señores Reyes de Castilla, D. Sancho el Deseado, Don Alonso el Octavo, y Don Enrique el Primero,* por Don Alonso Nvñez de Castro (Madrid, 1665). *Memorias Históricas de la Vida y Acciones del Rey D. Alonso el Noble, Octavo del Nombre,* Recogidas por el Marqués de Mondéxar, e Ilustradas con Notas y Apéndices por D. Francisco Cerdá y Rico (Madrid, Imprenta de Sancha, 1783). On *el sastre del Campillo,* a character of folklore, see L. Montoto, *Personajes, Personas y Personillas, etc.* (second edition; Sevilla, 1922), pp. 358ff.

[6] *Op. cit.,* Fol. CCCLXXXIII b, col. 2.

[51]

LAS PALABRAS A LOS REYES Y GLORIA DE LOS PIZARROS

Comedia Famosa de Luis Vélez de Guevara

[FIRST LINES]

Salen don Francisco Pizarro, y don Diego Almagro.

D. Fer. Señor don Diego de Almagro,
oy a de ver Panamá
que atenta a los dos está
de la amistad un milagro.

[LAST LINES]

Carl. Los dos seremos padrinos.
D. Fern. Y aquí tiene fin, Senado,
las Palabras a los Reyes
y gloria de los Pizarros.

A rare play preserved in *suelta* form s. l. n. a. Copies in the British Museum and in Schaeffer's collection, Vol. XXXIV, show very slight discrepancies. Not available to Cotarelo.

Characters

Carlos Quinto, emperador.
Doña Isabel, emperatriz.
El marqués de Pescara.
Don Fernando Pizarro.
Don Francisco, su hermano.
Don Diego de Almagro.
Galván, *gracioso.*
Peralta.
Truxillo.
Mesa.
Atabáliua, Inga (emperador del Piru).
Luna y Sirena, sus dos mugeres.
Tucapela, India, *cacica.*
Mancopol, capitán.
Gualeua, dama.
Tucalpa.
Alicán.
Polipán.
Un escriuano.
Indios.
Soldados.

Jornada I

The play opens in Panama. D. Francisco Pizarro and D. Diego de Almagro discuss the opportunities of further conquest for the greater glory of Spain and Emperor Charles V. To the south of Panama the newly discovered Pacific offers a route to unknown lands rumored to be fabulously rich in gold. The two soldiers draw up an agreement in the usual legal form—"Sepan cuantos esta carta vieren, etc."—according to which they are to share alike all gain "partiendo lo que les tocare a entrambos por igual." They also invite Fernando Pizarro, a brother of Francisco, at the time still in Spain, to join their enterprise under the same conditions.

Francisco Pizarro is to sail south equipped with ships and men, Almagro is to collect further reserves and supplies in Panama to be forwarded to Pizarro. Both pledge their adherence to the agreement and sign their names, as do various witnesses. Fired with enthusiasm, a number of soldiers enlist in the great adventure.

The next scene takes us to the court of Charles V. Fernando Pizarro seeks an audience with his sovereign in order to obtain a commission or some other favor, but Charles tells him bluntly that his credentials will be examined in good time. Fernando replies:

Vuestra cesarea
magestad me dé licencia,
pues de essa manera agravia
los servicios de mi padre,
y los míos.
Car. Dezid.
D. Fer. Para
iros a servir a reynos
estraños, donde esta espada
gane, a pesar de la embidia
y la fortuna contraria,
para los dos de comer.

But Charles closes the interview with the words:

Pues advertid, *que palabras*
dadas a reyes, es fuerça
cumplillas, y executallas.

This reply inspires Fernando to make good his boast and he sets out for Truxillo to sell his property and embark for the Indies. The following scene shows us Francisco Pizarro landing near the Peruvian coast on an island. We witness the surprise of the Indians, who finally flee in terror of the newcomers. Pizarro finds Tucapela, a *cacica,* asleep; she is fascinated, on awakening, by his strange appearance and, fearing treachery, threatens him with death. Pizarro shows her his firearm, whereupon she, too, runs away. Pursuing her, he comes upon a rock which, opening, discloses a figure personifying America. The figure tells him of the coming of Fernando, prophesies in a long discourse Pizarro's own glorious career, the establishment of the Church throughout the Indies, and the winning of new territories for Charles and Spain. Francisco returns to his ships and men and prepares to carry his conquest into Peru.

JORNADA II

We return to Spain and the court of Charles. Francisco Pizarro is announced, seeking an audience with Charles in order to lay before him the result of his first expedition. He pleads for the emperor's favor against jealous rivals who desire to relieve him and Almagro of their command and of the rights of conquest in the new lands. Charles promises him ships and men to continue his enterprise. The next scene discloses Fernando Pizarro, the *gracioso,* Galván, and a retinue of soldiers in Peru. Galván declaims against the hardships which all have to suffer and wishes himself back in Spain, with the fleshpots of home.

¡O toledanas morcillas,
o mondongón de Madrid,
o pan de Valladolid,
o lonjas de Algarrobillas!
Lléveme Dios a que os goze
para el invierno que viene;
y con el oro que tiene
todo el Pirú, se arreboze.

The fearless attitude and the eloquent exhortations of Fernando, leader during the absence of Francisco, finally win the followers over to heroic resolutions. Tucapela is heard crying for help near the shore and is rescued from the sea by Fernando. She mistakes him for Francisco, with whom she has already fallen in love. This makes Fernando think that she is mad, but when the others have left them alone she tells him her story. Like the shepherdesses of the pastoral novels she has roamed the fields:

Con el arco y las flechas
los bosques fatigaba,
las aves por los vientos,
los peces en las aguas.
Tal vez en las florestas,
sobre la ociosa hamaca,
las aves y las fieras
el sueño me guardaban.
No me daban cuidado
entonces las batallas,
que estas dos islas Puna
y Tumbez se intentaban.

In the midst of this simple life she had first encountered the Spaniards under Francisco Pizarro. That very day in her wanderings she had been captured by a hostile cannibal tribe, but was finally enabled to make her escape in a storm. In the meantime the cannibals attacked the other foreigners and captured Galván and Truxillo, whom they considered toothsome morsels. This scene gives

the *gracioso* an opportunity to amuse the pit in spite of his precarious situation. Galván thinks that he is just about to be converted into a sausage when Fernando's party comes to the rescue and drives the savages off, Galván using the *asadores* in self-defense.

JORNADA III

We now become acquainted with the Indian chieftain, Atabáliba (Atahualpa), and his entourage. The scene is one of richness and pageantry intended to display the Inca's wealth and authority. The Spaniards are heard within, singing songs in praise of their sovereign. At this point the author inserts a scene between Francisco Pizarro and the enamored maiden, Tucapela, whom, wishing to escape from her wiles, he courteously keeps at arm's length. He manages, however, to leave with her a portrait of the Virgin Mary. Tucapela expresses her admiration for the picture and then in a long monologue gives vent to her jealousy and passion. Francisco reënters, and when he again makes an effort to escape from her importunities, she follows him and attempts to shoot him with an arquebus, which fortunately is not loaded.

The scene now changes to a patio in Jamalca. Galván rushes in to announce the coming of hosts of Indians under their famous chieftain, led by the vengeful Tucapela. Francisco Pizarro, who has made all preparations to meet the enemy, first addresses Atabáliba with words of peace, telling him the story of the Creation and of the coming of Christ, and urging upon him the advantages of becoming a Christian and acknowledging the sovereignty of Charles V. This irrelevant and naïve speech arouses the Indian chieftain to wrath, and he taunts the Spaniards, telling them that they will never leave Peru alive. The ensuing battle is brief and the victorious Spaniards capture both the Inca and Tucapela. The last scene presents Charles V and Isabel in Sevilla about to receive Fernando Pizarro as a conqueror. Pizarro appears with the Inca and Tucapela, and recounts, in proof of the fulfillment of the vow that he made to his sovereign at their first interview, the history of his conquest.

THIS PLAY CONTAINS Vélez' customary fusion of history with fantastic events; patriotic passages extol Spanish courage, and ex-

pressions of loyalty to the monarch are mingled with naïve religious sentiments. The figure representing America recalls the use of personification in the older drama of Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, in Cervantes (*Numancia*), and others. The humorous scenes created by Galván are among Vélez' best. The technique and the language, in which may be found a few touches of *culto* and even of *gongorismo,* indicate that Vélez composed the play in the later years of his life.

Various Spanish playwrights have attempted to use significant episodes of the American conquest on the stage. Lope wrote a play entitled *El nuevo mundo descubierto por Colón* (Part IV, 1614); Tirso composed three plays[1] dealing with the Pizarro brothers but touching slightly on Spain's relation to the New World. They were printed in his fourth part (1635), and the titles are: *Todo es dar en una cosa,* which deals with the early youth of Francisco Pizarro; *Amazonas en las Indias,* in which Gonzalo Pizarro plays the leading part in a war against the mythical Amazons, pictured as a mixture of sorceresses and warriors; and *La lealtad contra la embidia,* in which Fernando Pizarro shares the renown of his brother Francisco, and, as conquistador, is the protagonist. All three plays are listed with the subtitle *Hazañas de los Pizarros.* It is inconceivable that Tirso thought of them as a trilogy, for they have no connection whatsoever. Nor is any relationship to be detected between Tirso's works and the play of Luis Vélez. Calderón introduces Francisco Pizarro in one of his religious dramas, *La aurora en Copacabana,* which deals with the introduction of Christianity into Peru.[2]

The appearance of native Indians on the Spanish stage cannot be called successful. Neither their speech nor their actions differentiate them as exotic characters from the usual stage types. Vélez is no exception to this generalization, although his American scenes seem less absurd than some of the features in the abovementioned drama by Lope or such a play as *Las Amazonas en las Indias,* by Tirso, or Calderón's colorful and animated but fantastic composition. The portraiture of Fernando Pizarro is the principal

[1] See Cotarelo, *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles,* IV and IX, containing *Comedias de Tirso de Molina;* see I:519–615, and II, Nos. 79, 6, and 47 of the *catálogo razonado.*

[2] This play has been praised excessively by Schack, *op. cit.,* III:140–142.

element in Vélez' picture since he is the protagonist of the whole conception and the leading character of the play. The object of the poet seems to be the glorification of the amazing conquest of Peru, a result achieved by sheer personal valor on the part of a handful of adventurers against overwhelming odds in the numbers of Indians and the hardships withstood by both leaders and men. Vélez also made of his play a hymn of praise to the whole discovery, with the dominating note of patriotism. As drama Vélez' composition shows his usual predilection for the superman, for whom he had on this occasion sufficient historical material, even without the added fiction, to achieve a result more nearly in accord with the facts than was usual with him.

The greatest liberty is taken with the fate of the Inca, Atahualpa, who in the play is brought alive to Spain and presented to Charles V; in reality he was put to death by the Spaniards. Ercilla, whose *Araucana* was before Vélez when he invented some of his names,[8] presents the natives and the land of his conquests in a far more convincing way than Vélez because, as commanding general, he had a hand in the wars which he describes. His personal contact enabled him to paint his characters and episodes with greater understanding.

Vélez had at his disposal numerous sources for the Peruvian discoveries. The probability is that he did not draw upon the earlier narratives, published shortly after the death of the Inca chieftain, but the more general histories which were issued nearer the date of composition of his drama. The bibliography for the period connected with our play can conveniently be divided into two groups, the earliest and least elaborated accounts, attributable for the greater part to eyewitnesses, and the later more extensive historical narratives of the conquest of America. The first group is well treated in the anonymous *La conquista del Perú* (Seville, April, 1534) and the *Libro Ultimo del Summario delle Indie occidentali* (Venice, Oct., 1534. Edited with an Introduction and a Bibliography by Alexander Pogo). See *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,* LXIV, No. 8 (July, 1930).

The reader may also consult with profit the *List of Works for the Study of Hispanic-American History,* by Professor Hayward

[8] Compare Vélez' Tucapela, Guacolda, Alicán, and Polipán with Ercilla's Tucapel, Tegualda, Caupolicán, Andalicán, and others.

Keniston (New York, 1920); see pp. 57ff. and 291ff. Among the works listed, the *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas i Tierra Firme del Mar Océano* (4 vols., 1601–1615) by Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas is the one most likely to have served our author; see especially *Decada quinta*. Another work is the *Historia General del Perú* (1617), composed by Garcilaso de la Vega, el Inca, in which Vélez could also have found an adequate account upon which to base his play.

[52]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

DEL PRIMER CONDE DE ORGAZ Y SERVICIO BIEN PAGADO

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

D. Gon. Salue, Imperial Toledo, a cuya silla
el Aguila caudal de dos coronas
el buelo abate y la ceruiz humilla.

[LAST LINES]

D. Lo. Pues pagó el cielo tan bien
seruicios de Don Gonzalo,
llámese aquesta comedia
el servicio bien pagado.

The third play in a rare volume, *Doce comedias de varios autores,* printed at Tortosa in 1638 and occupying folios 69–96. Copy in Bibl. Nac. (R. 23,135), defective, with upper half of first page, which contained author's name, torn out. No author is given in the index, hence La Barrera lists the play "anon." Cotarelo possessed a *tomo colecticio* containing our play as a *suelta.* This was originally part of a copy of the Tortosa edition of 1638, and the complete first page gives Vélez as the author.*

CHARACTERS

El rey don Sancho.
La reyna.
D. Gonzalo de Toledo.
D. Lope Díaz de Haro.
El conde de Girón (*sic* for Gijón).
D. Juan.
D. Pedro, padre del conde
D. Manuel de Figueroa.
El duque de Benauente.
Doña Mayor, dama de la reina.
El infante don Fernando.
Doña Ynés.
Aben Juseph, rey de Marruecos.
Jarifa.
Bençuri.
Zulaymán.
Un maestro de cantería.
Un verdugo.
Tabaco, lacayo *gracioso.*
Coutiño, lacayo portugués.
San Estéban.
San Augustín.

ACTO I

Toledo rejoices to learn of the birth of an heir to Sancho IV. At the same time we hear of victories gained over the Moors by the generals, D. Lope Díaz de Haro and D. Gonzalo de Toledo; the former

* I am indebted for these details to Dr. Ruth L. Kennedy.—R. S.

is made conde de Treviño, the latter is named Señor de Orgaz and he also accepts in marriage Doña Mayor, maid of honor to the queen, although he fears the marital state. D. Gonzalo decides to erect three temples, one to Santo Tomé, one to San Bartolomé, and another to Santiuste.

The conde de Gijón, who is in love with Doña Mayor, is stricken with a kind of madness, and, in imitation of Orlando, he carries off Doña Mayor from a masked ball given in honor of her betrothal to Count Orgaz.

ACTO II

Heaven decides to repay D. Gonzalo for his pious services. San Estéban and San Agustín rescue Doña Mayor from the violence of the conde de Gijón and carry her in a cloud to the side of her betrothed. Gijón turns traitor and joins Abenjuseph, who is laying siege to Gibraltar.

ACTO III

The conde de Gijón, having gone from one crime to another, finally plots with Jarifa the death of his benefactor, Abenjuseph, but a vision of the bloody head of his father, whom he had slain, fills him with terror and he abstains from his intention, only to be gored to death subsequently in a bull ring.

D. Gonzalo's life is drawing to a close. In a last military exploit in company with the young prince, Fernando, he raises the siege of Tarifa. The noted warrior dies and is carried to his beloved temple of Santo Tomé, in Toledo. San Estéban and San Agustín assist at his burial rites and lay him in the grave.

THIS IS CLEARLY a plot conceived according to our author's dramatic principles: a background of Spanish history with well-known names, military display, unexpected visions, such as that of the gory head of Don Pedro slain by his own son, a typical monster of wickedness, and, finally, the supernatural appearance of San Estéban and San Agustín. Individual scenes of merit do not save the play from being disjointed and uneven; but the vivacity and humor of the *graciosos,* as well as the spectacular elements with which the composition abounds, must have made it a popular performance.

Various books might have inspired some of the scenes of Vélez' drama, although he may have taken the principal idea from El

Greco's famous painting (completed 1584) on the wall of Santo Tomé at Toledo, which he very likely viewed on a visit to that famous old city. Among the numerous books of Vélez' day which speak of the pious foundation of the count of Orgaz and describe his death and burial, the most probable source seems to be the well-known work of Francisco de Pisa: *Descripción de la imperial Ciudad de Toledo y historia de sus antigüedades, etc.*, Part I (Toledo, 1605; no more published). Another edition of Part I was printed by Dr. T. Tamaio de Vargas (Toledo, 1617). Cf. Pérez Pastor, *La Imprenta en Toledo*, p. 186.[1] Pisa speaks at length of the count's holy life and pious works and describes the burial in which the heavenly visitors took part. The title of Vélez' play may be reminiscent of the words uttered by the two saints, according to Pisa: *Tal galardón recibe quien a Dios y a sus santos sirve.*[2]

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[1] These two editions are identical except for the preliminary pages. The colophon of both bears the date 1605. Perhaps the solution of this mystery may be found in the unfinished state of the work. Part I, apparently ready by 1600, was finally printed in 1605, but a part of the issue was held up awaiting the completion of Part II. When the author died, leaving only notes for Part II, Tamayo completed the printing of Part I. Copies of both editions are in the British Museum.

[2] See also *Las Parroquias de Toledo: Nuevos datos referentes a estos templos sacados de sus archivos*, por R. Ramírez de Arellano (Toledo, 1921), p. 271; the author speaks of the church of Santo Tomé, giving details of its foundation, of the burial of the count of Orgaz, and of the commemoration of the *fiesta de Santo Tomé;* S. Ramón Parro, *Toledo en la mano, etc.* (Toledo, 1857), II:247ff.; Pedro de Alcocer, *Historia de la imperial Ciudad de Toledo* (1554), a book which quickly became rare and which was the source of other accounts dealing with Toledo; Hisp. Soc. and Brit. Mus.; and *España, sus monumentos y artes, etc., Castilla la Nueva* (Barcelona, 1886), III:267.

[53]

EL PRÍNCIPE ESCANDERBEY

Comedia Famosa de Luys Vélez de Gueuara

Representóla Antonio de Prado

[FIRST LINES]

Esc. ¿Quién eres, Palas Christiana?
¿Quién eres, Vngara heroyca?

[LAST LINES]

Layn. Y aquí, Senado, se quede
la historia de Escanderbey;
la voluntad os ofrece
el Poeta; y perdón pide
si las faltas lo merecen.

First printed in *Parte veynte y ocho de comedias de varios autores.* Con licencia. En Huesca. Por Pedro Blusón Impressor de la Universidad. Año 1634. A costa de Pedro Escuer Mercader de Libros. Brit. Mus.; Ticknor library. (Cotarelo 61.)

Characters

Escanderbey.	Ceylán.	Celio.
Cristerna.	Layn, *gracioso.*	Fesberto.
Amurates.	Alberto, *viejo.*	Cautivos.
Sultana.	Ricardo.	Rey de Cicilia.
Rosa.		Soldados.

Jornada I

Jorge Escanderbey, an Albanian in the service of the sultan Amurates, when attacking the city of Buda yields, through admiration, to the daring valor of Cristerna, daughter of Castrioto Teodoro, of the royal family of Albania, and gives up the siege of the city. He returns to the court of the sultan, and soon afterward the sultana, angered by his refusal to meet her amorous advances, plots his ruin. Ceylán, who is in love with the sultana and jealous of the favoritism shown Escanderbey, is only too eager to get him out of the way and is therefore the sultana's willing ally.

These enemies of Escanderbey soon find a means to discredit him with the sultan. In a private conference held between the two, an arrow falls at the sultan's feet. To this arrow is attached a letter in which the recipient is warned to beware of the treachery of the one

he loves best. Now Escanderbey is the one the sultan loves best, and to prove his loyalty to his sovereign he at once offers up his head in willing sacrifice. This act of devotion pleases the ruler and removes from his mind all suspicion. However, during Escanderbey's recital of the events of his recent campaign, which immediately follow this incident, the sultan falls asleep and dreams that his favorite is attacking him. When Escanderbey sees that his master has fallen asleep, he leaves his presence but rushes back with drawn sword to defend him when he hears his sudden outcry for help. The sultana and Ceylán also appear and denounce Escanderbey as a traitor. Appearances are against him and Amurates resolves upon his death.

Jornada II

Cristerna hears of Escanderbey's imprisonment, and, coming to Amurates' court, she proclaims herself the champion of his innocence. Escanderbey hears of her noble action and at a secret meeting the two confess their mutual love. The sultan has also fallen in love with Cristerna and sends Ceylán to arrest her. Escanderbey prevents him, and in the very presence of the ruler conducts her safely from the court.

Jornada III

Escanderbey tells Cristerna of several dreams and visions that he has had, in which he is urged to return to the faith of his fathers. Shortly afterward Amurates orders Escanderbey, in company with Ceylán, to march against the Albanians, who are in revolt. Escanderbey is incensed at the sultan's lack of trust in him, as evidenced by his sending Ceylán to spy upon him, but, as a good subject should, he obeys the order.

Presently he learns from Alberto, an Albanian captive, that he is the son of the late king of Albania, Juan Castrioto, and that, when a child, he and his two brothers were given by his father as hostages to Amurates, who, after having the two brothers treacherously slain, spared Jorge's life and had him brought up as a Mohammedan. Escanderbey is greatly moved by this news and determines to avenge his country's wrongs by fighting in her defense. On learning of Amurates' treacherous order to have him and his men slain and Cristerna taken captive, he joins his forces with those of the king of Sicily, who has come to the aid of the Albanians, de-

clares himself a Christian, and enters upon a career as champion of his country's freedom.

EL PRÍNCIPE ESCANDERBEY was, in its first edition, attributed to Vélez. A play with the same title, ascribed in Fajardo's *Index* to Lope, is supposed to have been printed in a *Parte XXVIII extravagante* of Lope's *comedias* (Zaragoza, 1639); the existence of this volume, however, is yet to be proved.[1] In *Escogidas,* XLV, the play was printed with the expanded title of *El gran Jorge Castrioto y príncipe Escanderbec.* Save for a few textual variants, this version is identical with the text of our *El príncipe Escanderbey.* The hero's name is given as Escanderbec, but this innovation is later lost sight of and the hero is designated as Escanderbey, as in the earliest known printed edition. In *Escogidas,* XLV, the play is ascribed to Vélez in the text, but to Belmonte in the *tabla.* There is also a *suelta* bearing the longer title, which is ascribed to Belmonte.[2] Perhaps the success of this play induced Vélez to write a second part, which he entitled *El príncipe esclavo;* this was published as a *suelta* in the late seventeenth century. Medel (*Indice*) has wrongly attributed it to Vélez' son Juan. The plot of this composition is given below (No. 54).

Both plays are in Vélez' most rhetorical and bombastic manner. Though they are meant to be warlike, spirited, and full of the sound of battle, there is too much striving for effect, too large an element of the supernatural, and too little skill in the delineation of character to permit us to consider these *comedias* other than good melodramas. Vélez took his material from Juan Ochoa de la Salde's Spanish version of the Portuguese translation by Franc. de Andrada (1567) of M. Barletius' Latin *Chronicle of Iskanderbey* (Rome, 1508?).[3]

This chronicle deals mainly with the battles, wars, and sieges

[1] Rennert, "Bibliography," p. 35.

[2] See Rennert, "Notes," *Mod. Lang. Rev.,* III:52; also W. A. Kincaid, *Life and Works of Luis de Belmonte,* pp. 199ff. Cotarelo possessed a manuscript with numerous variants, of a play called *El príncipe esclavo.* Only a comparison of these different versions will make clear their relationships.

[3] *Coronica del esforçado príncipe y Capitán Jorge Castrioto, rey de Epiro o Albania. Tradvzida de lengva Portuguesa en Castellano.* Por Jvan Ochoa de la Salde, Prior perpetuo de san Juan de Letrán (Madrid, Luis Sánchez, 1597); see fols. 8–16 (first ed., Lisbon, 1588); see also Nicholas Granucci, *Opera* (Lucca, 1569), p. 64: "Vita de Giorgio Castrioto chiamato Scanderbeg."

engaged in by Iskanderbey, though it also contains his biography. The siege of Croya is given in detail (fols. 110–119). The miracles, visions, apparitions, etc., with which the play abounds, are the playwright's invention, as well as the episode of the hero's removal of his father's ashes from infidel soil (Part II). The same is true of all that concerns Cristerna, who is a product of the poet's fancy. The chronicle, in the chapter entitled "Casamiento de Jorge Castrioto, a quien el Turco Mahamet pide paz,"[4] merely mentions a certain Donica who became Escanderbey's wife.

Montalbán, in the introduction to his *Escandarbech, Auto Sacramental,* first printed in his *Para Todos* (Madrid, 1632), bears out the statement that the character of Cristerna is of the poet's invention.[5]

Restori[6] mentions an ancient *suelta* (Parma cc. II, 28057. L°) in which both of Vélez' plays, *El príncipe Escanderbey* and *El príncipe esclavo,* are given, but only under the second title. Part I begins:

> *Esc.* ¿Quién eres, Palas Christiana?

and ends:

> Y aquí, discreto auditorio,
> dé fin *el príncipe esclavo;*
> merezca su autor de todos
> los yerros perdón, pues esto
> le bastará [a] alentar sólo.

Part II, to judge from the first and last lines quoted by Restori, is the same as *El principe esclavo.* The authorship is ascribed to Vélez. Another *suelta* in the same library, entitled *El gran Jorge Castrioto y principe Escanderberg,* which seems to be identical with that published in *Escogidas,* XLV, is different from either of the foregoing, according to Restori, who is inclined to believe that it is a revision of Vélez' play (Part I), possibly by Belmonte. A play designated as *La segunda de Escanderberg* was performed by the company of Antonio de Prado, January 17, 1629.[7] This was probably Vélez' *El principe esclavo.*

Other dramatic treatments of the same theme are Francisco Leyva Ramírez de Arellano's *Hijos del dolor y Albania tiranizada,* published in a *suelta* (Palatina-Parmense); a *comedia burlesca* by

[4] Fol. 119a.

[5] Fols. 185a–194b.

[6] *Piezas de títulos de comedias, op. cit.,* p. 99.

[7] See Remnert, "Notes, etc.," *Mod. Lang. Rev.,* III:52.

Felipe López, entitled *Escanderberg,* manuscript No. 17012, Biblioteca Nacional; and an *entremés nuevo de Escandarbey* by Melgarejo, a *suelta.*[8] Mention may, in this connection, be made of Góngora's *romance lírico* on Escanderbec beginning:

Criávase el Alvanés
En la Corte de Amurates[9]

and of Suárez de Deza's *Mojiganga de personajes de títvlos de comedias por estilo nvevo.*[10]

In a seventeenth-century codex of the Biblioteca Nacional entitled *Poesías varias,* manuscript No. 4271, there is a *romance* (*relación de comedia*) by Vélez (fols. 94–95) beginning:

Yaze, Cristerna, vna selua.

which recounts some of Escanderbey's supernatural experiences, and which evidently has been copied from Jornada III of *El Príncipe Escanderbey.*[11]

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[8] La Barrera, *Cat.*, p. 245.

[9] *Romances de Góngora,* editados por J. M. de Cossío (Madrid, 1927), p. 52.

[10] *Parte Primera de los Donayres de Tersicore,* by Vicente Svárez y Ávila (Madrid, Melchor Sánchez, 1663), fol. 64; see also Restori, *op. cit.*, pp. 149–150.

[11] The book by G. T. Pétrovitch, *Scanderbeg* (*Georges Castriota*): *Essai de Bibliographie raisonnée* (Paris, 1881), is inaccurate and unreliable with respect to the Spanish field.

[54]

EL PRÍNCIPE ESCLAVO

Comedia Famosa de Luis Vélez de Guevara

[FIRST LINES]

Ros. Ataja, ataja, ataja;
que el bruto amenaçando baxa

[LAST LINES]

Laín. Y a esto, Senado, reduce
de *Escanderbec* las hazañas,
Lauro, que copiosamente
repite eterna la fama.

Printed as a *suelta* without date, presumably at Madrid. Parma and Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 61.)

CHARACTERS

Sultana.	**Turcas.**	**Alberto.**
Rosa.	**Mahometo.**	**Moysés Golento.**
Fénix.	**Zeylán.**	**Escanderbec.**
Luna.	**Laín, *gracioso.***	**El legado del Papa.**
Amurates.	**Cristerna.**	**Mostafá.**
		Soldados.

JORNADA I

Amurates, the sultana his wife, and several companions are hunting the wild boar when Mahometo, son and heir of the sultan, joins them to say that he has had a most startling experience. He had just cut off a boar's head when he saw a man's head suddenly grow out on the severed neck. This apparition developed into the shade of his grandfather, Otomán, who warned him of the danger threatening the Ottoman empire at the hands of Jorge Castrioto Escanderbec, prince of Albania. This Christian champion is destined to overthrow the Turk; nevertheless Otomán urges his grandson on to battle in the hope that he may triumph over fate's decree. When Mahometo has concluded the account of this startling occurrence and has won his father's hearty approval of his determination to earn fame and glory on the field of battle, a trumpet sounds heralding the approach of a galley:

tan negra
que puede dar a la noche
assombros.

Zeylán and the Christian captive, Laín, disembark from this galley, and Zeylán tells the sultan of the defeat he has suffered at the hands of Escanderbec, and that the Albanian has been elected champion of his people. Amurates, greatly angered, accuses Zeylán of treachery and orders Laín, whom he considers an accomplice, to lead him off to a near-by thicket and cut his throat, assuring Laín that he, too, will receive a similar punishment. This naïve method of putting his orders into effect enables both Zeylán and Laín to plot their escape.

Meanwhile, at Acroya, Cristerna and Alberto discuss Escanderbec's recent naval victory over the Turk. When the young leader returns, he is met by Moysés Golento, who tells him that if he is really the son of Castrioto there should be a sword imprinted on his right arm. To prove his identity, Escanderbec bares his arm, shows the birthmark, and swears that henceforth he will always keep that arm bare in battle. Golento requests him to discard his Turkish garb, and Escanderbec, in compliance with the suggestion, enters a royal pavilion to be arrayed in regal attire preparatory to his coronation.

While he is being suitably attired for the approaching ceremony, Mostafá, a messenger of Amurates, appears bearing a declaration of war from his master. Escanderbec enters, arrayed in regal splendor, and begins to read the sultan's letter. As he is becoming conversant with the contents, Mostafá attempts to stab him in the back, but the earth suddenly opens and swallows up the messenger and the attempt fails. Escanderbec goes to meet the papal legate, who is awaiting him; he is received into the Church on making his profession of faith; and the title "Defender of the Faith" is conferred upon him. His marriage with Cristerna, his near relative, receives the Church's sanction and all prepare to enter the city and celebrate the nuptials.

Jornada II

Some time later Jorge has a vision of his dead father, who informs him that he is doomed to wander over the earth until his bones are taken from infidel soil and given proper burial. The son vows that he will not rest until his father's ashes are brought to Acroya.

Soon afterward Escanderbec is attacked by Amurates' army of 200,000 men. Although the odds are overwhelmingly against him,

since he has only 20,000 men under his command, the Albanian is nevertheless victorious and even succeeds in taking captive Mahometo, the sultan's son. He sends a message to Amurates that he will deliver the captive up if the bones of his father are returned to him, together with all the Christian captives; if his offer is refused, he will ravage Amurates' empire with fire and sword.

Jornada III

Amurates accepts the Albanian's offer, but, once his son is safe, he refuses to let the Christian captives go or to permit the bones of Jorge Castrioto to be removed. Mahometo gainsays his father and rebukes him for not keeping his word. The sultan grows very angry at this and threatens to kill his son, but the chill of death suddenly grips him and he realizes in terror that his end is near.

Meanwhile, Escanderbec has ordered an attack on the enemy. He arrives victorious at the sultan's camp after being miraculously saved from death, just as the sultan is expiring. He refuses to take advantage of his fallen enemy and bids his men refrain from pushing their victory farther. The dying Amurates applauds his generosity, permits him to remove his father's ashes, and releases the Christian captives. The play ends as Escanderbec marches off to get his father's remains in order that they may be given proper burial.

This drama was written by Vélez as Part II of *El Príncipe Escanderbey;* for a discussion of both plays see No. 53.

[55]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

EL PRIVADO PERSEGUIDO

[DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA]

[FIRST LINES]

Con. Señor don Tello, no puedo
desmentir tantos agrauios.

[LAST LINES]

Lun. dando al caso peregrino
del *Luzero de Castilla*
fin desta suerte, y principio
a *la Luna de Aragón*
que siguió sus pasos mismos.

First printed anonymously in *El mejor de los meiores Libro*[*s*] *que han salido de comedias nuevas* (Alcalá, 1651); Vienna; Bibl. Nac.; Berlin. (Cotarelo 63.)

CHARACTERS

El rey don Juan.	El duque de Arjona.	La reina.
El príncipe.	Don Tello de Lara.	Doña Francisca Pacheco.
Don Álvaro de Luna.	Un Alcalde.	Doña Aldonza.
El conde de Santorcaz.	Gavilán.	Mendo, criado.

JORNADA I

The duke of Arjona, known as *El lucero de Castilla,* has incurred the enmity of the count of Santorcaz, not only because of the favoritism shown him by Juan II of Castile and León, but also because he has married Doña Aldonza, with whom the count is hopelessly in love. However, the count does not scruple to ask favors of his successful rival and requests him to use his influence with the king to have the count appointed captain of the guard. In reply, the duke speaks of certain rumors which have reached him of slanderous statements made by the count, who denies the justice of the accusation. His protestations of innocence seem to satisfy the duke, and when the king enters soon afterward to visit his favorite, Arjona succeeds in having the count appointed captain of the guard. Santorcaz pretends to be grateful for the service rendered him by his rival, but secretly he intends to injure him at the earliest opportunity.

Jornada II

A young Aragonese, Don Álvaro de Luna by name, has come to Burgos, and, because of the duke of Arjona's interest in him, receives several favors from the king. Pleased with the young man's merits, the king plays on his name, saying that his "moon" is entering a new phase:

> Luna de Aragón, ya empieza
> a crecer vuestra menguante;
> esperad veros tan llena
> como el Sol.

The count has thought of a way to discredit his rival. He plans to seek out, some night, the house where a woman by the name of Aldonza may be living, to enter on the pretext of making love to her, and when her angry husband or her relatives rush out at the disturbance, to proclaim loudly that he is the duke of Arjona. This plan the count carries out with greater success than he had anticipated, for the king happens to be near by and overhears the count say that he is the duke. Although scarcely crediting the evidence of his senses, he is deceived into thinking that his favorite is guilty of misdemeanor, and is finally convinced of the duke's guilt when, on the following morning, he receives several written statements to the effect that the duke respects the honor of no woman, married or single, in Burgos. As a result the duke is sent to prison in charge of his enemy, the captain of the guard.

Jornada III

The king assembles his nobles to see that justice is meted out to the duke for his offense. Don Álvaro de Luna, who is among those present, cannot believe that his friend is guilty of the charges brought against him and, before all the court, offers himself as his champion. The king, at this, orders Don Álvaro taken prisoner for daring to show such temerity in the royal presence. The nobles are ordered to leave the room, in order that Juan II may speak with the young man in private. When all have left the apartment, the king compliments Don Álvaro on his loyal defense of his friend and benefactor and says that he wants such a true and constant friend for his own. To prove his statement he creates Don Álvaro

marquis of Villena, and then, calling in the count, orders that astonished person to conduct the duke a prisoner to his house.

Some time later the count enters the duchess' apartment at night in order to press his suit upon her. His proceedings are witnessed by both Don Álvaro and the king, who happen to be near. The duchess resists his advances and in the struggle which follows Don Álvaro intervenes and wounds the count mortally. The king, coming on the scene, hears enough from the dying man to convince him of the duke's innocence, whereupon he goes in person to the prison where his favorite is confined to pardon him and restore him to favor. At the same time he shows his regard for Don Álvaro by creating him duke of Trujillo and betrothing him to Doña Francisca Pacheco, with whom Álvaro is in love.

THIS PLAY HAS A PLACE among Vélez' meritorious compositions and is characterized by a sustained interest. The ending of Act II is especially dramatic and spirited, and the several steps whereby the king is led to believe in the duke's guilt are handled in a most ingenious fashion. The subplot, the queen's jealousy of Doña Aldonza, is not essential to the development of the main theme, but loosely connected subplots are frequently a part of Luis Vélez' dramatic structure.

D. Fadrique de Castro, duke of Arjona and count of Trastamara, was imprisoned on the charge of treason by order of King John II of Castile in 1429, and died the following year in the castle of Peñafiel. The king was preparing to invade Aragon and had summoned the duke, among others, to join him. But the duke delayed his coming and halted several times on his way, so that the king at length suspected him of treasonable negotiations with the Aragonese. Finally the duke set out on the 23d of July and, accompanied by his command, came within half a mile of the king's abode. When he approached to pay his respects to his monarch, the king stated his grievance and ordered the duke to be held prisoner.[1]

The *muchas cosas que se fallaron contra este duque,* other than the suspicion that he might be guilty of treason, are not mentioned

[1] See *Crónica del Señor Rey Don Juan, Segundo de Este Nombre en Castilla y en León* (formerly attributed to Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Valencia, 1779), Chaps. XXII (1429)–XXIII (1430); in B.A.E., LXVIII:461–482; *Crónica de D. Álvaro de Luna, Condestable de los reynos de Castilla y de León, etc.* (Madrid, 1784).

in either of the above-cited chronicles. Popular fancy, however, soon filled in the gaps, and in a well-known *romance viejo* the duke was charged with many crimes.

En Arjona estaba el duque—y el buen rey en Gibraltar;[2]
envióle un mensajero—que le hubiese a hablar.
Malaventurado duque—vino luego sin tardar;
jornada de quince días—en ocho la fuera a andar.
Hallaba las mesas puestas—y aparejado el yantar.
Desque hubieron comido—vanse a un jardín a holgar.
Andándose paseando,—el rey comenzó a hablar:
—De vos, el duque de Arjona,—grandes querellas me dan;
que forzades las mugeres—casadas y por casar;
que les bebíades el vino,—y les comíades el pan;
que les tomáis la cebada,—sin se la querer pagar.—
—Quiene os lo dijo, buen rey,—no vos dijo la verdad.
—Llámenme mi camarero—de mi cámara real,
que me trajese unas cartas,—que en mi barjuleta están.
Védeslas aquí, el duque,—no me lo podéis negar.
Preso, preso, caballeros,—preso de aquí lo llevad:
entregaldo al de Mendoza,—ese mi alcalde el leal.
—*Canc. de Rom.* (1550), fol. 287.[3]

Vélez with his usual disregard for historical accuracy has, in the present drama, greatly altered the facts. There is no mention in the chronicle of D. Álvaro de Luna of any great friendship between him and the duke of Arjona; therefore it must be considered a pleasing fancy of the poet. Moreover, Vélez, basing his play mainly on the *romance,* places the action several years back, at the time when D. Álvaro first came to court (1408).[4] The charges brought against the duke in the play are undoubtedly suggested by the *romance,* as there is no mention in it of treasonable negotiations with the Aragonese; but the happy ending is of the poet's invention, another device our author often used in order to avoid a catastrophe at the close even though the catastrophe might be historical.

If Vélez wrote this composition late in his career, he may have utilized in some measure the plot of *Próspera fortuna de Don Álvaro de Luna, y adversa de rvy López de Ávalos,* ascribed to

[2] Possibly Belamazán in an earlier version, Gibraltar being substituted as it was better known.—Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología,* XII:162.

[3] *Ibid.,* VIII:140. Also reprinted in Durán, No. 984.

[4] *Crónica de D. Álvaro, op. cit.,* p. 10.

Tirso de Molina.[5] In this play the young Don Álvaro de Luna, soon after his arrival at court, wins the good graces of his sovereign and is consequently shown great favor. Ruy López, too, is falsely accused by his secretary of a crime of which he is innocent, and in the end is freed of the charges brought against him. As in *El privado perseguido,* Don Álvaro is betrothed to the lady of his choice, in this instance Doña Elvira.

There is no internal evidence in the text whereby to determine its possible date of composition. The play was reprinted at Madrid in 1653; in *Doce comedias las más grandiosas que hasta aora han salido, De los mejores y mas insignes poetas* (Lisboa, 1653), the index assigns the composition to Vélez. As a *suelta,* without date or place of publication, it was published with the title *El lucero de Castilla, y Luna de Aragón,* and, with the same title, in *Comedias escogidas de diferentes libros, de los mas célebres e insignes poetas* (Brussels, Manuel Texera Tartaz, 1704). Finally, the same play was published in 1837 as an unedited *comedia* of Calderón, with the title *El lucero de Castilla y privado perseguido.*[6]

Several manuscript copies are in the Biblioteca Nacional. A seventeenth-century copy, No. 16687, gives it the title *El privado perseguido;* one of the eighteenth century, No. 14865, is headed *El lucero de Castilla y privado perseguido* and the authorship assigned to Calderón; another, a copy of 1770, No. 16045, bears the same heading as the preceding, but the title at the beginning of each *jornada* gives only *El luzero de Castilla,* and in this copy no authorship is assigned to the play. Finally, manuscript No. 15561, a seventeenth-century copy, is entitled *Comedia famosa El Lucero de Castilla y Luna de Aragón de Guebara.* The title and ascription "de Guebara" are, however, in a later handwriting than

[5] *Segunda parte de las comedias del Maestro Tirso de Molina. Recogidas por sv Sobrino don Francisco Lucas de Avila* (Madrid, 1635). La Barrera (*Cat.,* p. 388) quoting Schack gives 1627 as the date of the first edition. See *Tirso de Molina,* in *Clásicos Castellanos* (2ª ed. por Américo Castro, 1922), p. liii. A seventeenth-century manuscript of this play, No. 17101, in the Biblioteca Nacional attributes it to Mira de Mescua; see also C. E. Anibal's edition of Mira de Amescua's *El arpa de David* (Columbus, 1925), p. 161.

The *segunda parte* of this play, printed in the same volume, with the title *Adversa fortuna de don Alvaro de Luna,* has no relation to Vélez' play. Nor have any of the following pieces by Damián Salustrio del Poyo, all of which are in Part III of Lope: *La privanza y cayda de Don Alvaro de Luna; La próspera fortuna del famoso Ruy López de Iualos el bueno; La adversa fortuna del muy noble cauallero de Iualos el Bueno.*

[6] *Teatro Antiguo Español* (Madrid, F. Grimaud de Velaunde, 1837).

that in which the text is copied. *Jornada III* of this manuscript is incomplete.

La Barrera (*Cat.*, p. 467) gives as equivalent titles of this drama *El paje de don Álvaro; El lucero de Castilla, y Luna de Aragón;* and *El duque de Arjona.* Medel (Index) assigns the authorship of *El privado perseguido* and of *El paje de don Álvaro*[7] to Don Juan Vélez, and that of *El duque de Arjona* and *El lucero de Castilla, y Luna de Aragón,* to his father Luis.

According to Cotarelo, *El Privado Perseguido* may have been published with the title of *El Duque de Arjona,* as he is one of the main characters in the play, but the title of *El Paje de don Alvaro* cannot be considered an equivalent. There is an early eighteenth-century manuscript copy of *El Luzero de Castilla y Luna de Aragón* in the Palatinate Library at Parma[8] without mention of author. Restori has collated this with a *suelta* entitled *El Privado Perseguido* and finds them identical.[9] Both, however, are different from another eighteenth-century manuscript copy in the same library of a play entitled *El Paje de don Álvaro* whose authorship is attributed to Calderón.[10] The same library also contains an eighteenth-century *suelta* (Madrid, A. Sanz, 1747) of a *comedia* by Cañizares with the several titles of *Vanda de Castilla; Duelo contra sí mismo; Privado Perseguido.* Its argument has nothing in common with any of the preceding.[11]

A play entitled *El Duque de Arjona* is mentioned as early as 1613.[12] It is impossible to identify this *comedia* as *El Privado Perseguido* of Vélez.

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[7] According to Schaeffer, whose library lists a *suelta* under Vélez with a question mark (Vol. XXXIII), this play has also been ascribed to Calderón. See also his *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas,* I:188, where he assigns it to Lope; and Rennert, "Bibliography," XXXIII:264.

[8] Restori, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 144 and p. 36. See La Barrera (*Cat.*, p. 530), who gives the titles as *Banda de Castilla y Duelo contra sí mismo, o el Privado Perseguido.*

[12] See Rennert, "Bibliography," *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXIII:264. Pérez Pastor, in *Bull. Hisp.*, 1907, p. 378, gives the following reference to *El Duque de Arjona:* "Gastos de la cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento de Orche para las fiestas del Corpus del año 1613: 'Primeramente se le reciben y pasan en quenta al dicho prioste noventa reales que gastó en comedias y sacar papeles en esta forma: la comedia *La Horca para su dueño,* treinta reales, la de *El Duque de Muscovia,* veinte y cuatro; la de *El Duque de Arjona* diez y seis; y de papel y traslados y de papeles, veinte reales'."

[56]

REYNAR DESPUÉS DE MORIR

Comedia Famosa, de Luis Vélez de Guevara

[FIRST LINES]

Mus. Soles, pues sois tan hermosos,
no arrojéis rayos soberuios....

[LAST LINES]

Cond. Esta es *la Inés laureada:*
con que el Poeta dió fin
a su tragedia, en que pudo
reynar después de morir.

The earliest recorded edition is *Comedias de los mejores y más insignes ingenios de España* (Lisbon, 1652); Berlin; Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 64.) B.A.E. XLV:109ff.; also published, according to Schack, in a rare volume entitled *Comedias de los mejores y más insignes ingenios de España* (Colonia, 1697). He probably meant the edition of which a copy exists in Göttingen, entitled, *Doze comedias de las más famosas que hasta aora han salido a luz de los mejores y más insignes poetas,* Part I, en Colonia Agrippina, 1697; (*Poet. dram.,* II, 70); our play is the ninth of the list.

Characters

El rey don Alonso.	El condestable de Portugal.	Brito.
El príncipe don Pedro.	Nuño de Almeida.	Violante.
Doña Blanca, infanta.	Egas Coello.	Alonso, niño.
Doña Inés de Castro.	Alvar González.	Otro niño.

Jornada I

Don Pedro, prince of Portugal, is betrothed by his father, Don Alonso, to Doña Blanca, infanta of Navarre. The prince, however, is in love with Doña Inés de Castro, a former lady-in-waiting to his late wife, and by her he has two sons. Doña Blanca arrives at the court of Portugal, where Don Pedro, utterly regardless of her feelings, tells her of his love for another and leaves her at the earliest opportunity in order to pay a visit to Inés. Doña Blanca is aroused by this neglect and insult and swears that she will be avenged by her rival's death.

Doña Inés is discovered by her lover sleeping in the woods. He awakens her and she tells him of her dream in which a crowned lion had handed over her two sons to two cruel men, and then

turned to kill her. The poor woman, fearful lest the dream may portend evil to herself and her children, is comforted by her lover's assurances of eternal fidelity.

Soon afterward, the king and the infanta meet Inés, with whose beauty and modesty the king is favorably impressed.

Jornada II

The infanta, whose feelings are deeply wounded by Don Pedro's continued neglect, informs the king that she is about to return to Navarre. The king, exasperated by his son's behavior, orders him to be imprisoned. Blanca meets Inés in the woods and tells her that she is soon to marry the prince. Inés, confident of her lover's affection, replies that he is by rights her husband, thereby incurring Blanca's anger and abuse. The king, meanwhile, is convinced by Alvar González that the most discreet solution of the political as well as moral deadlock, for which Inés is held mainly responsible, is to remove her from the life of the prince by any method, whether of persuasion or of violence.

Jornada III

Although filled with pity for Inés, the king is persuaded by the arguments of Alvar González and his confederate, Egas Coello, that the only way to secure the future safety of his kingdom is to have her put to death. The unhappy woman pleads for her life, but, in spite of all her entreaties, the king, after giving her the choice of giving up Don Pedro or of dying, takes the children from her and has her executed, thus fulfilling her prophetic dream.

The king dies suddenly when hunting. Hardly has the prince had time to recover from this shock when Blanca informs him of the death of Inés, at which news the grief-stricken man falls unconscious. The unhappy Blanca, sincerely moved by the death of Inés and overwhelmed by the tragic state of affairs at the court, is convinced that her love for the prince, now king of Portugal, can never be requited, and sets out at once for Navarre.

The prince, on coming out of his swoon, commands that the traitors, Alvar González and Egas Coello, be executed straightway; and, prostrated by his sorrow, he hastens to behold the body of his beloved, swearing that she shall yet be queen. We next see Pedro kneeling in a passion of grief at her side, and at the close he has

her crowned in state and orders that royal honors be paid her at her burial.

THIS PLAY, CONSIDERED, under the influence of an uncritical tradition, Vélez' masterpiece, has many of his best qualities. There is no evidence to determine the date of composition. It is well constructed, there being no scene that is not essential to the development of the plot. The characters are vividly drawn, giving to many of the scenes unusual merit, and the climax is especially dramatic. The language throughout is well suited to the theme, and there are many passages of rare poetic beauty. But it is impossible to find in this composition those traits which give Vélez his peculiar stamp and set him off from his contemporaries, several of whom could have written it. Long ago it was one of the few of his plays well known and accessible, and German criticism brought it into the limelight because of its highly romantic and tragic character. Owing to the popular approval which has from time to time justified its performance, Vélez' drama has been retained in the repertoire of the Teatro Español of Madrid, the home of classic plays of the Golden Age. At the close of the nineteenth century a revision of *Reinar después de morir* was undertaken by Francisco Fernández Villegas, and was printed at Madrid in 1902.

The well-known story of the unhappy fate of Doña Inés de Castro has been a favorite theme with poets and dramatists.[1] Camões, in *Os Lusiadas,* Canto III, stanzas cxviii–cxxxvi,[2] gives some space to it, and the Portuguese Antonio Ferreira (1528–1569) wrote a lyrical drama in five acts on the same theme entitled, *Inés de Castro.*[3] This play of Ferreira was translated freely into Spanish with the title of *Nise lastimosa,* by Jerónimo Bermúdez (Antonio de Silva), who added a second part of his own composition, *Nise laureada,*[4]

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[1] H. T. Heinermann, *Ignez de Castro: Die dramatischen Behandlungen der Sage in den romanischen Literaturen,* dissertation (Münster, 1914), *Rev. Fil. Esp.,* VIII:82; Karl Kreisler, *Der Inez de Castro-Stoff im romanischen und germanischen, besonders im deutschen Drama* (Kremsier), I (1908), II, (1909) (Program des Staatsgymnasiums in Kremsier).

[2] *Publications of the Hispanic Society of America,* No. 9 (New York, 1903).

[3] *Poemas Lusitanos de doctor Antonio Ferreira dedicados por seu filho Miguel Leite Ferreira, ao principe D. Philippe nosso senhor* (Lisboa, Pedro Craesbeeck, 1598), fols. 205–235.

[4] *Primeras tragedias españolas de Antonio de Silva* (Madrid, Francisco Sánchez, 1577). Republished in Ochoa's *Tesoro del Teatro Español,* I:309–348 (Paris, 1838).

likewise in five acts. In 1606 appeared *La infanta coronada,* a pseudo-epic in six cantos by Joan Soarez de Alarcón.[5] It gives the history of Doña Inés, interspersed with numerous tiresome digressions dealing with important events in Portuguese history. The next significant contribution to the literature on this theme is a drama by one Mejía de la Cerda published in *Tercera parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega y otros autores* (Valencia, 1611 [?]), with the title *Tragedia famosa de Doña Inés de Castro reyna de Portugal.*[6] The chief innovation in this play, in which it differs from the accounts given in the works mentioned above, is the incident of the king's banishing Don Pedro from the court on his refusal to marry the infanta of Aragon. The infanta is not named, however, nor is she one of the *dramatis personae.* The addition of Blanca to the personages in Vélez' play may have been suggested by this incident in Mejía's tragedy.

Lope lists among his *comedias* in the 1618 edition of *El peregrino, Doña Inés de Castro.* This drama, however, has in all probability been lost.[7]

In *Reinar después de morir,* Vélez introduces lines reminiscent of what may have been a popular *romance viejo* on the subject of Doña Inés de Castro, not unknown in the Peninsula and similar in most respects, save in the names of the chief personages and the scene of action, to one of the *romances* (No. 104 of the *Primavera*) on Isabel de Liar:[8]

Por los campos del Mondego
caualleros vi assomar,
y según he reparado
se van acercando acá.
Armada gente le sigue;
valgame Dios! que será? (Folio 96, b)

With great effect, too, he introduces certain verses from a *romance novelesco suelto* (*del "palmero"*) in the culminating scene of the drama.[9] They are the following.

[5] *La infanta coronada por el rey Don Pedro, Doña Inés de Castro* (Lisboa, Pedro Craesbeeck, 1606).

[6] Republished in the B.A.E., XLIII:391–409; see Rennert-Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega,* p. 446; also Ahrens, *op. cit.,* pp. 25ff.

[7] Rennert-Castro, *op. cit.,* p. 477.

[8] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología,* XII:284–290, for a discussion of how the *romances* of Isabel de Liar originally referred to Doña Inés de Castro.

[9] *Ibid.,* IX:278; see also S. G. Morley, "El romance del 'palmero'," *Rev. Fil. Esp.,* IX:298ff.

¿Dónde vas, el Cauallero,
dónde vas, triste de ti?;
que la tu querida esposa
muerta es, que yo la vi.
Las señas que ella tenía
bien te las sabré dezir,
su garganta es de alabastro
y su manos de marfil. (Folio 99)

To what degree Vélez drew from his predecessors in writing his drama is difficult to determine. The line *Ésta es la Inés laureada* may be an unconscious reminiscence of Bermúdez' second play; but *Reinar después de morir* has some originality of treatment and has been generally rated as the best dramatic version of the theme. In the next two centuries, the story of Inés de Castro was used by various dramatists, both in Spain and Portugal,[10] and occasionally was accompanied by incidental music.

[10] See also M. Méndez Bejarano, *Lágrimas poéticas*, in *Estudios eruditos in memoriam de Adolfo Bonilla*, II:601ff.

[57]

COMEDIA DEL RENEGADO DE JERUSALÉN

DE LUIS BÉLEZ

[FIRST LINES]

Efrando. Lo que quiere la ynfanta, caballeros,
es que beséis por rey la mano a Guido . . .

[LAST LINES]

Efrando. Y aquel poeta que estriba
en que nuestra opinión biba,
dió fin al prinzipio en quien
gana onor Jerusalén;
otro el fin adberso escriba.

Manuscript of the seventeenth century, No. 14968 of the Biblioteca Nacional. (Cotarelo 65.)

CHARACTERS

El duque Efrando.	Saladin, rey moro.	Ferraguto, Galván, Celino } moros.
Don Ramón, conde.	Laura.	
Guido, rey.	Cartabón, lacayo.	
Sibila, reina.	Marcelo, caballero.	Una sombra.
Elisa, infanta.		Un ángel.

JORNADA I

Sibila de Borbón, queen of Jerusalem, succeeds in having her husband, the Portuguese Guido, acknowledged king, in spite of the opposition of Count Ramón, who also aspires to the throne. Ramón is further angered when Guido refuses to consent to his marriage with Elisa, sister of Sibila. So great, indeed, is his disappointment at these sudden reversals of fortune that he is led to exclaim:

Guerra, alarma, patria mía,
perdonadme, si algún día
os hiziere ofensa a bos,
pues ya de la ley de dios
me muda una tiranía.

Soon after, Guido receives two Moorish ambassadors from Saladin II, ruler of Persia. One of these, Galbán, seizes the opportunity to embrace the Christian faith; Ramón, on the contrary, turns Moslem in order the better to avenge himself on Guido. Elisa, whose love for Duke Efrando is reciprocated, has just had a misunderstanding with her lover and departs to seek solace for her sorrow

in a garden by the sea. Ramón thinks that this is a good opportunity to slay her, but his friend and companion, the ambassador Ferraguto, persuades him instead to bear her captive to Saladin.

Jornada II

This they accomplish, in spite of her efforts at self-defense. In vain she calls on her lover for aid when her captors carry her off. Efrando, however, on learning of her danger, sets out in her defense but to his sorrow arrives too late. When Elisa is brought into Saladin's presence, he enquires of Ramón if she is his wife. The count disclaims any relationship, saying that he had intended to kill her, but instead he has fallen in love with her. Duke Efrando, in the presence of Saladin, challenges Ramón as a traitor, and threatens, if Elisa is not given up, to wage relentless warfare on the sultan's dominions. To this Ramón haughtily replies:

> fanfarrón cristiano, bete,
> y traiga Francia contigo;
> que yo les daré la muerte,
> y en bez de llevar tu esposa,
> buelve, y esposas pondréte.

Jornada III

Meanwhile, the affairs of Saladin's court have become more or less complicated, since both he and Ferraguto have become infatuated with the charms of the fair Elisa. Ferraguto even suggests to her that, if she will favor his suit, he will behead his sovereign to please her. Horrified at this declaration of treachery on his part, she tells him she will inform his master. Ferraguto thereupon desires to kill her, but the monarch, who has overheard their conversation, calls for the guard and has the traitor arrested and condemned to death. To Elisa, in return for this service, Saladin grants her freedom.

Guido, in the meantime, has received from Ramón a letter signed by Elisa, in which it is stated that Efrando, in return for her liberty and assurances of his own safety, intends to hand over the Christian army to Saladin. This letter is a forgery of the count's written on a sheet of paper on which Elisa had previously written her name when he assured her that he wanted to use it to ask Guido for pardon. On the strength of this communication Efrando is arrested and condemned to death. In the engagement which soon fol-

lows between Mohammedans and Christians, Guido meets Elisa and learns the truth of the matter.

Ramón, seeking escape from battle, is stopped by Death and his guardian angel, who has abandoned him as a renegade and traitor to the true faith. He is told that his death is inevitable then and there, and the prophecy is straightway confirmed at the hands of Galbán. The battle terminates victoriously for the Christians, and Efrando is released from his prison and betrothed to Elisa.

EL RENEGADO DE JERUSALÉN has never been edited so far as we know. The language, which abounds in *culto,* is rich in figures and in color and well deserves study. Rhetorically it recalls certain mannerisms of Calderón, and may therefore be one of Vélez' latest dramas. Our playwright, evidently writing from memory, is guilty of several historical inaccuracies and anachronisms. Thus, Guy de Lusignan was not a Portuguese but traced his origin to a noble house of Poitou, and the particular sultan who finally succeeded in overthrowing the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was Saladin I and not the second ruler of that name.[1]

Sibylla, countess of Jaffa and the widowed heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem, married Guy de Lusignan in 1180. On the death of Baldwin V, son of Sibylla by her marriage to William of Montferrat, the supporters of Guy succeeded in having him crowned in spite of the opposition of Raymund, count of Tripoli (1186). The count thereupon retired to Tiberias and made a separate truce with Saladin. This action on his part caused his loyalty to the Christian cause to be seriously questioned. However, the following year (1187) he became reconciled to Guy and aided him against Saladin in the battle of Hittin (or Hattin).

In this engagement the Christian forces were defeated (contrary to Vélez' account, which gives the victory to the Christians and places Raymund in the ranks of the Turks), and Guy was taken prisoner. Raymund escaped wounded from the battle and fled to Tripoli, where he soon afterward died of grief and disappointment. His reputation has suffered at the hands of Christian chroniclers, who accuse him of having been a traitor and renegade.

The *Efrando* of the play is Humphrey (Honfroy) de Thoron, whose marriage to Isabella, sister of Sibylla, was forcibly dissolved

[1] See M. Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades* (Paris, 1838).

by Conrad de Montferrat, when, in 1190, he desired the lady for himself. The story of the loves of Efrando and Elisa is of course of Vélez' invention.

Chapters CXXVI-CLI, Book IV, of *La gran conquista de Ultramar,*[2] treat of events in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem from the marriage of Guy and Sibylla to the death of Raymund. In this account, however, Raymund is not considered a traitor or a renegade. But Vélez probably drew most of his inspiration from Lope's *La Jerusalén conquistada.*[3] In this epic Saladin is desirous of driving the Christians out of Asia and therefore turns his forces against Jerusalem. Because of Baldwin's support of Guido's claims to the throne, Raymund rejects Christianity and joins the Moslems. Soon, however, he feigns repentance for his apostasy and joins the Christian forces, but in an ensuing battle with the Mohammedans he once more proves traitor to the Christian cause. Lope's epic may thus have been the chief source of *El renegado de Jerusalén.* No definite date can be assigned to the composition of the play except possibly one posterior not only to 1609 but also to 1619, the date of a later issue of Lope's *Jerusalén conquistada,* when Vélez may again have had his attention called to it. La Barrera (*Cat.*, p. 537) has the following: "*Conquista de Jerusalén.* Representada à S. M. la Reina en su cuarto, a fines de 1622 o principios de 1623. No consta en Huerta." Judged from the title, the argument of this play of unknown authorship may have been similar to that of Vélez'.

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[2] Salamanca, 1503, 2 vols. in folio; in Brit. Mus. Reprinted in B.A.E., XLIV:1–659.

[3] *La Jerusalén conquistada, Epopeya trágica. De Lope Felis de Vega Carpio familiar del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion* (Madrid, Imprenta de Juan de la Cuesta, 1609).

[58]

EL REY DON SEBASTIÁN

COMEDIA FAMOSA DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

REPRESENTÓLA RIQUELME

[FIRST LINES]

Moro 1°. ¿Llega el Jarife?
Moro 2°. De una blanca alfana
se apea, con Maluco, y con Hamete.

[LAST LINES]

Barcelos. Dando con aquesto fin
a nuestro Rey prodigioso,
y pidiendo juntamente
perdón de sus yerros todos.

From a rare volume in Schaeffer's library, and reprinted by him in his *Ocho comedias, etc.*, II:153–216. (Cotarelo 67.)

CHARACTERS

El rey don Sebastián.	Un secretario.	Celín, viejo.
Duque de Berganza.	Grandes.	Dragud.
Duque de [Barcelos]	Jarife } moros.	Muley, niño.
Duque de Avero.	Maluco } moros.	Sultana.
Capitán Aldana.	Un médico.	Felisalva, criada.
El rey don Felipe.	Hamete.	Villanos.

JORNADA I

Jarife, prince of Morocco, together with his son Muley, is forced to seek safety in flight from his uncle Maluco, who has usurped his kingdom. He asks some Christian galley slaves whom he has liberated, what sovereign might help him against the enemy, and they tell him of the prowess of King Sebastián of Portugal. He decides to seek King Sebastián's aid, which is promised him, but first the king must ask the advice of his royal council and of his uncle, Philip II of Spain. Meanwhile, Ceylán, a noble Moorish captive, is given his freedom by Don Antonio, the prior of Ocrato.

JORNADA II

Public opinion in Portugal does not approve of the king's contemplated expedition against Maluco, for the appearance of a fiery three-tailed comet is taken to spell disaster.

Ceylán returns to the court of Maluco, where a happy meeting takes place between him and the fair Felisalva. He informs Maluco that Jarife and Sebastián are planning to come against him and shows him Sebastián's picture, at the sight of which the sultan grows faint. Sebastián, meanwhile, arrives at the court of Philip, who receives him courteously and promises him aid. He is also to have the hand of Philip's daughter, Isabel, if he returns victorious from his African campaign.

Jornada III

In spite of many bad omens which had accompanied his expedition, Sebastián insists on interpreting them favorably. Even when Death appears to him in the form of a veiled woman, and a note shot on an arrow informs him that Maluco is expected to live but two hours and that the Christians will be victorious if he will only wait that length of time, Sebastián is still resolved to engage in battle. This obstinacy persists even after his defeat and is the cause of his death at the hands of a common Berber soldier. Maluco dies in a fit of rage against Sebastián. Jarife is drowned in the Mutacen. The prior, Don Antonio, is taken prisoner, but is given his freedom and also that of all the other Christian captives, at the request of Ceylán, who thus repays the kindness the prior had formerly shown him under similar circumstances.

The portrayal of King Sebastián of Portugal (1554–1578), a youthful religious zealot fired with the desire to win glory in a crusade against the Moslem of Morocco, is excellent. His first expedition to Africa (1574) was little more than a reconnoitering expedition. In a second expedition he met defeat and was killed in the battle of Al Kasr al Kebir on August 4, 1578. Vélez represents the young king as manly, fond of sports, and eager to emulate his ancestors in the brilliant victories which they had won over the Arabs. However, his fixed belief that he is one of those destined by Heaven to further the spread of Christianity, and his utter imperviousness to the dictates of common sense, soon destroy the sympathy which his youth inspires and the reader foresees his ultimate defeat and unheroic death in battle.

This luckless expedition of King Sebastián soon found its way

into literature.[1] Leitan de Andrade in his *Miscellânea*[2] wrote a prose account of it, as did Franchi Conestaggio in his *History of the Union of the Kingdom of Portugal to the Crown of Castile.*[3] This history served Lope in writing his *Tragedia del Rey D. Sebastián y Bautismo del Príncipe de Marruecos,* published in the *Onzena Parte* of his dramas (1618). If the play included in the first list of the *Peregrino* under the title of *El Príncipe de Marruecos* is identical with *La Tragedia del Rey D. Sebastián,* we may place its date of composition before 1603,[4] and possibly as early as 1593, since it was evidently written in honor of the conversion to Christianity of Muley Xeque, prince of Morocco.[5]

Lope's play treats of two distinct themes, king Sebastián's disastrous expedition to Africa, and his defeat in the battle of El Kasr al Kebir (Aug. 4, 1578), which is the argument of Act I, and Muley Xeque's conversion to Christianity, which forms the subject-matter of the last two acts. Vélez was familiar with Lope's play, as there are imitations and adaptations from it in his own. In Lope, Lela, the Moorish maiden beloved of Hamete, sees in a magic mirror the result of the battle between the Moors and the Christians, together with Mohamet's death by drowning, but is unable to as-

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[1] See *Obras de Lope de Vega, Acad.*, XII, Intro., p. clvii; also Ahrens, *op. cit.*, pp. 41ff., and B.A.E., XXXII:268 and 319.

[2] *Miscellânea do sitio de N. Sª. da Luz do Pedrogão,* Por Mighel Leitão de Andrade (Lisboa, 1629). *Dialogue VII* treats of a *jornada d'Africa del rey Sebastião.* Did Vélez know of this work? At the end of his *Dialogue,* Andrade quotes the *Palavras que este rey trazia dantes na boca, & costumaua dizer muytas vezes.* These read as follows:

Puestos estan frente a frente
los dos valerosos campos:
uno es del rey Maluco,
otro de Sebastiano,
El Lusitano, El Lusitano.

This song was known in Spain, for Vélez incorporated it in his play.

[3] *Dell 'unione del regno di Portogallo alla corona di Castiglia.* Istoria del Sig. Ieronimo de Franchi Conestaggio Gentilhuomo Genovese (In Genova. Appresso Girolamo Bartoli, 1585). The work was translated into Spanish with the following title: *Historia de la unión del reyno de Portugal a la corona de Castilla,* de Gerónimo de Franchi Conestagio. Traduzida de lengua italiana en nuestra vulgar castellana por el Doctor Luys de Bauia (Barcelona, Sebastián de Cormellas, 1610). Cf. note on Juan de Silva in Cervantes' *La Galatea* (ed. Schevill and Bonilla), II:301–304; on el capitán Aldana, see *El viaje del Parnaso,* p. 199.

[4] Cf. Rennert-Castro, *op cit.*, pp. 510, 521.

[5] Cf. *Acad.*, XII, Intro., pp. cliii-clv; reprinted in Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios, etc.*, VI:185ff.

certain the fate of Muley Hamet, about whose welfare she is more deeply concerned. Compare the scene (Act II), p. 187, in Vélez' play in which Felisalva, while endeavoring to get a glimpse of her lover in a magic mirror, is startled to see him suddenly appear in the flesh before her. Muley Xeque, the convert in Lope's play, is represented in Act I as a child twelve years of age. Vélez, too, depicts him as a boy inclined to Christianity, perhaps a reminiscence of Lope's scene. One other point of similarity between the two plays should be noted. The letter from the duke of Alba, which Vélez has the king receive when about to engage in battle, is an imitation of a similar letter in Lope's play, but whereas Lope has the duke send Sebastián a helmet and coat of mail worn by Charles V on his triumphant entry into Tunis, Vélez has him receive instead his grandfather's sword.

Equally indebted was Vélez, if not to the original, at least to the Spanish translation of Conestaggio's above-cited history, particularly in the character of the king, the aid asked by Jarife of Sebastián, and by Sebastián of Philip, the comet, omens, etc. (folios 12–25).

Schaeffer[6] places the date of publication of the volume in which this play of Vélez' is found between 1612 and 1616, but we may safely assign it to a later date.[7]

D. Francisco de Villegas wrote *El rey Don Sebastián y Portugués más heroico,* which was first published in *Parte XIX de Comedias nuevas escogidas* (1662). It is founded on Vélez' rather than on Lope's play. There is a manuscript copy of Villegas' composition in the Biblioteca Nacional, dated 1669. Perhaps this is the play, listed as *El héroe de Portugal,*[8] which was performed in Madrid by the company of Bartolomé Romero previous to September 21, 1640. Paz y Melia attributes this to a little-known Juan Bautista de Villegas, and says it is identical with a play printed anonymously in Barcelona by Gibert y Tutó.[9]

The Biblioteca Nacional contains another play in manuscript, anonymous, entitled *La jornada del rey don Sebastián en Africa.* It is a seventeenth-century manuscript copy, and the third *jornada*

[6] *Ibid.*, I, Intro., pp. ix–x.

[7] See study on *El Hércules de Ocaña,* 42.

[8] See Rennert, "Notes, etc.," *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, III:43.

[9] *Catálogo, etc.*, p. 442, note 1.

is in a hand quite different from the first two. It contains some autograph notes by Francisco de Rojas, and one at the end which says: "Por no hallarse lo que falta, se adereçó desta manera," an allusion to the last eight verses, which are by Rojas.[10] With the exception of a few unimportant variants, it is Vélez' play that is published by Schaeffer. On this same theme La Barrera[11] cites a play entitled, *La jornada del rey don Sebastián,* which he attributes to the Portuguese poet Vicente Mascarenhas, a poet who seems to have taken unstintingly from others, chiefly Lope, material which he published as his own.[12]

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[10] Paz y Melia, *op. cit.,* p. 255b.

[11] *Cat.,* p. 238b.

[12] The tragic fate of Don Sebastian enlisted the interest of English playwrights; see, for example, *The battle of Alcazar* (1594), ascribed to George Peele, and Dryden's *Don Sebastian.*

[59]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

SI EL CAVALLO VOS HAN MUERTO Y BLASÓN DE LOS MENDOZAS

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Pedr. Como finca el señor Reye,
que Dios guarde siglos luengos,

[LAST LINES]

aquí fin tuvo
Si el cavallo vos han muerto,
Blasón para luengos lustros
en la Casa de Mendoza,
gloria de España, y del mundo.

The earliest recorded impression is a *suelta:* Hallaráse esta Comedia, y otras de diferentes Títulos, en Madrid, en la Imprenta de Antonio Sanz, en la Plazuela de la Calle de la Paz. Año de 1742. Brit. Mus.; Bibl. Nac.; Schaeffer XXXIII (Cotarelo 76).

CHARACTERS

Diagote Furtado.	Infanta.	Un difunto.
Pedro González.	Rey.	Doña Grida.
Martín.	Micol.	Doña Urraca.
Melendo.	Enrico.	El Maestre de Avis.
Ordoño.	Criados.	Soldados.
	Monteros.	

JORNADA I

King Juan I of Castile, on his way to see his sister, lodged in a nunnery, writes to D. Pedro González Hurtado de Mendoza to meet him, and sends him a spirited, untamed horse as a present. This horse is successfully broken by Mendoza's athletic and valiant son, Diagote Hurtado. Diagote and another nobleman, Melendo, are both in love with a beautiful Jewess, Micol, over whom they quarrel; they decide to settle their dispute by force of arms. Soon after, Diagote meets the infanta, and with both it is love at first sight.

JORNADA II

Hearing of the quarrel between Diagote and Melendo, D. Pedro forces them to fight. Melendo is defeated, and Diagote is about to strike his unarmed antagonist when his father attacks him for this dishonorable attempt. The father defeats his son and is about to strike him unarmed, when the son reminds him that he is on the point of doing exactly what he had censured in his son. This the old man realizes, and excuses himself on the ground that the blind fury of his rage overpowered his sense of justice and reason. Thereupon peace is made between the two rivals.

Micol's presence of mind saves the king, whose horse has taken fright, from imminent peril. The monarch is very grateful and rewards her by making her one of the ladies-in-waiting to the infanta.

King Juan asks advice of Pedro González concerning the course that he shall follow in order to obtain the throne of Portugal, to which he lays claim by virtue of his wife's being the sole heir of the late King Fernando. Don Pedro counsels him to enter Portugal peaceably with his army. If the Portuguese deny his claim, he can then determine what use to make of it. The king falls asleep while this advice is being given, and D. Pedro leaves him. In his sleep the king calls out the name of Micol, whose beauty has completely bewitched him. He is rudely and suddenly awakened by a ghost, who asks him to follow him into another room. There the apparition puts out the light and fights with the king in the darkness. At dawn this uncanny visitant warns him that if he persists in his relations with the Jewess, he will meet defeat in the first battle in which he engages. On leaving, the ghost reveals himself as the king's late father, Enrique II. D. Juan, however, considers this strange adventure but a nightmare, and persists in his determination to claim the throne of Portugal, nor does he for a moment consider the possibility of renouncing Micol.

JORNADA III

The infanta interrupts an amorous conversation between the king and the Jewess and rebukes her brother severely for neglecting his duties as leader of the army about to march against the Portuguese, and for wasting his time in dalliance with his mistress. When the

king departs, there follows a short scene of spite and jealousy between the two women, especially after they are joined by Diagote, who has come to announce to Micol that the king wishes to speak to her. He and the infanta find themselves alone, and she seizes the opportunity to hint at her love for him and to intimate that faint heart never won fair lady. He is everjoyed at this intelligence and leaves in high spirits for the war.

In the first encounter between the Portuguese and the Castilians, which takes place contrary to the advice of D. Pedro, the Castilians are defeated; in the engagement the king's life is saved by D. Pedro, who offers him the same horse that the king had formerly given D. Pedro, thereby making it possible for the king to escape. Soon after, that valiant nobleman is killed in battle, and his dead body is borne from the field by his son, Diagote. The king, in gratitude for the noble service done him by D. Pedro, rewards Diagote with the hand of the infanta. Diagote thanks him, but asks permission first to bury his father at Burgos. The king replies to this:

En la buenhora, Diagote,
y pondréis en vuesso Escudo,
de aquí adelante el Cavallo,
y a buesso padre difunto,
que me le dió, porque finque
para los tiempos futuros
la memoria de tan grande
fazaña; y aquí fin tuvo
Si el Cavallo vos han muerto,
Blasón para luengos lustros
en la Casa de Mendoza,
gloria de España, y del Mundo.

THE PLAY IS VERY SPIRITED, especially in the last act, in which D. Pedro nobly surrenders his horse to the king, yet it does not lack the unnatural and extravagant moments which would have pleased writers of the Romantic school two hundred years later. It is vitiated by an excessive use of *culto,* by the side of which the archaic speech in which it abounds to give it the flavor of antiquity, sounds inconsistent. The main incident, as the title indicates, is founded on the *romance* by Alfonso Hurtado de Velarde[1] beginning,

Si el caballo vos han muerto
Subid, Rey, en mi caballo.

which was published in the *Cancionero General* of 1604. It is reprinted in Durán's *Romancero* (No. 981) with the heading *Don Juan Primero de Castilla se salva de la batalla de Aljuvarrota en el caballo que le da Pero González de Mendoza, el cual muere en ella peleando,* and Vélez inserts it entire in the last act of his drama.

[1] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología,* XII:165, note 2.

This incident is wholly fictitious; no mention is made of the king's escaping on a horse presented to him by D. Pedro in the chronicle of D. Juan I nor in other early accounts of the battle.[2] The name of Pedro González de Mendoza, *mayor-domo mayor del Rey,* is merely listed among those who were slain in the engagement.[3] Nor have we been able to find any reference in contemporary histories to that part of Vélez' argument which deals with the love of the king for the Jewess, Micol. A comparison with Lope's *Las Paces de los Reyes y Judía de Toledo*[4] permits of the inference that Vélez, in order to fill out his plot, deliberately applied to D. Juan I part of the love episode between Alfonso VIII and the Jewess, Rachel. It is not improbable that he drew his inspiration chiefly from Lope's play, in the second act of which Alfonso is warned to discontinue his relations with the Jewess in a manner not unlike that which Vélez employs. Thus we read in Lope[5]

(Una voz cantando triste dentro)
Rey Alfonso, Rey Alfonso,
No digas que no te aviso:
Mira que pierdes la gracia
De aquel Rey que rey te hizo.
Alfonso.
Dentro de la misma nube
Parece que la voz dijo
Que de aqueste atrevimiento
Estaba el cielo ofendido.
La Voz.
Mira, Alfonso, lo que intentas
...
Advierte que por la Cava
A España perdió Rodrigo.

After this he is twice favored with the vision of a shade, masked, in a black tunic, and wearing a sword and dagger.

Compare this with the similar scene in Vélez, where we read that an armed shade, covered with a black mantle and with the face

[2] See Pedro López de Ayala, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla Don Pedro, Don Enrique II, Don Juan I, Don Enrique III* (Madrid, En la Imprenta de Don Antonio de Sancha; 2 vols. Vol. I, 1779, Vol. II, 1780), *Año Séptimo, Capítulo XIV.*

[3] *Ibid., Año Séptimo, Cap. XV.*

[4] *Parte VII* of Lope's *Comedias* (1617). Reprinted in B.A.E., XLI:567–587, and *Acad.,* VIII:521–559.

[5] *Acad.,* VIII:546.

hidden in its folds, warns the king to sever his relations with Micol, saying:

Dexa, Don Juan, la Judía,
que ciegamente idolatras,
y mira que al cielo ofendes,
y que si adelante passas
en tan loco desvarío
contra la ley de Dios santa,
en tu vida y en tu honor
un castigo te amenaza
terrible; quédate en paz,
que ya el Sol con rayos baña
la cobarde noche fría,
y harás a los tuyos falta;
y advierte, que has de perderte
en la primera batalla
que te espera, si prosigues
en esse intento.[6]

Previous to this warning, the king has said:

Ya es de mi libertad
Micol el famoso Argel;
suya es mi vida; perdonen
el cetro, el honor, la Ley,
que he de catar su lindura.
maguer que llegue a temer
ser otro Alfonso en Toledo
con la beldad de Raquel.[7]

This is offered merely as an acceptable theory in default of more accurate information in respect to the scources of Vélez' plot.

Salvá[8] possessed a play entitled, *El caballo vos han muerto,* attributed to Lope, but which he declared was identical with that of Vélez save for some variants. The same play has been falsely attributed to Calderón. In the Biblioteca Nacional there are three manuscript copies of Vélez' play, the oldest, No. 14924, dating from the end of the seventeenth century.

Concerning the date of composition, since the *romance* of the *Cancionero General* is inserted in Act III of the drama, Vélez must have written it after 1604. If Vélez borrowed from Lope that part of the argument which refers to the love of the king for the Jewess, the date of the composition must be posterior to 1617. Moreover, when Vélez places in the mouth of one of his characters the following eulogy of Diagote:

Non finca en Castiella, quien
se empareje con Diagote,
del Rey abaxo ninguno,
á pie, a trotón, farto, ayuno, . . .[9]

he may refer to the title of Rojas Zorrilla's *Del rey abajo ninguno* (printed in 1650 after the death of both authors). The *comedia* would accordingly have to be assigned a date subsequent to that of the writing of Rojas' play. This supposition is not improbable in

[6] Fol. 10a. [7] Fol. 9a. [8] *Cat.*, I:576. [9] Fol. 2a.

view of the fact that Vélez and Rojas were friends and that they even wrote several plays in collaboration. But what is the date of composition of *Del rey abajo ninguno?* All that we can learn is that Vélez' play was performed in Madrid before January 26, 1632, by the company of Alonso de Olmedo,[10] and there is every probability that Rojas composed his drama before that date, if we are permitted this inference from its language and technique, which are in keeping with the first third of the seventeenth century dominated by Lope, who also furnished Rojas numerous models for his hero. La Barrera (*Cat.*, p. 582b) gives as the title of Vélez' play *Si el caballo vos han muerto, subid, Rey en mi caballo.* This expanded title does not, to our knowledge, occur in any of the printed *sueltas.*

On the same theme as the foregoing, Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón wrote a *comedia* entitled, *Entre los sueltos caballos* (*Doce comedias de diferentes autores. Parte 57,* Valencia, 1646).

[10] Rennert, "Notes, etc.," *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, III:53.

[60]

LOS SUCESSOS EN ORÁN POR EL MARQUÉS DE ARDALES

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Mar. Baxa el Conde?
D. Dieg. Ya salía
del Alcazaua; temprano
madrugó V. S.

[LAST LINES]

Marq. A recoger, señores,
que ya es tarde;
y aquí fin demos
a *las jornadas de Orán*
y sucessos verdaderos.

First printed in *Parte veinte y siete. De comedias varias nvnca impressas, compuestas por los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1667; Andrés García de la Iglesia). Also MS No. 14863, Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 77.)

CHARACTERS

Marqués de Ardales.	Doña Clara, dama.	Mahagun, Macor, Ambrán, Benzuleyla, Abrahomo — moros.
Conde de Alcaudete.	Sargento mayor.	
Don Diego de Portugal.	Capitán Gil Hernández.	
Don Pedro de Orellana.	Capitán de la guarda.	
Don Lope de Monroy.	Ayen Cansino, judío.	
Don Leonardo de Padilla.	Patrón de una fragata.	Filayla, mora.
Doña Elvira, dama.	Brahembemboraz.	Segre.
		Tapia, criado.

JORNADA I

After the marquis of Ardales has taken the oath of office as governor and captain-general of Oran, Doña Elvira Bentunilla y Contador, disguised as a man under the name of her brother, Don Beltrán Contador, arrives at Oran in search of Don Leonardo de Padilla, who has deceived and forsaken her. Not long after her arrival, she sees Don Leonardo make love to a young woman who proves to be her cousin, Doña Clara, daughter of Rui Diaz Contador. The two young women, having recognized each other, embrace, greatly to the annoyance of Don Lope Monroy y Fonseca,

who happens to witness the act. Doña Clara bids her servant Tapia quiet Don Lope's perturbation by explaining the situation to him. Beltrán meets Don Leonardo, who engages in conversation with him and is promised his aid in winning Doña Clara for his wife.

At Los Puertos de la Zara, two Moors, Ambran and Macor, quarrel over the fair Filayla. Filayla, contrary to the wishes of her uncle, who has chosen Macor for her husband, refuses him and declares her preference for her beloved Ambran. At this decision, Macor swears he will have vengeance. News is brought to the Moors of the danger threatening them because of the arrival at Oran of the marquis of Ardales, who learns from the traitor, Macor, of the strength and resources of the Moors and lays his plans to wage a successful war against them.

That evening Don Beltrán (that is, Elvira), pretending to be Doña Clara, talks with Don Leonardo from a window of her uncle's house, and Don Lope appears; thinking it is Doña Clara, he reproaches her for the deception, when Elvira in person discloses herself at the window, taking Beltrán's place. Her surprise and astonishment at the accusation are very pronounced.

Jornada II

The marquis, being assured by Macor that everything is peaceful in the Moorish encampment at Melge, determines to set out at once on a campaign against the enemy. Don Lope, who is to accompany him, becomes reconciled to Doña Clara, and leaves for the war. After his departure, Don Leonardo learns to his amazement from Doña Clara that she did not speak with him the preceding night. Beltrán explains the mystery to him as part of a plan to obtain for Leonardo a handsome wife in Oran.

During the festivities following the wedding of Ambran and Filayla, the Moorish camp is attacked by the forces of the marquis. Ambran is vanquished by the marquis, but the victor, on learning that it is his captive's wedding night, generously sets him free. The chief, Brahembemboraz, is led away prisoner and brought to Oran, in spite of fruitless efforts made by some of his men to liberate him. On the march homeward, Don Lope recounts his life to Don Beltrán, and solicits Beltrán's aid in gaining his uncle's consent to his marriage to Doña Clara. Beltrán promises to help him and confesses that "he" is a woman.

JORNADA III

Doña Elvira (Beltrán) tells Don Lope that she will plead his suit with the marquis and intimates that she has a plan to secure her own marriage to Leonardo. She arranges to have Clara consent to give Leonardo an interview, in which she (as Beltrán) cleverly gives him to understand that Clara favors his suit, while Clara, ignorant of the asides spoken to him by Beltrán, unwittingly aids the deception. The *gracioso,* Mahagun, Lope's Moorish servant, surprises Doña Clara in her interview with Don Leonardo and promptly informs Don Lope of his mistress' infidelity. Don Lope, assured of the constancy of his beloved, is in no wise disturbed by this information.

Morato, a Moorish corsair, has approached the coast of Oran with hostile designs. The Christians at once prepare to defend the coast. They meet the enemy and defeat him in a short but decisive naval combat in which the Moorish leader is mortally wounded. Doña Elvira, in pursuance of her plan to entrap Don Leonardo into a marriage, has persuaded him that Doña Clara, heavily veiled, will accompany him to the Alcazaba in order to obtain the marquis' consent to their marriage. The lady is, of course, not Doña Clara but Doña Elvira herself, who by this ruse seeks to obtain her ends. Once at the Alcazaba, she requests a private interview with the marquis, which being accorded, she recounts at length the story of her dishonor and begs the marquis to use his influence and authority in setting matters to rights.

Don Lope, who has been one of those sent against Morato, returns and tells the marquis of the Christian victory. When he asks the marquis' permission to marry Doña Clara, Don Leonardo objects but Don Lope bids Beltrán (Elvira) explain the deceit. She reveals herself to Don Leonardo, who, suddenly overcome with love for the former object of his affections, offers to right the wrong he has done her.

Ambran and Filayla, who, it seems, have been captives at Oran, come to thank the marquis for the courtesy he has shown them and to pay their ransom. He, in return, bestows new favors upon them.

THIS PLAY IS MEDIOCRE and occasionally dull and wearisome. Its hackneyed theme has received better treatment by Vélez in several

other plays. Moreover, the few incidents which bear relation to the title of the drama have little connection with the main plot, namely, Doña Elvira's efforts to secure justice from her betrayer, unless, of course, the marquis' intervention at the end be classed among the *sucesos.*

Juan Ramírez de Guzmán, Marqués de Hardales, Conde de Teba, was governor of Oran from December 6, 1604, to July 4, 1607.[1] No mention of the events that took place in his term of office is made in any of the histories of Philip III.[2] Are the incidents which Vélez has introduced into his play of his own invention, or are they possibly based on reports which had come to the capital from the Spanish possessions in Africa? Skirmishes with the Moors were not uncommon in these days, and the marquis may have been victorious on one or more occasions. These victories cannot have been very remarkable, since contemporaneous historians fail to note them.

Whether Vélez' play was written in the governorship of the marquis or subsequent thereto, the text does not show.

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[1] León Galindo y de Vera, *Historia, Vicisitudes y Politica Tradicional de España Respecto de sus Posesiones en las Costas de Africa* (Madrid, 1884); cf. *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid, 1888), XI:459.

[2] Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las Grandezas de la Villa de Madrid Corte de los Reyes de España* (Madrid, 1623); *Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Gran Monarcha Amado, y Santo Rey Don Phelipe III de este Nombre. Al Ynclito, Poderoso Señor Rey de las Españas y Nvebo Mvndo Don Phelipe Quarto,* MS No. 6934, Bibl. Nac.; *Historia del Rey de España Don Phelipe 3° que comprehende Ocho Libros desde el Año de 1578 hasta el de 1626,* 2 vols. in folio, MSS Nos. 7961 and 7962, Bibl. Nac.; Juan Yáñez, *Memorias para la Historia de Don Phelipe III, Rey de España* (Madrid, 1723): contains parts entitled "Historia del Marqués Virgilio Malvezzi"; "Adiciones a la Historia del Marqués Virgilio Malvezzi"; "Dichos y Hechos del Señor Rey D. Phelipe III," with censures dated 1628.

III. COMEDIAS DIVINAS

[61]

LA CREACIÓN DEL MUNDO

COMPUESTA POR LUIS BÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Dios pa. Adán, primer hombre vmano,
Adán, semejança nuestra....

[LAST LINES]

dando con aquesto fin
a la bida de Adán, tronco
de todo el linaje humano,
y linaje, al fin, de todos.

Manuscript No. 15047 in the Biblioteca Nacional. (Cotarelo 23.)

CHARACTERS

Dios Padre.	Eva.	La muerte.
Adán.	Angeles.	Abel.
Luzbel.	El Tiempo.	Caín.
Astarot.	Un judío.	Set.
Bercebú.	Un negro.	Enoch.
Lucifer.		Délbora.

JORNADA I

In the garden of Eden Adam is lulled into a deep sleep by God the Father, to find, on awakening, that his Creator has presented him with a companion, Eve, taken from his side. God gives them power over nature, forbidding them only to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, but the devil, Astarot, in the guise of a serpent, tempts them, and they eat thereof. When God finds them, Adam explains their disobedience by saying:

La muger
que me diste en compañía
para desbentura mía,
del fruto me dió a comer.

Eve replies:

Engañóme la serpiente
y comí sin ber mis males.

God pronounces the curse upon them and banishes them from Eden, the entrance being barred by an angel with a flaming sword. They lament anew their loss of Paradise, but hunger and thirst soon compel them for the first time to seek for food and drink. Having found

these, they fall asleep and have a vision of Time, who shows them the different races that are to spring from them (Jew, Moor, Negro, and Indian). Then Death appears, boasting that none shall escape him, saying: "sigo al Tiempo, porque soy su berdugo." They awake as night is coming on, and, fearing the approaching darkness, they begin to gather some branches in order to kindle a fire.

Jornada II

Several years have passed, and Cain and Abel are soon to celebrate their nuptials with their respective twin sisters, Alcana and Delbora (Deborah?). Cain is a tiller of the soil, Abel is a shepherd. At their midday meal Adam tells his children of the creation of the world and of his own sin and disobedience. Cain, thereat, asks about death, and if men can die violent deaths, evidently thinking that in this way he might get rid of his brother, of whom he is jealous. After their children have left them, Adam and Eve have a vision of a Child conquering Death by means of a cross; and a Woman clothed with stars, with the Sun in her arms and the Moon under her feet, is seen conquering a serpent with seven heads. Divine Love, bidding them take courage and trust God's mercy, explains to them the meaning of the allegory.

Cain and Abel have gone to offer up sacrifices to God in order to gain His blessing for their approaching nuptials. Abel's offering is accepted, that of Cain is rejected, and Cain seizes the first opportunity to slay his brother. Being troubled at the sight of death, he covers his brother's body with branches in order that it may not be seen, but God reveals that the blood of his brother has cried out against him and condemns him to be a wanderer on the face of the earth in expiation of his crime.

Jornada III

Cain meets retribution long years afterward by dying at the hands of his own grandson, Lamech, who mistakes him for a wild beast. Lamech, on coming up to him, is grieved to find that he has killed his grandfather, but Cain recognizes the justice of his fate.

Soon after Cain's death a lion devours his body. Divine intervention makes Lamech powerless, and he is forced to look on at the gruesome scene. Remorse and fear lest he has incurred the

wrath of Heaven give him no peace and in the end they drive him mad. Soon after, Adam, now old and blind, blesses his children and passes into the sleep of death. After his burial Enoch tells Seth and others of their hope of bodily resurrection. An angel appears, confirms his belief, and in witness thereof translates Enoch to the earthly paradise. Eve, mourning the death of Adam, is told of the redemption of man through Christ. She then has a vision of Christ Crucified, and of an allegorical representation of the sacraments, and thanks Providence for its infinite mercy.

THE NATURE OF THE ARGUMENT of this play prevents it from having dramatic unity. The theme is in reality a narrative, dealing with a succession of incidents in the life of Adam and his immediate descendants. As a play, it has no well-constructed plot and no climax. The numerous visions and apparitions weaken it still more, for, being mainly allegorical in nature, they have no connection with the story. However, Vélez has written a play in which several scenes of merit occur; of these the best deal with the death of Abel, the death of Cain, and Lamech's subsequent remorse.

The argument of the play comprises the substance of the first four chapters of Genesis. The theme was a popular one in the Middle Ages and later, and found expression in several mystery plays and religious *autos*. Of these the *Victoria de Cristo,*[1] by the *bachiller* Bartolomé Palaú, a long dramatic poem of the fall of man and his redemption through Christ, was well-known throughout Spain. It is composed of six long *autos* or parts, the first of which comprises the beginning of the world, from Adam to Noah, and is subdivided into five scenes. It is not improbable that Vélez knew of this work, and may even have availed himself of it for the plan and structure of his play. Possibly he may have utilized other *autos* on Adam's sin and its immediate consequences, which were current in Spain in the sixteenth century and several of which are found in a *Colección de Autos sacramentales del siglo XVI,* now in the

[1] The earliest known edition is one without date or place of publication, possibly of Zaragoza, between the years 1539–1577. See D. Aureliano Fernández-Guerra: *Caída y Ruina del Imperio Visigótico Español* (Madrid, 1883), p. 14, note 1. Extracts from the *Victoria de Cristo* have been published by L. Rouanet in *Colección de Autos, Farsas y Coloquios del Siglo XVI,* IV:375–394. Palaú may have followed to some extent Gil Vicente's *Auto da Historia de Deos,* first performed at Almeirim, 1527. See *Obras de Gil Vicente com revisão, prefacio e notas de Mendes dos Remedios* (Coimbra, 1907), I:143–172.

Biblioteca Nacional.[2] In this codex *autos* 40–44 and 91 are on this particular theme. The last three (Nos. 43, 44, and 91, respectively) are purely allegorical. The *auto de los dos primeros hermanos,* by Juan Caxas, completed April 14, 1610,[3] deals with the Bible story of the creation, the loss of Paradise, and the history of Cain and Abel.[4]

Of interest is *El misterio de Adán y Eva. Auto lemosín representado desde el siglo XV, traducido al castellano por D. Joaquín Serrano Cañete* (Valencia, Federico Domenech, 1889).[5]

Lope has a play on the same theme entitled *La creación del mundo y primera culpa del hombre,* which was first printed in a *Parte XXIV,* Madrid, 1640.[6] Menéndez y Pelayo, who reprinted it, considers it posterior to 1618.[7] In plan and structure, it is very similar to that of Vélez. Thus Act I treats of the creation of the world and Adam's sin, Act II deals with the murder of Abel by Cain, and Act III with the death of Cain, who is wounded by the arrow of Lamech. Act I, however, introduces a long scene between Adam and Eve when they eat of the forbidden fruit, an incident which in Vélez is related by one of the characters, nor does Lope introduce the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the garden. In Act II no previous intimation is given of the hatred of Cain for Abel, and the murder of Abel is the result of sudden anger on the part of his brother. Lope, moreover, has Adam find the dead body of his son and grieve over his loss. The play ends with the death of Cain and the dragging down of his soul into Hell by Satan. No valid

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[2] Manuscript No. 14711. Edited by L. Rouanet, *op. cit.* See also one chapter entitled "El Maestro Jaime Ferruz y su auto de Cain y Abel" in Manuel Cañete's *Teatro Español del Siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1885), pp. 251–294.

[3] Paz y Melia, *Cat.*, p. 157b.

[4] See *Rev. Hisp.*, VIII (1901). *Œuvres dramatiques du licencié Juan Caxas publiées pour la première fois par Léon Rouanet,* cf. pp. 139–160.

[5] See H. Corbató's critical edition of *Los misterios del corpus de Valencia* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1932).

[6] Rennert, "Bibliography," *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXIII:31–32 and 162.

[7] *Acad.*, III, Intro., p. XXVI; *Estudios,* I:133ff. The text of this edition is based on three eighteenth-century *sueltas* together with the version of the play found in *Comedias nuevas,* etc. (Amsterdam, 1726). Rouanet (*op. cit.*, IV:235) mentions an old *suelta* of this play without date or place of publication which, he avers, is different from any of those known to Menéndez y Pelayo. Cf. also Restori, *Una collezione di commedie di Lope de Vega Carpio,* (Livorno, 1891), p. 12.

proof can be given that Vélez drew from Lope, as the theme of each is based on the well-known biblical story.[8]

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[8] The following works are related to the theme of Vélez' play: *Tu vida en el fruto: Adán, 1ª y 2ª parte,* by Fray Carlos Vives (or Vivas) (La Barrera, p. 500). *Abel é Caim (Historia de),* by Juan Vaz. Representação cómica. Se ejecutó en una procesión del Santísimo Sacramento, en Évora (La Barrera, p. 418). *La culpa del primer hombre.* Anonymous (La Barrera, p. 539). [Is this Lope's *La creación del Mundo y primera culpa del hombre?*] *La divina semana, o siete días de la creación del mundo en otava rima,* by Joan Dessi, Presbitero (Barcelona, 1610; *in* Gallardo, *Ensayo,* Vol. II, No. 2000). *La creación del mundo,* epic poem by Alonso de Acevedo (Rome, 1615; edited by Rosell, B.A.E., XXIX). *La Muerte de Abel: Comedia* mentioned by Lope in his *Loa sacramental de los Títulos de las Comedias* (see *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XVII, *Colección de Entremeses,* p. xxiv, and XVIII:470; Restori, *Una Collezione, etc.,* p. 21; La Barrera, p. 170). In this same *loa* Lope also introduces the following titles: *La creación del mundo* (probably an allusion to his own play); *El justo Abel*—unknown; *El primer hombre del mundo*—unknown. To judge from the title, if *primer hombre* means the first created man, the argument must have dealt with the story of Adam. Perhaps this is an allusion to Jerónimo de la Fuente's *comedia, Adán, o la creación del mundo,* to which Lope accorded high praise in the *Laurel de Apolo* (Silva 8ª). This play of Fuente's is unknown today. Numerous versions of this familiar theme were composed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; among them may be recalled D. José Zorrilla's *La Creación y el diluvio* (1848) and *La inocencia perdida,* by Alberto Lista (1854).

[62]

DE LA DEVOCIÓN DE LA MISA

Comedia Famosa de Luis Vélez de Guevara

Representóla Valdés

[FIRST LINES]

Valerio. ¡Ay querido padre mío!
Fulvio. Hijo, la vida se acaba . . .

[LAST LINES]

Valerio. y principio en los contentos
la devoción de la Misa.

From a rare volume in Schaeffer's library; see his *Ocho comedias, etc.*, II:75–152. (Cotarelo 26.)

Characters

Fulvio, viejo.	Fabio } soldados.	Tirreno, labrador.
Valerio, soldado, su hijo.	Lelio } soldados.	Lucio, labrador.
Mustafá y Hacén, moros.	Reina.	Rey de Albania.
Bajá, caudillo.	Infanta.	Un hornero.
Fidelio, soldado.	Doctor en medicina.	Dos oficiales del horno.

Jornada I

Valerio, an Albanian soldier, promises his dying father that he will always choose good companions, be true to his lord and master, and hear mass every day. When his father has breathed his last, Valerio goes to the aid of his king, who is sore pressed by the Moors. He captures a pasha, whom the king gives him for his prisoner. This being his first victory in battle, Valerio lets the Moor go free. The king, a student of philosophy and medicine, is in doubt whether sleep or exercise is more conducive to good digestion. He determines to investigate the matter scientifically by having four men fed the same amount of food, two of them to sleep thereafter, and two to exercise their bodies by walking; the one who returns first from exercise shall be beheaded, also one of the men who slept, and their stomachs examined. Fidelio, Valerio's enemy, is entrusted with procuring the victims, and he selects Valerio as one of the two men who are to walk, but he tells him that he is being sent on a spying expedition to the enemy's camp. Valerio is returning to tell Fidelio of the success of his adventure, when he remembers that

he has not heard mass that day. He performs that duty at the risk of losing the reward Fidelio has promised him for arriving before his companion:

Por oír misa y dar cebada,
ninguno perdió jornada;
¿porqué la he de perder yo?
¿cómo ya no se me acuerda
de mi padre? ¿Soy Valerio?
¡Mas aunque pierda un imperio,
mi devoción no se pierda![1]

As a result of his faithfulness, his life is miraculously saved, and the king becomes aware of Fidelio's treachery.

Jornada II

The infanta, sister to the king, and Valerio have fallen in love with each other. Fidelio, who also pleads his suit, is rebuffed. Valerio, seeking lodgings for the royal hunting party, finds himself among some peasants who are singing and dancing in honor of the mass. Valerio is thus reminded that he has not attended divine service that day and he hastens away to his devotions. The king is taken prisoner by the Moors, and Tirreno, one of the peasants, urges Valerio to leave the mass unfinished in order to save his sovereign. While still at his prayers, Valerio learns further that the queen and the infanta are also in danger of being seized by the Moors; but his conscience will not permit him to interrupt his devotions. The queen and the infanta are accordingly captured, but one whom they take for Valerio soon rescues them. All doubt is cleared away when Valerio comes out from mass: the one who had saved the queen and the infanta from the Moors was an angel in his likeness.

The pasha who captured the king comes to treat for his ransom, and proves to be the Moor whose life Valerio had pardoned. When he sees Valerio, of course he lets the king go free. For this service Valerio is knighted by the king.

Jornada III

In private conference with the king, Fidelio tells him that Valerio has robbed him of his queen, and adds that, if the king so desires, he may see Valerio mount into the queen's chamber by a ladder that very night. The king falls into the trap, having already seen

[1] Pp. 98–99.

a love letter which Valerio is sending to the infanta. He asks Valerio to tell him the woman's name, suspecting that it is the queen, but Valerio hesitates to reveal his love for the infanta.

The dialogue is interrupted by the queen's arrival to warn them of the approach of the Turk and to urge them on to the defense of the city. The Turks are beaten off, and that same night the king and Fidelio see Valerio mount a ladder to the palace in order to meet the infanta. The king thinks that he has come to see the queen, and, to avenge his outraged honor, decides to have him roasted alive. He summons his baker and tells him:

Contra una torpe malicia,
sin duda en traiciones feas,
importa, hornero, que seas
ministro de mi justicia.
Al primer criado mío
que te llegue a preguntar
si *hiciste aquello,* has de dar
la muerte que te confío.
Tu gente esté prevenida,
el horno lleno de fuego,
y pierda en las llamas luego
el aliento de la vida.

The king sends Valerio to ask the baker "if he has done it," but on the way Valerio hears the call to mass, which he at once attends.

A little later Fidelio goes to the baker and asks him the fatal question in the hope of making sure of Valerio's death. He is therefore the first one to ask it of the baker, who obeys the king's injunctions by hurling him into the furnace. Valerio, while at mass, falls asleep. On awakening several hours later, he tardily performs the service the king had asked of him, and is told by the baker that the deed is done. Thus Valerio's devotion to the mass has once more saved his life. The king hears his story and his declaration of love for the infanta and begins to realize that his suspicions have been unjust. The queen, too, upbraids her husband for his lack of gratitude toward Valerio. Finally, the baker tells him how Fidelio, before dying, confessed his treachery, and the king's doubts are at an end. The play closes happily. Valerio and the infanta obtain the king's consent to their marriage, and the title of royalty is conferred upon them.

THIS PLAY IS ONE of Luis Vélez' most successful inventions. It contains several scenes of great dramatic intensity and many passages of a rare and delicate poetic beauty. It abounds, too, in our author's fondness for sudden and startling theatrical effects; and although the plot is didactic in character, the moral never so far obtrudes

itself as to spoil the interest. Some of the episodes which seem to us grotesque or childish undoubtedly held for the public of Vélez' day an element of broad humor, and impossible or improbable events or contingencies were accepted without question.

The theme of this play is based on a legend which occurs frequently in the literature of the Middle Ages.[2] It is first found in Spanish literature in *Cantiga* LXIII[3] of Alfonso the Learned, and is entitled, *Como Santa María sacou de uergonna a un cavaleiro que ouuer' a seer en a lide en Sant 'Esteuan de Gromaz, de que non pod'ý seer polas suas tres missas que oyú.* The action occurs in the time of Count D. Garci-Fernández in the battle of San Estéban de Górmaz, which the Christians waged against the Moors. This knight hears the masses, and, on leaving the church, is surprised at the congratulations tendered him by D. Garci and his men for his prowess in the fight, until he notes that his arms are tinged with blood and realizes that a miracle has been performed in his behalf in reward for his devotion to the mass.

The same legend is found in Chapter XX of Alfonso the Learned's *Crónica de España,*[4] the knight being called Ferrán Antolínez. This account was practically copied by the unknown compiler of the *Castigos e documentos,* Chapter IV: *que fabla como debe home facer su oración et poner en ella toda su devoción; et de como debe olvidar todas otras cosas mientra en oración estodiere.*[5] A similar story is found in Gil de Zamora's Latin compilation called *Liber Mariae* (Tract. VII, mir. 8, fol. 65r)[6] and in *Patraña* 17 of Juan de Timoneda's *Patrañuelo.*[7]

Luis Vélez was probably the first to treat the subject dramatically. Schaeffer,[8] without sufficient reason, dates the collection of

[2] See Armando Cotarelo y Valledor, *Una Cantiga Célebre del Rey Sabio* (Madrid, 1904), p. 34; Ahrens, *op. cit.*, pp. 63ff.

[3] *Cantigas* (ed. R. acad. esp.), I:90–93.

[4] See also *Crónica de España,* por el maestro Florian Docampo, fols. cclii v–ccliii r (Zamora, 1541).

[5] See B.A.E., LI:93–94; *Rev. Hisp.*, XV:212ff.

[6] See *Bol. de la Acad. de la Historia,* VII (1885): 113–114: Padre Fita, "Cincuenta leyendas por Gil de Zamora, combinadas con las Cantigas de Alfonso el Sabio."

[7] Valencia, 1567, reprinted in *Clás. Cast.*, CI, see pp. 187ff. Timoneda probably found it in the *Cento Novelle Antiche,* 68. See Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction,* II:49 and note 1.

[8] See *Ocho comedias desconocidas,* I, Intro., p. ix.; also *El Hércules de Ocaña,* No. 42.

plays in which it is found between 1612 and 1616. We believe that it was printed in the following decade. At all events, many years later another Spanish dramatist, Mira de Amescua, wrote a play on the same theme. Did he know of Vélez' version? In his *Lo que puede el oír Missa*[9] we have many points of similarity with Luis Vélez' play. He intimates, however, that he took his argument from some old history:

> Y aquí tenga
> *Lo que puede el oír Missa*
> su exemplo, según lo cuentan
> las Historias de Castilla.

While the hero, D. Sancho Osorio, a knight in the service of Fernán González, is at mass, an angel wins victory for him in a contest with one of his enemies. In Act II his enemies instruct a certain alcaide to kill the first one who comes to him and Sancho is sent on this mission. But he stops on the way to hear mass in a hermitage, and so Fortún, his enemy, gets there first and suffers the penalty in his stead.

In Act III an angel wins fame and glory for him on the field of battle while he is again at mass. There are many points of similarity between this scene and that of Vélez' play (Act II), which make it not unlikely that Mira de Amescua was acquainted with the earlier work. Like Vélez' hero, Sancho is torn between two conflicting emotions, his duty to hear mass in accordance with his vow, and his desire to take part in the fight against the Moors. On leaving the monastery, he finds, greatly to his astonishment and confusion, that he is the recipient of much praise for the valor displayed in the recent engagement. This tribute on the part of his chief and fellows leads him to suspect that a miracle has been wrought in his behalf.

Calderón de la Barca wrote an *auto sacramental alegórico* entitled, *La devoción de la missa.*[10] In this *auto* an angel representing the hero, Pascual Vivas, who is at mass, helps defeat the Moors in the battle of the Vado, in which Count Garci-Fernández commanded. Pascual struggles between his obligation as a soldier and his religious duty, but soon decides for the latter,

[9] *Colección de comedias de varios autores,* Part I (Madrid, García Morrás, 1652).

[10] Pedro de Pando y Mier, *Autos sacramentales, alegóricos y historiales del insigne poeta español D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid, 1717), III: 163–191.

y quando se pierda todo;
. . .
no se pierda aquí la fe,
con que el Sacrificio adoro
de la Missa; honor y vida,
Señor, en tus manos, pongo.[11]

After hearing eight successive masses, he is surprised, on going out, to receive the approbation of his comrades. He tells them that he has been at mass all the while, but the mystery is not explained until an angel makes it clear to all of them.

Finally, D. Antonio Zamora wrote, on the same theme, *Por oír misa y dar cebada, nunca se perdió jornada.*[12] The miracle occupies only a brief episode at the end of the third act, for the play deals mainly with the loves of the countess Angelina and Alderico de Nimes. The hero, Fernán Antolínez, hears the bell ring for mass as the trumpet sounds the call to battle against the Moors, who hold Angelina captive. He goes to mass, and while he is at his devotions an angel takes his horse and arms and wins the battle for him. On leaving the mass, the pious knight is surprised to hear that the battle is over, and, fearing punishment, he attempts to conceal himself. But the angel explains the miracle to all, and Fernán is rewarded by having the hand of his beloved Elvira bestowed upon him by the count.

The episode of Act III which deals with the false accusation of the queen and the well-timed spectacle of her supposed lover's mounting a ladder to her balcony, is the theme of Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing.* (See Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso,* c. iv, 51, to vi, 15; Spenser, *Fairy Queen,* bk. ii, c. 4; Belleforest, *Histoires tragiques,* with a translation of Bandello's nov. xxii.) Vélez used the episode elsewhere (pp. 162, 229), as did other Spanish playwrights.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 182b.

[12] *Comedias de D. Antonio de Zamora* (Madrid, Sánchez, 1744).

[63]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

DE LA HERMOSURA DE RAQUEL

COMPUESTA POR LUYS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

GENTILHOMBRE DEL CONDE DE SALDAÑA

PRIMERA PARTE

[FIRST LINES]

Isaac. Con tu bizarra altiuez
eres solamente tú;
el amor es muy buen juez,
querido hijo Esaú,
báculo de mi vejez.

[LAST LINES]

Esaú. Ellas sean bien llegadas;
salgamos a recebillas,
y aquí, Senado, se acaba
el más amante pastor,
y dichoso Patriarca.

First printed in *Flor de las comedias de España de diferentes autores. Quinta parte* (Alcalá, 1615); preceded by a *loa* and a *baile*. Brit. Mus. (Cotarelo 36.)

CHARACTERS

Isaac, viejo venerable.	Elia, sus hijas.	Joseph, niño.
Rebeca, su mujer.	Lauro.	Criados.
Esaú.	Alfeo.	Músicos.
Jacob, sus hijos.	Elisa.	El Amor Divino.
Laván.	Timbrio, pastores.	Dios Padre.
Raquel.	Liseno.	Ángeles.

A witty *loa curiosa,* consisting of 138 lines, tells of two foolish marriages, one between Lost Time and Dame Ignorance, and the other that of the author with an ugly old woman who had been represented to him as young and beautiful. The former pair had a numerous progeny, all of whom were more or less shiftless and worthless. Among these were "I didn't know," "Who would have thought?" "It's not possible," "Very well," and so on. The author concludes his harangue by saying that, should the audience happen to contain any relatives of the first pair mentioned and should they

fail to keep still during the performance, they would be treated as roughly as he has been in his matrimonial venture.

The *Baile de la Colmeneruela* (113 lines) tells the story of a knight who abducts a beautiful young maiden.

JORNADA I

Isaac, old and blind, wishes to bestow his blessing upon his beloved son, Esau, but Rebecca wants the blessing for her favorite, Jacob, whom she persuades to disguise himself as his brother. Jacob succeeds in his strategem, but, fearing his brother's wrath, flees his father's house to seek refuge with his uncle Laban. He has a vision of a ladder stretching from earth to heaven, the meaning of which is explained to him by Jehovah, who promises him protection. Arriving at the home of his uncle Laban, Jacob meets his cousin, Rachel. At the sight of her surpassing beauty, he falls in love with her and promises his uncle that he will serve him seven years to obtain her for his wife.

JORNADA II

Seven years have passed. It has never been their lot to feel jealous of one another, and as a novel experiment Jacob and Rachel decide to feign that which most other lovers experience. When Rachel is alone, Lauro, one of Laban's shepherds, tells her that his beloved, Elisa, is jealous of her, and begs her to give Elisa assurance that she has no grounds for jealousy. Jacob witnesses this interview, falls a prey to jealousy, and reproaches Rachel for her unfaithfulness. He soon learns from one of the shepherds the truth of the matter and resolves to ask Rachel's pardon. Elisa, too, convinced of her error, promises Rachel that she will use her influence with Jacob to effect a reconciliation between them. The misunderstanding ends amicably when Jacob, on meeting Rachel, tells her that his jealousy was only feigned. Preparations are being made for the approaching nuptials of Jacob and Rachel. Laban, however, anxious to marry off his eldest daughter Leah, substitutes her for Rachel, and Jacob decides to serve another seven years to win Rachel.

JORNADA III

Years later, Jacob, with his wives and children, secretly leaves his uncle's house to return to his own country. When Laban learns of his flight, he sets out in pursuit, but, on being warned by the voice

of the God of Jacob to do Jacob no harm, he gives up all idea of vengeance. However, he demands his household gods which have been stolen; not finding them in Jacob's camp, Laban takes leave of him in peace.

Shortly before reaching his own country, Jacob sends a messenger to make peace with Esau. Esau, remembering the injustice done him by his brother, dismisses the messenger in anger, and threatens to attack Jacob the next day with an armed force.

That night Jacob wrestles with Divine Love, who meets him in the guise of a shepherd. When Jacob recognizes the nature of his heavenly opponent, he refuses to let him go until he has his blessing, and receives the name of Israel, "champion of God." The following day, Esau, enraged and eager for vengeance, comes out against his brother, but Heaven softens his heart and leads him to welcome Jacob home. That evening Jacob has a vision, in which the birth of Christ and the future glory of his line are prophesied.

THE EARLIEST KNOWN SPECIMENS of the dramatic treatment, in Spanish, of the biblical story of Jacob are preserved in a sixteenth-century codex of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 14711). These are entitled, respectively, *Aucto de cuando Jacob fué huyendo a las tierras de Aran* (Fols. XXI–XXIV); *Aucto de la lucha de Jacob con el ángel* (Fols. LIV–LVIII); and *Aucto del finamento de Jacob* (Fols. LIX–LXII).[1]

Next in interest are *La farsa de Isaac,* by Diego Sánchez de Badajoz,[2] and the *Comedia llamada Jacobina o benedición de Isaac,*[3] by Doctor Fray Damián de Vegas; to Vicente Mascareñas is ascribed a play entitled, *La peregrinación de Jacob, y amores de Raquel.*[4] Lope, who treated the events of Jacob's life extensively, lists in the first edition of *El Peregrino* (1604) a *comedia,* now lost, with the title of *El casamiento dos vezes.*[5]

[1] Included in Volume I of Rouanet's *Colección de autos, etc.*

[2] *Libros de antaño,* XII:89.

[3] First printed in *Poesía christiana, moral y divina* (Toledo, Pedro Rodríguez, 1590). Reprinted in B.A.E., XXXV:509–524.

[4] La Barrera, *Cat.,* p. 238. Sánchez Arjona, *El Teatro en Sevilla,* p. 290, cites an *auto,* acted at Seville in 1590, with the title, *Los desposorios de Isaac con Rebeca.* Nothing further is known of this. An *auto* entitled *Los desposorios de Isaac* was performed the same year at Madrid by the joint companies of Nicolás de los Ríos and Alonso de Cisneros (Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos,* p. 27).

[5] (*See bottom of page 275 for footnote.*)

There is no information whereby to determine the date of composition of a drama by Cristóbal de Monroy (1612–1649) called *El pastor más perseguido, y finezas de Raquel,* which La Barrera (*Cat.*, p. 264) lists as *Más vale a quien Dios ayuda, Esaú y Jacob, o el pastor más perseguido y finezas de Raquel.* It is of course subsequent to Vélez' drama, which was printed as early as 1615. *La hermosura de Raquel* was performed at Madrid previous to February 12, 1630, by the company of Roque de Figueroa.[6]

La Barrera also mentions (*Cat.*, p. 584) : *Sucessos de Jahacob é Esaú. Comedia famosa composta por hum autor celebre. Estampada a cousta de Abraham Ramires é Yshac Castello, em cujo poder se achão a vender.* Em Delst, anno 5459 (Amsterdam, 1701).

On the same theme as the preceding there are: two *cantos* by Alonso de Fuentes, one dealing with Jacob's stealing the blessing meant for Esau, the other with the rape of Dina;[7] a *canto* in *octavas,* entitled, *Jacob y Raquel,* by Don Francisco de Borja:[8] two sonnets by Don Luis de Ribera, *De Jacob alzando la piedra por amores de Raquel,* and *De Isaac dando la benedición por engaño a Jacob;*[9] and a sonnet by D. Francisco de Trillo y Figueroa, *Al suceso de Jacob y Raquel.*[10]

[5] An *auto* with the title, *El casamiento dos veces y hermosura de Raquel,* is also listed by La Barrera (*Cat.*, p. 594) as being included in a codex of dramatic pieces which were presented in Jesuit colleges. Rouanet (*op. cit.*, IV: 147) includes an *Auto alegórico al sagrado natalicio del divino Benjamín, Cristo Señor Nuestro intitulado: La más hermosa Raquel, pastora de las almas. De un ingenio matritense.* From the title we take it to be an allegorical *auto* in praise of the Virgin. The work is also cited by La Barrera (*Cat.*, p. 597).

Jacob's vision of the ladder stretching from earth to heaven is the substance of a scene in Lope's *Obras son amores* (Madrid, 1618, *Parte XI,* reprinted in *Acad.*, II). There is an anonymous *comedia, La escala de Jacob,* in a seventeenth-century codex in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid (Manuscript No. 14767, No. 24). An *auto* with this title was acted at Seville in 1597 by the company of Melchor de Villalba (Sánchez Arjona, *El Teatro en Sevilla,* p. 292). In *El robo de Dina,* Lope (Part XXIII, Madrid, 1638) recounts incidents in the life of Jacob, his flight from Laban, his struggle with the angel, and his interview with the angel (reprinted in the Academy edition, III; see *Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope de Vega,* II:153ff.).

[6] Rennert, "Notes, etc.," *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, III:43.

[7] *Libro de los quarenta cantos que compuso el Magnífico Cauallero Alonso de Fuentes, natural de la ciudad de Sevilla, diuididos en quatro partes* (Granada, 1563), *Parte Primera, Cantos* I and II.

[8] *Las obras en verso de Don Francisco de Borja, Príncipe de Esquilache* (Madrid, 1648). The canto is included on pp. 72–109 of the text.

[9] *Sagradas Poesías* (Sevilla, 1612). Reprinted in B.A.E., XXXV:63 (No. 165) and p. 62 (No. 155), respectively.

[10] *Poesías varias, heroicas, satíricas y amorosas* (Granada, 1652). Reprinted in B.A.E., XLII:48, No. 32.

[64]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

DE LA HERMOSURA DE RAQUEL

COMPUESTA POR LUYS VÉLEZ DE GUEUARA
GENTILHOMBRE DEL CONDE DE SALDAÑA
SEGUNDA PARTE

[FIRST LINES]

Vnos. Buenos días.
Otros. Buenos días.
Rub. Ya estamos todos aqui;

[LAST LINES]

Jos. Esta es de Joseph, Senado,
la aduersa y próspera suerte.

The play follows the *Primera Parte* [see No. 63 above] in *Flor de las comedias de España, Quinta parte* (Alcalá, 1615); preceded by a *loa* and a *baile.* (Cotarelo 37.)

CHARACTERS

Jacob.	Zabulón.	Criados.
Joseph.	Gath.	El rey Faraón.
Rubén.	Aser.	Un mayordomo.
Simeón.	Benjamín.	Un secretario.
Leví.	Dos Ismaelitas.	Un contador.
Dam, sus hijos.	Butifar (*sic*).	Un caballerizo.
Neptalí.	Mitilene, su mujer.	Un camarero.
Judas.	Seneth, su hija.	Un pintor.
Isacar.		Una mujer pobre.

In the prose *Loa curiosa y de artificio,* the author invites his public to partake of the best he has to offer and begs to hope that, by industry on his part and silence on theirs, the work will be found to present a true mirror of nature. In *El bayle de los Moriscos,* the Moor Maymón tells some of his countrymen of his sadness on learning that the Moors are to be expelled from Spain by King Philip, called Alip.

JORNADA I

Joseph's brothers, jealous of the favoritism shown him by their father, Jacob, and angered by a dream that Joseph has had in which the heavenly bodies fell down to worship before him, plan

to kill him. They first strip him of a coat of many colors and throw him into a well. Later they sell him for thirty pieces of silver, with the understanding that he is to be carried off as a slave to Egypt. On returning home, the brothers tell Jacob that Joseph was killed by a wild beast and in proof show him the bloodstained coat. Joseph, arriving in Egypt, enters Potiphar's house as a slave; there, because of his physical beauty, he awakens the interest of Potiphar's wife and daughter.

Jornada II

Joseph rises to a position of authority, but he is beset by the attentions of the lovelorn women, whose advances he attempts to discourage. Mitilene, the wife, is by chance left alone with him, and when she seeks to persuade him to requite her passion, he escapes from her importunities by leaving in her hands his cloak. Infuriated by her failure, she tells her husband that Joseph has made an attempt on her honor and shows him the cloak which he had left when fleeing from her indignation. Potiphar has Joseph imprisoned and gives orders to have him scourged. Presently Joseph is released from prison by the pharaoh, for whom he interprets a dream which had troubled the ruler. This dream predicted seven years of plenty, to be followed by seven years of famine. Pleased with the prudent measures which Joseph advocated to prevent suffering during the famine, the pharaoh raises him to a position of dignity. Mitilene confesses his innocence and her own guilt at her death, and he is given the hand of the daughter Asenet (*sic*) in marriage.

Jornada III

When the years of famine arrive, his brothers, who are in need of food, come to Egypt to get corn. Joseph, now governor, is not recognized by them and he treats them as spies. He permits them to return to their own country only on condition that Simeon be left as hostage until their youngest brother, Benjamin, can be brought to Egypt. When the brothers return with Benjamin, Joseph receives them kindly, but desires to prove their love for their young brother. A costly vase is secretly placed in Benjamin's pack and after their departure a guard is sent to arrest the one in whose possession the missing treasure is found. When the vase is discovered in Benjamin's possession, his brothers beg for his release since they

had promised not to return without him. Judah, moreover, offers to remain captive in Benjamin's stead. Joseph, touched by their generosity, reveals himself to his brothers and sends for his father to come with his family to live in Egypt. The play ends with the meeting between Jacob and Joseph.

THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL contains an early eighteenth-century manuscript copy (No. 15306) of the first part, in which no author's name is given: *Primera Parte de la hermosura de Raquel.* Of the second part, the same library contains two manuscript copies, both of the seventeenth century. The first (No. 15151) reads: *Comedia famosa de la próspera y aduersa fortuna de Joseph y segunda de la hermosa Raquel;* the second (No. 15288), *Adbersa y próspera fortuna de Joseph. Comedia famosa y segunda de la hermosa Raquel.* In manuscript No. 15151 a later hand has added *Cordero* on the folio preceding the first page of the text and on the first page of the text as well. As no authorship is assigned to this play either in No. 15151 or in No. 15288, the inference seems justified that someone wrongly attributed it to Jacinto Cordero. The title, too, in this copy has been altered, contrary to the argument of the play, for the misfortune of Joseph precedes his good fortune, as Vélez indicates in his concluding lines.

The earliest known dramatic treatment of the story of Joseph, in Spanish, is a piece entitled, *El sueño y venta de José,* which in the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century formed part of the religious presentations that took place during the celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi in Gerona.[1] The first dramatic version of this theme, of known authorship, is Micael de Carvajal's *Tragedia llamada Josefina,*[2] the earliest known edition of which is dated Salamanca, 1535, but the work was probably composed and first published about 1520. Another play on the same theme is Fernando de Briz's *Comedia en coplas de Josef* (1527) mentioned in the *Registrum of D. Fernando Colón* (No. 14687). The second *auto* of Part Three of Bartolomé Palau's *Victoria de Cristo* (or *Victoria Christi*), the earliest known edition of which is

[1] See Manuel Cañete, *Teatro Español,* pp. 215 and 147, note 3, wherein he cites Fray José de la Canal, *España Sagrada,* XLV:24, column 1.

[2] Edited by Manuel Cañete, *Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles,* VI (Madrid, 1870).

one without date or place of publication,[3] also deals with the story of Joseph. Other dramatic treatments of this same theme are: an anonymous *auto* of the middle sixteenth century, entitled *Aucto de los desposorios de Joseph,* preserved in a codex (No. 14711) of the Biblioteca Nacional (Fols. XCVI–CII);[4] a *representação dos gloriosos feitos de Joseph, tirado do sagrado testo em verso,* by Sebastião Pirés (Coimbra, 1557); and a *Comedia* (or *farsa*) *llamada Josefina,* prohibited by the Inquisition, and put on the Index of 1599.[5] Lope's *Los trabajos de Jacob o sueños hay que verdad son* is,[6] in substance, identical with Vélez' drama. The play is a *segunda parte,* as the last lines indicate:

La tercera,
Parte os dirá los demás;
Que aquí dió fin el poeta
De Jacob a los trabajos,
Que es la gran tragicomedia
De la salida de Egipto.
Belardo los pies os besa.

With the title *Sueños hay que verdad son,* this play was published as a *suelta,* attributed to Calderón, and the last line was made to read: Calderón los pies os besa.[7] The first part of Lope's trilogy was in all probability *El casamiento dos vezes,* which the author

[3] Possibly in Zaragosa between the years 1539–1577. See D. Aureliano Fernández-Guerra, *Caída y Ruina del Imperio Visigótico Español,* p. 14, note 1. The *Victoria de Cristo* has been edited by Rouanet in *Colección de Autos,* IV: 375–394.

[4] Included by D. Eduardo González Pedroso in his collection of *Autos Sacramentales* (B.A.E., LVIII) and by Rouanet in his *Colección,* I:331–357. This is probably the same play that was performed at Seville in 1575 (Sánchez Arjona, *Anales,* p. 55). At Madrid in 1608 there was presented by the company of Alonso Riquelme an *auto de Los casamientos de Joseph.* An *auto de los hijos de Jacob* was performed by the company of Juan Fernández at Seville in 1570, an *auto de Joseph* by the company of Pedro Saldana in 1576, and an *auto, Los sueños de Joseph,* by Matías de Castro's company in 1674 (Sánchez Arjona, *El Teatro en Sevilla,* pp. 294, 296, 316). Pérez Pastor (*Nuevos Datos,* 2ª serie, p. 38) says this last was by Lope.

[5] See Cañete, *op. cit.,* pp. 142–144.

[6] Printed in Part XXII of Lope's *comedias* (Zaragoza, 1630); republished in *Acad.,* III.

[7] An *auto* with the title *Sueños hay que verdad son* was printed in *Parte tercera* of *Autos sacramentales, alegóricos y historiales del insigne poeta español don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid, Manuel Ruiz de Murga, 1717). It is an allegorical treatment of the subject in hand. A play with the title *Los triunfos de Joseph* was printed as a *suelta,* attributed to Calderón. (Cf. Cañete, *op. cit.,* pp. 191–203.) The ascription, however, is doubtful. This is possibly identical with the anonymous *Los triunfos de José,* which La Barrera (*Cat.,* p. 588a) says was printed in 1672.

included in the list in *El Peregrino* of 1604, but Menéndez y Pelayo assumes that the trilogy may have consisted of *El robo de Dina, Los trabajos de Jacob,* and *La corona derribada* (*Estudios, etc.,* I:164).

Part II of Luis Vélez' *Hermosura de Raquel* resembles Lope's *Los trabajos de Jacob* in the development of the plot, and Carvajal's *Tragedia* in certain details of the material used. Vélez' innovation of having Potiphar's wife's maidservant fall in love with Joseph is possibly a modification of the go-between in the *Poema de Yuçuf,*[8] or in the anonymous *Comedia llamada Josefina.*[9]

Other dramas on the history of Joseph are: *Los sueños de Faraón, y más feliz cautiverio,* by Mira de Amescua;[10] an *auto historial alegórico,* entitled *El cetro de Joseph,* by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz;[11] *Josef, salvador de Egipto, y triunfos de la inocencia,* by D. Juan Claudio de la Hoz y Mota (autograph copy dated Aug. 13, 1709, in the Biblioteca Nacional, MS No. R 1, 122); and an eighteenth-century MS of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 15278), entitled, *El más feliz cautiverio* (*Introducción nueva para dar principio a su representación la compañía de Manuel Martínez el presente año de 1773, escrita por D. Domingo María de Ripoll*). The tragedy entitled *Omasis, o José en Egipto,* is a translation from the French by Don Juan Francisco Pastor. (Cf. Leandro de Moratin's *Catálogo* in B.A.E., II:334.) Salvá (*Cat.,* I:455) mentions a play, *Joseph vendido,* acted in the royal seminary of nobles in 1784.

In genres of literature other than the drama, the story of Joseph has not been so popular. In addition to the above-cited *Poema de Yuçuf,* mention may be made of the prose *Historia de Josef, hijo*

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[8] See B.A.E., LVII, reproduction of the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, and R. Menéndez Pidal's edition of the manuscript in the Biblioteca de la Academia de la Historia in *Rev. de Arch.* (1902), VII:91, 276–347.

[9] Cañete, *op. cit.,* p. 143. The *Comedia de Joseph de la Donzella* mentioned in the Catalogue called *Bibliotheca Doctoris Gabrielis Sora* (Zaragoza, 1618) is possibly on the same theme as the preceding.

[10] Published as a *suelta.* There is an eighteenth-century manuscript of a play in the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 15304) with the title *El más feliz cautiverio y los sueños de Joseph* (anonymous). A play with this title was performed at Madrid in 1792 (Rouanet, *op. cit.,* IV:182). A *comedia de Faraón* was presented before the king, in the Retiro, shortly after Easter, 1679 (Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos,* ser. 2, p. 208).

[11] *Obras Poéticas de la Musa Mexicana Soror Juana Inés de la Cruz, Tomo Segundo añadido por su Autora* (Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1715). With a censure of Juan Navarro, dated Seville, July 18, 1691. *El cetro de Joseph* is included on pp. 139–170 of the text.

del gran patriarca Jacob, by Juan Ruiz de Corrella (Valladolid, 1507); two *cantos* by Alonso de Fuentes, on the selling of Joseph by his brothers, and on Pharaoh's dream, respectively;[12] and of a sonnet by Quevedo, *A la castidad de Josef.*[13]

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[12] *Libro de los quarenta cantos* (Madrid, 1563). *Parte Primera,* Cantos III and IV.

[13] In the edition of B.A.E., LXIX:489.

[65]

EL LEGO DE ALCALÁ

Comedia Famosa

de Lvis Vélez de Gvevara

[first lines]

Ort. La palmatoria he ganado.
Agu. No solo vos auéis sido.

[last lines]

Alca. A Dios, Henares;
y del *Lego de Alcalá*,
frai Julián, la Historia acabe.

Printed in *Lavrel de comedias. Qvarta parte de diferentes avtores* (Escogidas, IV) (Madrid, 1653). Bibl. Nac.; Schaeffer. (Cotarelo 42.)

Characters

Ortuño.	Un regidor.	La Escobara.
Aguirre.	Un portero.	Dos valientes.
Capoche.	Un hombre de negocios.	La Soberbia.
Estrada.	El guardián.	Lucifer.
El maestro Julián.	Mondragón.	Fray Gil.
Fray Francisco de Torres.	Un padre.	Un Pastor.
Mencía, *labradora.*	La Salazara.	Un ángel.
Un alcalde.		Alcalá de Henares.

Jornada I

In a tailor shop in Santorcaz several apprentices are sewing and talking. One of them, Julián, is very religious and has been greatly impressed by the sermons of a certain Franciscan friar, Francisco de Torres. Presently Fray Francisco enters the shop and bids Julián follow him. The young apprentice begs the friar to admit him to his order, and Francisco consents to his enrollment as a novice. Some time later Julián meets a girl, Mencía, to whose amorous importunities he will not listen. She is quickly consoled for his unresponsiveness by one of the other apprentices, Capoche, who is setting out for the war and persuades her to be his companion. Julián is admitted into the order with the approval of the *padre guardián.*

JORNADA II

Julián's excess of zeal and great simplicity soon convince his superiors that he is a fool, and in order to avoid scandal they unfrock him. A Voice acquaints Fray Francisco with what has happened and orders him to see to it that Julián is readmitted to the order.

Meanwhile Julián encounters Capoche in dire straits, and in pity for his sufferings feeds him, and clothes him with his own garments. Capoche tells Julián that Mencía abandoned him for another when his money gave out, and that thieves have but lately robbed him and stripped him when he was on his way home from the war. Julián returns to the monastery for clothes, and the porter, hearing that he has bestowed his own garments upon another, thinks him a madman. Fray Francisco meets Julián and promises to readmit him into the order if he will promise to obey him. Julián of course readily consents.

Meanwhile, Mencía and her companion, Mondragón, arrive at Madrid, where they decide to play the lady and gentleman, she to call herself Doña María (or Elvira) and he, Don Diego. In a dreadful snowstorm, Fray Francisco and Julián reach a shelter miraculously provided for them, and here they pass the time in meditation.

JORNADA III

Several years have passed. Fray Francisco has died. Julián, now a lay brother of the order, has won great fame because of the many converts he has made and the many miracles he has performed. Capoche is one of his converts and a constant companion in his travels. Owing to his influence both Mencía and Mondragón also forsake their evil ways. Julián, like other saints, is frequently tormented by the devil, but is always successful in his contests with him. On one occasion, after an unusually long and hard struggle, he is crowned by an angel sent direct from heaven. Finally, the *fraile lego* dies of the plague in Alcalá, and Alcalá, personified as a woman, and the river Henares in a dress of seaweed, celebrate his immediate translation to glory.

THE LIFE OF THE LAY BROTHER, Julián of Alcalá, is found in Part IV, Book IV, Chapter LII of Fray Antonio Daza's *Chronicle of the*

Franciscan Order[1] (fols. 262–265): "Que contiene vna sumaria relación de la bida y milagros del santo fray Julián de S. Agustín, colegida de nouenta y vna prouanças, y de los dichos de mil y quatrocientos testigos jurados." The history of Fray Francisco de Torres, who plays an important part in Vélez' *comedia,* is given in folios 143–146 of the same book.

Lope wrote a drama on the same theme, *El saber por no saber, y vida de San Julián de Alcalá de Henares.*[2] In this play the saint performs several miracles, and is also instrumental in converting a Moor and in returning a seduced girl to her home as she is about to follow her lover to the wars. When he dies, he is welcomed to heaven by St. Francis and by St. James of Alcalá.

There are certain points of similarity between this and Vélez' *comedia,* but the resemblance is not strong enough to warrant the conclusion that our author imitated his great contemporary. The events treated were so recent that it is quite possible that both poets knew of them from oral report, and, in fact, they may have known the saint. Neither *comedia* is of great merit. Both share the weaknesses and defects common to the class of plays (*de Santos*) to which they belong. Of the two, however, Vélez' is unquestionably the better, especially with respect to interest and dramatic unity.

The only known edition of Vélez' play is found in the abovementioned *Lavrel de comedias.* As for the date of composition, it is of course posterior to the death of the saint in 1606. If Lope's *El saber por no saber* inspired Vélez with the idea of writing a play on the same theme, then the date of composition of *El lego de Alcalá* may tentatively be placed subsequent to 1618.

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[1] *Quarta Parte de la Crónica General de Nuestro Padre, San Francisco, y su Apostólica Orden,* compuesta por Fray Antonio Daça, yndigno frayle, y Cronista General de su Orden (Valladolid, 1611).

[2] Posthumous *Parte XXIII* of Lope's *Comedias* (Madrid, 1638). Republished in *Acad.,* V. It does not occur in the lists of *El peregrino en su patria,* hence may be considered posterior to 1618. A play entitled *San Julián* was performed by Thomas Fernández at Madrid, June 26, 1636. Perhaps this is Lope's *El saber por no saber* or else his *San Julián de Cuencas,* mentioned in the *Peregrino* of 1604. See Remnert, "Notes, etc.," *Mod. Lang. Rev.,* III:52.

[66]

EL NEGRO DEL SERAPHÍN

DE LUIS VÉLEZ

[FIRST LINES]

Guar. Famosso Puertocarrero,
supuesto que en esta cassa . . .

[LAST LINES]

Guar. Ya dió el espíritu a Dios
el negro del mejor amo.

d. Po. Con q[ue] acaba la comedia,
pidiéndoos perdón, senado,
buestro scruidor Luis Vélez
de las faltas por aplausso.

Preserved in a seventeenth-century manuscript in the Bibl. Nac., No. 17317, with censure dated Madrid, February 8, 1643. (Cotarelo 51.)

CHARACTERS

Rosambuco.	Laura, dama.	Celia, criada.
D. Pedro Portocarrero.	Estrella, segunda dama.	Bilán, *gracioso.*
César, *conde.*	Catalina, negra.	Acompañamiento.
Mortero, *gracioso.*	San Miguel.	Jesús del monte.
Frailes.	San Gabriel.	San Francisco.
Guardián.		Turcos.

JORNADA I

The Negro, Rosambuco, whom Don Pedro Portocarrero has led captive to Palmero, informs his master of his many merits and of his objection to manual labor. He adds that his birth was attended by many portents, and that, according to the prophecies made by an astrologer, he is destined for great things. The one destined to be his master is Master of all the world. His captor will share his crown with him and will bend the knee before his sepulcher. Don Pedro is affected by these revelations and by the Negro's exalted opinion of his own merits, and promises that henceforth he shall receive due honor and consideration. Furthermore, he seeks Rosambuco's aid in an affair of the heart. It seems that Count Caesar has killed Pedro's brother, and Pedro is anxious to avenge the wrong by the death of the slayer. However, the count's sister, Doña Laura, is loved by Pedro, who enlists Rosambuco's aid in her ab-

duction, which he intends to carry out that evening. Don Pedro's sister, Estrella, knows of the plot, and Rosambuco fears that she may disclose it to the count.

Laura has decided to follow Don Pedro in spite of the feud between him and her brother. Estrella, apprised of her intended flight, comes to dissuade her from it. When she is about to leave, Don Pedro and Rosambuco enter, and Don Pedro, suspecting that the veiled woman who is with Laura is his sister, demands to see her. Estrella appeals to Rosambuco to defend her, and he responds most gallantly to her appeal. In the ensuing skirmish a knock is heard at the door, and the count enters. Swords are at once drawn, but Rosambuco has the presence of mind to extinguish the light, thus giving Estrella a chance to escape unobserved in the resultant darkness and confusion.

After this adventure Don Pedro and Rosambuco return to the Franciscan monastery of Jesús del Monte. When his master has left him, the Negro experiences an unaccountable fear in the presence of a certain statue. A vision from the spirit world appears and persuades Rosambuco to become a Christian and enter the order and take the name of Benedict (a marginal note here, fol. 19b, says: *este prodigio no está en su bida, pero ay otros mayores*).

Jornada II

The Negro is troubled by his change in faith, but a voice calling the name of Benedict, followed by the apparition of a Child, "Jesus of the Mount," in the Franciscan habit, interrupts his meditations. At this point Don Pedro comes to the monastery where Rosambuco is residing, and asks him to attend him to an interview which Laura has arranged for that night. On their way they are attacked by the count and his servants, and Rosambuco is wounded and overpowered. He calls upon the Child Jesus for help, who appears in answer to his summons, accompanied by St. Francis, and puts the aggressors to flight. Rosambuco, about to die, asks to be baptized. Once the sacred rite is performed, Rosambuco's soul is cleansed and his bodily wounds are miraculously healed. He seeks to be admitted into his order, but so long as the Negro is a slave, that privilege cannot be accorded him. On learning of these conditions, Rosambuco invokes St. Francis to give him liberty. Meanwhile both Don Pedro and the count have been im-

prisoned by order of the viceroy. Don Pedro is visited in prison by St. Francis and by a "pilgrim Seraphim" (*Serafín peregrino*). The saint tells Don Pedro of Rosambuco's desire to enter religion, and offers to buy him of his master. Don Pedro grants him his liberty, but refuses the money offered him by the saint, and at this point the identity of his heavenly visitants is revealed.

JORNADA III

Laura has eloped with Don Pedro, and the count has escaped from his prison and followed them. Rosambuco, who has already earned a reputation for great sanctity, performs several miracles and sees a vision of his approaching martyrdom. The prophecy is soon fulfilled, for, when defending the monastery against an army of Turks, he is mortally wounded and carried to the high altar. By miracle, Laura and Don Pedro, as well as Estrella and the count, arrive at the monastery, and at the request of the dying man the two enemies are reconciled. Rosambuco soon after expires, having first been favored with a vision of the Divine "Child of the Mount" and with an ocular demonstration of the mystery of St. Francis' stigmata, for which St. Francis especially makes his appearance.

THE MANUSCRIPT in the Biblioteca Nacional has the following censure:

e bisto esta comedia y reparando en ella lo que tengo apuntado en la marjen desta tercer jornada en la oja quince, no siendo inconbiniente el ser toda episodio de la vida deste santo, si bien en lo principal que es lo importante conbiene con su istoria como costa de la coronica del serafico San francisco en la quarta parte[1]-guardando las demas adbertencias que tengo dichas y apuntadas en ella se podra representar. y no de otra manera, en Madrid a 8 de febrero de 1643. Juan Nauarro de Espinossa.

Folio 15 is without any emendations, but folio 16 has been torn out, and in its place two pages have been inserted which are in a different handwriting and are evidently a revision of what had been censured. The part which has been rewritten deals with a conversation held between the Negro and "Jesus of the Mount," and with the Negro's defense of the monastery. Another censure says *Representese; M. 13 de Feb. de 1643.* The play is full of vi-

[1] See Fray Marcos de Lisboa, *Las Chronicas de la Orden de los frayles Menores; la quarta parte* (Madrid, 1611).

sions, apparitions, and miracles. The appearance of St. Francis in the prison is very impressive and less theatrical than the other miraculous episodes in which the play abounds. Some of the imagery introduced into certain scenes is hardly in accord with modern taste.

Previous to Vélez' *comedia* Lope wrote on the same theme *El Sancto Negro Rosambuco de la ciudad de Palermo,* first published in *Comedias de Lope de Vega y otros auctores, Parte III* (Barcelona, 1612),[2] and reprinted in the edition of the *Academy,* Vol. IV. In this play Rosambuco sees an image of St. Benedict raise its hand, and after witnessing this miracle, becomes a Christian. Soon after, St. Francis appears to him and bids him enter the monastery of "Jesus of the Mount." After his conversion, Rosambuco exorcises a demon and resurrects a dead man.

Vélez' play is a revision of Lope's, is more compactly constructed, but more extravagant. Shortly after the date of censure (February 8, 1643) appended to the manuscript copy of *El Negro del seraphin,* the play was published, attributed to Mira de Amescua, with the title *El Negro del mejor amo* (in *Escogidas,* IV, called *Laurel de comedias;* Madrid, 1653). The last lines have been altered as follows:

> *Ped.* Con que acaba la Comedia
> pidiéndoos perdón, Senado,
> vuestro servidor Don Pedro,
> de las faltas por aplauso.

The priority of date of the above-cited manuscript, which contains Luis Vélez' name at the end, and the fact that Vélez occasionally revised plays by Lope, a practice not common with Mira, are strong evidence that the play is by Vélez.

A codex of the Biblioteca Nacional, manuscript No. 14824, contains an autograph play (the ninth in a series of twelve manuscripts composing the volume) by Don Rodrigo Pacheco, entitled *El Negro del Seraphín.*[3] The argument, dealing with the incidents in the life of the Negro, San Antonio, is entirely different from

[2] In the *Tabla* of this *Parte III* the play is listed with the title, *Vida y muerte del Santo Negro, llamado San Benedito de Palermo.* It is entirely different from Lope's *El Negro del mejor amo, Antiobo de Cerdeña.* See Rennert, *Rev. Hisp.,* XXXIII:211; also Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope de Vega,* II:17ff.

[3] The dedication of the play is dated August 30, 1641.

Vélez' play. The same may be said of Diamante's *El Negro más prodigioso,*[4] whose protagonist, the Negro, Filipo, originally baptized with the name of Moses, becomes converted from his wickedness and ends by hanging himself on a cross.

The biography of the hero in Lope's and Vélez' compositions was written by Fray Marcos de Lisboa (*op. cit.*) and by Fray Antonio Daza.[5] It has little in common with the fanciful and extravagant absurdities of the two plays on the same theme, that of Vélez being severely criticized by a later author of the life of the saint, Don José Joaquín de Benegasi y Luján.[6]

One of its censors speaks in even stronger terms of condemnation in referring to Vélez' play: "Una comedia hay escrita del Santo, que tiene más mentiras que escenas; allí se hallan bandos fingidos, milagros falsos, travesuras indignas, rodomontadas quiméricas, y en fin, se halla en aquella pieza del teatro quanto no hubo en toda la vida del sugeto."

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[4] *Comedias de Juan Bautista Diamante. Segunda Parte* (Madrid, 1674).

[5] *Quarta Parte de la Crónica General de Nuestro Padre, San Francisco, etc.*, Bk. IV, Chap. XVI, pp. 66–68: "De la vida y milagros del bien-auenturado fray Benedito de Sanfratelo, llamado el Santo Negro: Colegida de vn processo auténtico."

[6] Menéndez y Pelayo has called attention to this work in connection with his study of Lope's play: *Vida del portentoso Negro, San Benito de Palermo, descripta en seis cantos jocoserios del reducidíssimo Metro de Seguidillas, con los Argumentos en Octavas* (Madrid, por Juan de San Martín, 1750).

[67]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

LA ROSA ALEJANDRINA

DE LVIS VÉLEZ DE GVEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Cantan Pues os llaman mis suspiros,
despertad, dulze tirana . . .

[LAST LINES]

de todos, donde transplanto
la Rosa de Alexandría.

Printed in *Segunda parte de comedias escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1652). Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 72.)

CHARACTERS

Christo.	Armindo.	Sergio.
Santa Catalina.	Rufino.	Rogerio.
Eraclio.	Tirso.	Tirrena.
Celio.	Arsenio.	Lupino.
Briscis, reina.	Leoncio.	Silvio.
Lauro.		Maximino.

JORNADA I

Santa Catalina of Alexandria, of the royal house of Egypt and a teacher of philosophy, has a vision of the Christ, who tells her of her approaching martyrdom and the glories that await her in heaven. She is discoursing on philosophy to her pupils when there comes from the emperor Maximino a warrant for her arrest for having bewitched his son, Eraclio, who has gone mad for love of her.

JORNADA II

Thinking that the sight of Catalina may cure his son, Maximino has her enter his apartment, but, struck by her beauty, he realizes that she is incapable of witchcraft. Eraclio, moreover, recovers his reason, especially when his father intimates that he is to marry Catalina. He has fallen in love with Catalina himself and plans to make her his queen.

Briscis, queen of Ethiopia, hearing of the fame of Catalina, comes to Alexandria in order to attend her lectures. Catalina, in a public discourse, confesses before Maximino and the assembled court that she is a Christian and the destined bride of Christ.

JORNADA III

In another public address Catalina makes many converts, whereupon the emperor orders her and her converts to be put to death. Catalina and her disciples thus suffer martyrdom for their faith. The soul of the saint is received by Christ, who welcomes her as his bride and promises her that the highest point of Sinai shall be the receptacle for the ashes of Catalina, the Rose of Alexandria.

THE PLAY WAS VERY LIKELY COMPOSED in honor of the feast of St. Catherine of Alexandria, for it reads as if written for a special purpose. Here are found, in rapid succession, miracles, visions, apparitions, and similar theatrical effects, all of which fall far short of the author's purpose in that they contribute in no small degree to the play's degenerating into a farce. Moreover, Catalina's philosophical arguments are without substance and rather detract from than add to her fame as a philosopher. A tiresome subplot, the loves of two peasants, also weakens the play.[1]

The popularity of the legend of St. Catherine of Alexandria is testified to by the number of "Lives" of the saint which were current in Vélez' time. The following, in Italian and Spanish, are among the most important:

Felipe Ponce, *Historia, Milagros y admirables Cosas y peregrinas de la excelsa Sancta Catharina, nobilissima Regna de Egypto, Virgen, Martyr, Predicadora* (en octava rima) (Valencia, 1585).
Miguel de Valencia, *Vida de Santa Catarina Martyr* (Valencia, 1594).
Alonso de Soria, *Historia de la gloriosa Virgen S. Catalina de Alexandria* (Cuenca, Serrano de Vargas, 1599).
José a Jesu María, *Vida de Santa Catalina* (Toledo, Pedro Rodríguez, 1608).

It is difficult to determine which of the foregoing were known to Vélez, although he must surely have been conversant with the legends connected with the life of the saint, especially as she was then held in great veneration. In the various compilations of the lives of saints known as *Flos Sanctorum*,[2] her life is found under the date set aside for the celebration of her feast (November 25), and similar accounts doubtless formed the subject of many a ser-

[1] Medel, *Indice*, confuses D. Juan Salvo's *Santa Catalina* (*de Sena* according to La Barrera, p. 362 and p. 581) with *la Rosa Alejandrina*, by Vélez, which, also, he erroneously ascribes to Juan Vélez.

[2] See in particular *La Vida de Santa Catharina, Virgen y Martyr Ilustrissima* (III, fol. 486b), in *Padre Rivadeneyra* (Barcelona, 1790).

mon at the recurrence of each anniversary thereof. Again, a chapter is devoted to her in the bachiller Juan Pérez de Moya's *Varia Historia de Sanctas e Illvstres Mvgeres* (Madrid, Francisco Sánchez, 1583).[3]

On the same theme there are the following dramas: *Tragicomedia de Sta. Catherina. Virg. y M. y de la Disputa que tuvo con los Philosofos.* Tragedy in five acts, folios 106–191 inclusive, of an early seventeenth-century codex (manuscript 17288) of the Biblioteca Nacional, entitled *Comedias y Poesías del Padre Calleja.*[4] This drama, composed in Latin and Spanish, is of little merit, either from a literary or philosophic standpoint.—*La Rosa de Alexandria, la más nueva,* by Don Pedro Rosete, in *Escogidas, parte veinti-cuatro* (Madrid, 1666): the argument of this play is the life and death of St. Catharine of Alexandria. Rosete has treated the theme in a manner distinct from that employed by Vélez. *La más nueva* has much originality, it is no imitation. A late seventeenth-century manuscript copy of this play (No. 14986) is in the Biblioteca Nacional, with the following title: *Santa Chatalina virgen, mártir y doctora* de Dn. Joseph Cañizares, año de 1716.[5] At the end are censures of Lanini Sagredo and others (December, 1684). Except in the last few verses, which have been altered, the play is identical with that attributed to Rosete in *Escogidas.* D. José de Cañizares is credited with a play called *Santa Catalina, virgen, mártir y doctora* (Paz y Melia, *Cat.,* p. 463, note 2). La Barrera, however, attributes no such play to Cañizares.—*La sacra Esposa de Cristo y Doctora de su Iglesia, Santa Catalina,* by Don Bernardino José de Reynoso y Quiñones (La Barrera, *Cat.,* p. 327a).

La Barrera also lists (*Cat.,* p. 599a) a Portuguese *Auto de Santa Catherina,* by Baltasar Díaz (Evora, 1616; Lisbon, 1633, 1659). We have found no copy of this accessible, therefore we cannot say whether the argument is based on the life of St. Catherine of Alexandria or on that of one of the other saints with the same name. Again (*Cat.,* p. 513a), La Barrera mentions a sixteenth-century

[3] *Sancta Chatarina de Alexandria Virgen y Martyr* (fols. 262a–267a).

[4] P. M. Diego Calleja (Paz y Melia, *Cat.,* p. 398, under No. 2580). The play may be autograph.

[5] Durán says of this ascription: "No puede ser D. José Cañizares el Autor de esta comedia escrita ya según las censuras en 1684. Cañizares nació en 1676."

codex of dramatic pieces by Padre Hernando de Ávila, formerly belonging to Sancho Rayón, which contains, among others, a *Comedia de Sancta Catherina (Al fin va denominada tragedia). En cuatro actos; latín y castellano. Intermediada de un titulado entretenimiento, dramático, dividido en partes. Dedicada á don Francisco de Reinoso, obispo de Córdoba.* The fact that the drama is characterized at the close as a tragedy permits of the supposition that Catherine of Alexandria was the saint referred to. This codex may be among the *legajos* of Sancho Rayón now in the archives of the Hispanic Society of America. They are unfortunately not accessible. Mention may be made of the *romances* on St. Catherine to be found in Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología,* X :198–199 and 255. The first two are from *Romances Tradicionales de Andalucía y Extremadura* (Nos. 30 and 31 of the collection) ; the last is from *Romances Castellanos—Tradicionales en Cataluña* (No. 1 of the collection, No. 24 of Milá).

Of interest, too, are the poem by St. Teresa, *Á Santa Catalina, Mártir* (B.A.E., LIII :511b) ; Lope's *Romance á Santa Catalina* (B.A.E., XXXVIII :276b–277a) ; and the poem by the licenciado Juan López de Úbeda, *Á Santa Catalina, Mártir* (*Cancionero y Vergel de plantas divinas,* Alcalá de Henares, 1588 ; reprinted in B.A.E., XXXV :340b–341a). D. José Zorilla's *La Rosa de Alejandría, Leyenda inédita, original y en verso* (Madrid, Establecimiento Tipográfico de Don Francisco P. Mellado, 1857), treats a theme entirely different from the legend of St. Catharine of Alexandria. Finally may be cited P. Ribadeneyra's *Vida de santa Catalina de Alejandría* (Cadiz, 1848).

[68]

LAS TRES EDADES DEL MUNDO

COMEDIA FAMOSA, DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Luz. Corte de la Monarquía
de Dios, Imperio Zafir . . .

[LAST LINES]

Sue. Yo apostaré que el Ventero
se ha ahorcado del saúco
por no ver representadas
las tres Edades del Mundo.

Printed in *Parte treinta y ocho de comedias nuevas, escritas por los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1672). Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 82.)

CHARACTERS

Christo, *niño.*
Miguel Arcángel.
El Lucero Serafín.
El Hombre.
Un labrador.
El Sueño, *de labrador.*
San Lucas.
San Mateo.
El Mundo, *autor de comedias.*
La Soberbia.
Jacob.
Job.
Salomón.
Judas, ventero.
El Tiempo, *de vejete.*
Representantes.
Representantas.
Padres del Limbo.
El Rústico, *gracioso.*
Una pastora, niña.
La Naturaleza.
La Muerte, *de labradora.*
La Noche.
La Envidia, *de grumete.*
La Gula, *de marinero.*
Música.

JORNADA I

Lucifer has learned in a vision that God will become man. He does not wish to pay homage to God in that form and decides to exalt himself instead. Michael, the archangel, rebukes him for his pride and insubordination and hurls him into the depths of hell. From the dust of the ground, God fashions man and woman, and Lucifer swears that through the woman he will revenge himself on God and sate his anger against the new creation. Envy and Gluttony serve him. Gluttony, in the form of a serpent, prevails upon the new creatures to eat of the fruit of the forbidden tree, thus causing them to be banished from Paradise.

Nature, after Man's fall, abandons him to serve Lucifer instead. Man, in his wanderings, meets with Toil, in the guise of a rustic, who gives him implements with which to work and earn his bread. Night, in the shape of a woman clothed in black, her veil sprinkled with stars, appears to him for the first time. Man also meets with Death, a laborer with torch and spade, who explains that the house that he is digging will be his last resting place. Death gives Man the torch, the light of which will keep him from entirely losing his way on life's highroad. Soon Man meets Sleep, who counsels him to put out his torch, whereupon Lucifer attacks him, since the extinguishing of the torch of Understanding puts Man entirely at his mercy. Man, in his despair, is comforted by Sleep, who tells him that he will yet conquer Lucifer through a woman. Dawn appears in the guise of a beautiful shepherdess, reading words of wisdom from the Book of Solomon. As she concludes the reading, she is caught up into the heavens, where she appears crowned with the sun, with the moon at her feet, and treading under foot a seven-headed dragon.

Jornada II

Man, suffering from the persecutions of Lucifer, stretches himself on the ground in the form of a cross, and Lucifer is therefore unable to harm him. Sleep, Man's friend, promises him redemption through the mediation of the Sovereign Redemptress, Mary. Soon afterward several patriarchs, kings, prophets, and apostles give testimony before Michael the Archangel that Mary has conceived without sin; whereupon Lucifer, blind with rage, calls upon Nestorius, Elvigius, Pelagius, Arius, Luther, Calvin, and all heretics in Asia and Europe, together with all the fiends of hell, to aid him in giving battle once more against God and Michael. The Archfiend loses a powerful ally, for Nature at this point deserts him to uphold the cause of Mary. Soon afterward, Lucifer and Sleep witness the Annunciation, the birth, and early life of Christ. They also behold Nature taking the Savior's measure for the cross.

Jornada III

Lucifer is attacked and vanquished by Nature, who has espoused the cause of Man and God. Man, Sleep, and Night meet Judas, an innkeeper, who is thinking of hanging himself for having betrayed

the Christ, and they plan to pass the night at Judas' inn. Lucifer and Death enter, Death having promised Lucifer to put Man and Nature into his hands. Time, an old man, enters the inn, and tells the guests of the law of Grace introduced by Christ's many miracles. Next enter Dawn, and the World with his players. The World is on his way from Jerusalem to Rome, but, in reply to Man's query, says he knows nothing of the Christ.

Suddenly a dreadful noise frightens all the guests of the inn, and Death exclaims that another Death has given him death. Nature comes in with a lighted torch, the same that Death had given Man and that Man had put out, and tells the guests of the Crucifixion. At the conclusion of Nature's speech, Death cries out that he is dead, Lucifer cries that he is conquered, and both are swallowed up by the earth. The soul of Christ is seen descending to the lower regions to deliver the souls of the just, who have long awaited liberation, and Man is placed on the throne formerly occupied by Lucifer.

VÉLEZ HAS HANDLED THE ALLEGORY developed in the argument of the play remarkably well, the whole being pervaded with a deeply religious feeling, often tempered with a gentle melancholy. The versification, too, is always pleasing and in harmony with the sentiments expressed, and in places rises to a lyrical height difficult to be surpassed. Act II is weakened by the stress laid on the cult of Mariolatry, and throughout the play many anachronisms occur, pardonable in an allegory. The date of Vélez' composition cannot be determined. The subject-matter of his play is analogous to that of Gil Vicente's *Auto da historia de Deos*[1] and Bartolomé Palau's *Victoria de Christo*.[2] The literature of Spain on this and kindred themes is extensive.[3]

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[1] Mendes dos Remedios, *Obras de Gil Vicente* (Coimbra, 1907), I:143–172.

[2] See No. 61 (*La creación del mundo*) in the present study.

[3] For several sixteenth-century *autos* on related themes, see Rouanet, *op. cit.*, especially the bibliographical data in Vol. IV.

[69]

LOS TRES PORTENTOS DE DIOS

Comedia Famosa de Luis Vélez de Guevara

[FIRST LINES]

Music. Ya braman sueltos los ayres,
amenazando las selvas,
que se ha passado el verano,
y que está el invierno cerca.

[LAST LINES]

Jos. Éstos son
Los Tres Portentos del Cielo
los Tres Prodigios de Dios.

Printed in various *sueltas,* Sevilla, without date of publication; Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 83.)

Characters

Saulo.	Eliazín.	Barrabás, bandolero.
María Magdalena.	Simeón.	Dorcas, bandolero.
Timoteo.	Marcela.	Un capitán.
Flora, *criada.*	Dimas, buen ladrón.	Soldados.
Joseph.	Gestas, mal ladrón.	Músicos.

Jornada I

Saul of Tarsus on his way to visit Mary Magdalene is attacked by thieves, but soon puts them to flight. His servant, Dimas, who is also a thief, is about to seize the opportunity to make off with his master's cloak, when both he and Saul are surprised and startled by the vision of a horse and cross, which suddenly appears above them. Of the cross Dimas says:

Esta cruz será del cielo,
(Ladrón) tu llave maestra.

and Saul, in reference to the horse, exclaims:

Este bruto despeñado
(Saulo) darte vida espera.

Saul comes to see Mary Magdalene, whose acquaintance he is very anxious to make because of the many accounts he has heard of her wondrous beauty. Her friend, Marcela, enters and persuades them to go to the temple to hear Jesus preach, whose doc-

trines are making many converts. Mary is so impressed by what she hears that she leaves the temple a true penitent. Saul attempts to dissuade her from her purpose, but she fills him with a strange foreboding when she cries out in answer:

> Saulo, Saulo, dexame,
> porqué me persigues, Saulo.

JORNADA II

Dimas, who has stolen some of his master's goods, is taken prisoner by the authorities, together with two of his companions, Gestas and Barrabas. Meanwhile, Saul's love for Mary Magdalene induces him to enter her room one night by stealth. He finds her asleep, and, impelled by a jealous rage on reading a letter she has been writing to Jesus, he attempts to tear it up but finds he cannot do so. Mary, awakening, urges him to repentance, but he will not listen and leaves in anger. Shortly afterward news is brought to Mary of the betrayal and arrest of Jesus, and of the sentence that has been passed upon Him, namely, to be crucified between two thieves. She hastens at once to the scene of the crucifixion in order to be with Him to the last. Saul, who happens to pass near the spot, is also a witness of Jesus' passion and death, and overhears Him promise the repentant thief, Dimas, that he will be with Him in Paradise.

JORNADA III

After the death of Jesus, Saul redoubles his efforts to stamp out the hated sect of Christians. When Joseph of Arimathea remonstrates with him and tells him to show them some mercy, the furious fanatic orders Joseph to be killed instantly, but Joseph passes unharmed amid the drawn swords of Saul's soldiers. He next meets Mary Magdalene, whose entreaties to cease his persecution of the Christians and adopt their faith only increases his anger and hatred against them. Later, in an attempt to force an entrance into the house where Mary, the mother of Jesus, is living, he is prevented by the archangel Gabriel with drawn sword. Finally, the vision of Dimas with a cross in his hand and a sudden splendor radiating from heaven so dazzle and blind him that he falls from his horse, while a Voice reproaches him saying:

> ¿Saulo, Saulo,
> Porqué me persigues, Saulo?

Thereupon Saul loses his feeling of enmity toward the Christians and is converted to their cause. The Voice urges him to follow the example of the other two heavenly prodigies (*portentos de Dios*), Dimas and Mary Magdalene, to change his name to Paul, and proceed to Damascus to work for the Christian cause.

LOS TRES PORTENTOS DE DIOS, although presumably a religious play based in the main on the Bible modified by Catholic teaching and tradition, is in reality a *comedia de ruido* of the most spectacular kind. The composition is lacking in unity, nor is there any real plot, but only a succession of scenes, more or less happily interwoven with incidents from the lives of the three main characters, which have always been popular themes with writers, dramatic and otherwise, in the Iberian peninsula. Vélez is said to have written a play with the title *La Magdalena,* according to La Barrera (*Cat.,* p. 561a), but it has not yet been identified.

On the history of Mary Magdalene, mention may be made of a few titles in addition to those listed by Léon Rouanet in a note to the sixteenth-century anonymous *Aucto de la conversión de la Madalena* (in *Colección de Autos,* IV:308–310); the *auto* itself is found in Vol. III, pp. 49–66 of the same work. They are: *Vida de la Madalena* by Estéban de Villalobos (Toledo, 1587); *Discursos del varón justo, y conversión de la Magdalena con otras flores espirituales,* by Diego Cortés (Madrid, 1592); Lope's *auto, La adúltera perdonada;* an *auto* or *elegía* by Simón de Silveira[1] and another by Juan Vaz, *Historia da Samaritana* (late sixteenth century; La Barrera, *Cat.,* p. 418).

Dealing with St. Paul's conversion there are two anonymous *autos de la conversión de San Pablo,* published by Rouanet[2] with some bibliographical notes.[3]

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[1] Printed in *Duas Elegias, huma ao bom Ladraõ e outra a Magdalena* (Lisbon, Marcos Borges, 1567); see La Barrera, *Cat.,* p. 374a.

[2] *Op. cit.,* I:426–436; III:34–48.

[3] *Op cit.,* IV:195–197.

IV. AUTOS

[70]

AUTO SACRAMENTAL DE LA ABADESA DEL CIELO

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

An. Desatinado amor, monstruo terrible,
¿a dónde has de parar con el deseo?

[LAST LINES]

Haciendo inmortal al suelo,
contra vida y tiempo vario
la devoción del rosario
por *la Abadesa del cielo.*

Manuscript (16615) of the Biblioteca Nacional, seventeenth century. (Cotarelo 1 under *autos.*)

CHARACTERS

Don Andrés.	Christo.	Un ciego.
Caracuel, criado.	Un manco.	Un viejo.
Doña Juana.	Un cojo.	La Virgen.
Demonio.		Un soldado.

Don Andrés, a canon of Cordova, receives a letter from Doña Juana, an abbess of that city, in which she bids him meet her that night at twelve near the church, stating that her love for him has caused her to take this step. Contrary to the advice of his servant, Caracuel, who counsels prudence, Andrés determines to seize the occasion offered to enjoy it to the utmost. That night, Doña Juana, once having thrown all scruples to the winds, is at the trysting place before her lover, anxiously awaiting his coming. At the stroke of twelve he appears and urges flight on two horses that Caracuel has made ready. She consents, but first she wishes to take leave of an old friend whom she has served since first she entered the convent as a child. Entering the church, she approaches an altar of the Virgin of the Rosary and kneels before it. She tells the Virgin how she was forced by her parents to enter the convent when she was very young, and how her love for Andrés has convinced her that she is better fitted to be a wife than a nun. She

leaves the keys of the convent and her nun's dress in the Virgin's care, and promises her lifelong adoration.

A demon, in the guise of a poor lame man, rejoices in his victory over the nun. (At this point a blank sheet is inserted between two pages of the MS to show that part of the original has been lost.) A one-handed man and a lame man are engaged in mutual recriminations; an old man, a blind man, and a soldier join them. These worthies are waiting for the abbess to come out and give them alms, but the demon tells them that she has fled the convent with Andrés. They do not believe him, even when he swears that he has witnessed the abduction with his own eyes. "Rezelo," says the blind man, "que soys el diablo coxuelo; que tambien hay diablos cojos." They fall to quarreling among themselves, and in the midst of the confusion the Virgin comes out dressed in the clothes of the abbess. The demon recognizes her, and she tells him that no harm shall ever come to one who has shown devotion to her; and that, until the return of the abbess, she herself will take her place. Then she bids the demon begone and distributes alms among the beggars.

Meanwhile, the fugitives are surprised to find that during the entire night they have not gone more than a league from Cordova. The abbess asks Andrés to give her a promise of marriage, which he readily consents to do. At this, a tree opens, and a crucifix is seen. From the crucifix falls one of the arms of the Christ, who reminds her of her early vows and warns her that she may thereafter seek for Him in vain. This miracle fills the abbess with remorse, and, begging Christ not to abandon her, she takes leave of Andrés. He, too, vows to spend the rest of his days away from the vain delights of the world. Caracuel speeds posthaste after him, though with many a sigh over giving up the pleasure of his former life. Doña Juana returns to the convent, where she meets the demon disguised as a citizen. He taunts her with her loss of honor and for appearing in such attire. But, at the sight of the rosary, to which she appeals for aid, he speedily flees and the abbess recognizes him as the demon.

Soon after, she meets the Virgin, who tells her of the miracle she has wrought on her behalf in return for her devotion. No one shall know of the adventure until after the death of the abbess, when the miracle will be cited as an incentive to eternal devotion to the rosary. As the curtain falls, the Virgin appears in glory, while the

abbess, overcome with gratitude and love, swears perpetual allegiance to her benefactress.

THE STORY OUTLINED ABOVE is, in the main, the well-known legend of Sister Beatrice, the nun who, having left the convent with her lover, finds, to her great surprise on her return, that, during her absence, the Virgin, grateful for the tender devotion she has always shown her, has assumed her appearance and fulfilled her duties, so that no one has been aware of her flight. This legend was well known in the later middle ages, and especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when it served as the theme of many a sermon and found a place in the devotional books of the time.

The oldest known version that has come down to us may be found in the Latin collection of miracles of the Cistercian monk, Caesarius von Heisterbach, who wrote at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is found in Book VII[1] of his *Illvstrivm miracolorum et Historiarvm memorabilivm, lib. XII, etc.*[2] This work went through many editions, and was well known in translations, many of its stories being included in religious and devotional books of succeeding centuries.[3]

We shall limit ourselves to the fate of the legend in Spain, giving only the chief versions. The first may be found in the *Cantigas* of Alfonso the Learned. *Cantiga* 93 is entitled: *Esta é como Santa Maria seruiú en logar de la monia que ese foi do moesterio.* Other *cantigas* have points of similarity with this one, but none so apparent as No. 55, which may be considered as a mere variant of No. 93.[4]

Lope de Vega treated this theme in *La buena guarda* or *La encomienda bien guardada* (1610). In his dedication to D. Juan de Arguijo, Veinticuatro de Sevilla, he writes as follows.

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[1] *De Sancta Maria libri septimi,* Chap. XXXV.

[2] *Coloniae Agrippinae, Anno MDXCI.*

[3] The bibliography connected with this story is very extensive and a rehearsal of the titles related to the miracle of Sister Beatrice would take us too far afield. See Armando Cotarelo y Valledor, *Una Cantiga del Rey Sabio. Fuentes y Desarrollo de la Leyenda de Sor Beatriz* (Madrid, 1904); and the study by Robert Guiette, *La Légende de la Sacristine: Étude de litt. comp.* (Paris, 1927).

[4] *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria de Don Alfonso el Sabio,* with an introduction by the Marqués de Valmar (edition of the Academy, Madrid, 1889), p. 78.

> Habiendo leído este prodigioso caso en un libro de devoción, una señora destos reinos me mandó que escribiese una comedia, dilantándole con lo verosímil a sus tres actos; representóla Riquelme, y después de algunos años llegó a mis manos, y he querido darla a luz, para que sea más común a todos tan raro ejemplo.[5]

But as he does not specify what this book of devotion was, we have no means of verifying it, as many books contained the legend.

Lope's argument, in brief, is as follows: Doña Clara de Lara, a young novice, after resisting the courtship of a young gallant, D. Felix, finally decides to flee with him. She first bids the Virgin care for those entrusted to her charge, but does not leave her the keys of the convent; thus a delicate touch in the legend is lost. Instead of having the Virgin appear on the stage, Lope has a Voice bidding an angel assume the appearance of the novice. The absence of Felix and of the *gracioso,* Carrizo, are not noted, since two angels are charged with impersonating them also. Conscience soon begins to trouble Felix, who does not dare to abandon Clara openly; he sends her a note in which he tells her of his decision and makes his way as a pilgrim to Rome. Clara lives for some years as a shepherdess, winning a reputation among the simple countryfolk for sanctity and devotion. At length the novice returns, and we have several scenes in which she is shown to be wholly unfamiliar with recent events. D. Felix and Carrizo also return and give proof of sincere repentence.

In this play Lope has included several minor characters and many incidents wholly unconnected with the main plot, in order to give it the proper length. The characters are well drawn, that of the *gracioso,* Carrizo, being very spirited. Throughout the play there are numerous passages of poetic beauty and several lyrical passages of striking sweetness and melody. One point rather detracts from the interest: the substitution of an angel to impersonate Doña Clara, for the Virgin herself, weakens this poetic incident and vitiates the dramatic feeling of the miracle.

There are several variants between Lope's autograph,[6] dated April 16, 1610, which Hartzenbusch followed in reprinting the

[5] Reprinted in *Acad., Obras de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1895), V:317. See also Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios,* II:85ff., for a discussion of the legend.

[6] Cotarelo y Valledor, *op. cit.,* p. 116.

play for the B.A.E.,[7] and the version printed in *Parte XV* of his plays (Madrid, 1621). In the MS the title is *La encomienda bien guardada,* but in the printed version it is changed to *La buena guarda.* Moreover, in the original manuscript, Doña Clara is an abbess, and the convent is situated in Ciudad Rodrigo, whereas in the edition of 1621 Doña Clara is the head of a religious home for young girls who do not intend to enter religion, and there is apparent a constant effort to avoid localizing the action.

Four years after the writing of *La encomienda bien guardada,* Fernández de Avellaneda included the story of Sister Beatrice in his false *Quijote,*[8] Chapters XVII–XX inclusive, under the title of *Los felices amantes.* Doña Luisa, an abbess, is courted by one Gregorio. After yielding to him, she suggests flight, but before leaving she robs the convent, and D. Gregorio robs his father. The night of her departure she beseeches the Virgin, in return for the devotion which she has always shown her, to protect the nuns whom she is about to abandon and delivers up the keys of the convent to her keeping. The fugitives, after many wanderings, are reduced to great straits, and Doña Luisa becomes a courtesan. Presently she repents of her wicked life and decides to return to her old abode. Arriving at the convent in the guise of a pilgrim, she finds the door open; the church is deserted, but a bunch of keys lies before the Virgin's shrine. Then she learns that the Virgin has impersonated her during all the years of her absence, and she hastens to resume her duties as of old. Doña Luisa spends the rest of her life in severe self-discipline. D. Gregorio, too, repents of his sins, and, on returning home, is surprised to learn that Doña Luisa has never left the convent. He seeks an interview with the abbess and learns from her of the miracle wrought in her favor; he enters religion and leads an exemplary life until his death.

Throughout this story there are evidences of Dominican influence and teaching, especially with respect to the devotion for the rosary, a feature emphasized by both Luis Vélez and Avellaneda, who depict the miracles performed by the Virgin as done in compensation for that particular form of piety. When Juana of Vélez' play, on her return, meets the Virgin, the latter says, remindfully,

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[7] XLI:325–344.

[8] *Segundo tomo del ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha* (Tarragona, Felipe Roberto, 1614).

que por auerme obligado
con el rosario, el lugar
(que tubistes) he ocupado.

and promises her that the matter will be kept secret till her death.

In the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid there is another play in MS[9] with the same title, but anonymous. The plot resembles that of Vélez' *auto,* and the names of the characters, with the exception of Caracuel who in this MS is called Caraciel, and whole speeches are identical. The argument of this *auto* is as follows:

D. Gonzalo, aided by his friend D. Bernardo, attacks D. Andrés, having suspected him of courting his wife, since he is seen nightly outside Gonzalo's house. The devil appears in the guise of a gentleman and helps Andrés to defeat his opponents, who declare that the whole affair is a mistake, as Andrés loves no one but the abbess, Doña Juana. While Caraciel is making preparations for the abduction of the abbess, Andrés receives a visit from the devil, who reveals his knowledge of the young gallant's love for Doña Juana and of his contemplated flight. The devil offers to take them quickly to Turkey, where they can enjoy the fullest freedom. Andrés promises to acquaint Doña Juana with his offer and soon after leaves to keep his appointment. The devil, in an aside, declares his intention to publish the tidings of the flight of the abbess.

Doña Juana, at the church gate, is anxiously awaiting her lover. Her farewell to the Virgin is identical with that in the MS attributed to Luis Vélez. She promises lifelong devotion to the rosary, and says naïvely as she covers the image:

Y agora quiero cubriros,
porque vuestros ojos vellos
y castos no es bien que miren
mi amoroso atrebimiento.

When she has left the convent, music sounds, and Mary descends from the altar accompanied by the angel Gabriel. The Virgin reveals her intention of protecting the abbess by taking her place, and Gabriel remarks:

con tal perlada que falta
puede ser gloria este templo,
esta casa, pues la rije
el auadesa del cielo.

[9] No. 16877: *Aucto de Nuestra Señora del Rosario De la Auadessa Del Zielo.* Seventeenth-century copy.

The devil, in disguise at the convent door, decides to await the arrival of the beggars to whom the abbess is accustomed to distribute alms, before making public the news of her flight. Thereupon, we have the same scene as in the first-mentioned manuscript in which the Virgin distributes alms among the beggars and encourages them to show devotion to the rosary.

The fugitives have various supernatural experiences. As Doña Juana is about to give her hand in marriage to D. Andrés, Christ Crucified appears to them on an altar and rebukes her for her unfaithfulness. Here we have the same speech as in the other version. When Doña Juana has returned to the convent, Mary bids Gabriel acquaint her with what has happened in her absence, together with the reason for the favor bestowed on her. Caraciel, again a lackey, finally says:

> y reçaré mi rosario
> con muy mucha deuoçión
> que ansí alcançaré perdón
> por tan dibino sagrario;
> y pues se apartó el reçelo
> y pretendieron la gloria,
> daráse fin a la ystoria
> de *la auadesa del çielo.*

The fact that in this anonymous version (seemingly based upon Luis Vélez' *auto*) Mary bids an angel disclose to the abbess what has happened in the convent in her absence, may indicate that the author was acquainted with Lope's play, in which a Voice directs an angel to simulate the abbess. The apparation of the crucified Christ has points of similarity with an adventure which befell D. Felix. Similar admonitions, however, occur in other versions of the legend of Sister Beatrice.[10] To sum up, the sources of the legend which may have served Luis Vélez in writing his play are not easy to determine, as the legend was very well known in his day, and he may have taken it from oral tradition or from some sermon by a Dominican monk. If he became acquainted with any printed version of the legend, he found it, in all probability, in a devotional book of the time. That he laid stress on the spiritual efficacy of the devotion to the rosary has already been indicated; the very title of his *auto* states this. Similar stress laid by Avellaneda on the same

[10] See Cotarelo y Valledor, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–28, and Caesarcus von Heisterbach, VII:33; also *Cantiga* LIX, of Alfonso el Sabio.

theme suggests that Luis Vélez read the latter's story, and was inspired by that source. Avellaneda's *Los felices amantes* and Luis Vélez' *La abadesa del cielo* both emphasize the fact that the Virgin favors the nun chiefly as a reward for her devotion to her rosary. But Luis Vélez treated the legend in his own way, giving it unmistakably the impress of his peculiar conception of a *comedia divina.*

More recent treatments of the legend of Sister Beatrice are Charles Nodier's poetical prose story, *La légende de Sœur Béatrice* (Paris, 1837); Zorrilla's well-known legend of *Margarita la Tornera,*[11] and Padre Arolas' poem of scant literary merit and little true religious feeling entitled, *Beatriz la portera.*[12]

In our own time the story has been adapted to the stage in the form of a lyrical drama with the title, *Margarita la Tornera,* the words by C. Fernández Shaw and the music by Ruperto Chapí; the reader will also recall the recent elaborate presentation of the legend with the title, *The Miracle,* under the direction of the noted German impresario, Max Reinhardt.

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[11] *Cantos del Trovador* (Madrid, 1840).

[12] *Poesías* (Valencia, 1840–43), II:244ff.

[71]

AVTO FAMOSO: LA MESA REDONDA

DE LVIS VÉLEZ GVEVARA

REPRESENTÓSE EN MADRID

[FIRST LINES]

Sinag. ¿Dónde con plumas velozes
de Hipomenes, y Atalantas
me precipitan las plantas
y me destierran las vozes?

[LAST LINES]

Flor. Y acabe triunfante assí
la Mesa Redonda aquí,
y el Diuino Carlo Magno.

Printed in *Navidad, y Corpus Christi* (Madrid, 1664; No. 3). Bibl. Nac.; Schaeffer (Cotarelo, p. 429, No. 3); two MSS, Nos. 16984 (dated 1634) and 17402 in Bibl. Nac.

CHARACTERS

La Sinagoga.	Montesinos.	Galalón.
Carlomagno.	Flor de Lis.	La Ley de Gracia.
Jordán.	Roldán.	La muerte.
	Durandarte.	

Montesinos (St. John the Baptist) is persuaded by Father Jordan to go to Jerusalem to join Charlemagne (Christ) and his twelve paladins (apostles), who are being persecuted by the Jewish Synagogue. Charlemagne prepares to resist this persecution at the hands of the Synagogue and of Herod. Both of them dispute his claims to kingship. The Synagogue, indeed, in a spirit of mockery, soon afterward throws him a crown of thorns and a reed for a scepter, which Charlemagne accepts in all humility.

A great battle between Charlemagne and the Synagogue is to take place the following day, but before that event Charlemagne wishes to give his followers to eat of his body and to drink of his blood at the Round Table. One of his followers, Galalón (Judas), proves a traitor in that he agrees to sell him to his enemies for thirty pieces of silver. The Synagogue swears that it will nail Charlemagne to a cross, so that from the cross he may rule his subjects, and that Fleur-de-Lis, his royal spouse (the Church), may thereby be defeated in her hopes of world-wide dominion.

When Charlemagne is celebrating the Last Supper, Death appears, with the bloody head of a young man in one hand, and in the other, a scythe. The head is that of Montesinos, who has met this fate for denouncing Herod at Charlemagne's command. Death informs Charlemagne that she is in league with the Synagogue, and that, if he persists in his claims to the scepter, he will meet his discomfiture by ultimately falling into her hands. Charlemagne replies that he is immortal, accepts her challenge, and elects for his arms the Cross, and for the field of battle, Calvary (Roncesvalles).

In the great battle engaged in by Charlemagne and his paladins against the Synagogue and Death, Roland (Peter), in accordance with Charlemagne's prediction, denies his master thrice, but, on the crowing of the cock, is conscience-stricken for his perfidy. Galalón, too, in despair at having betrayed his master, hangs himself, after scattering to the four winds the money received for his treachery.

Although all the paladins have fled in cowardice from the battle, and the Synagogue has won the honors of the day, Fleur-de-Lis insists that victory rests with her and Charlemagne. She gives an account of the crucifixion, at the conclusion of which Charlemagne is seen on the cross, with Death at his feet. Charlemagne from the cross asserts that, by his dying, Death will be vanquished, and that the Synagogue will thereby be made subject to Fleur-de-Lis. Fleur-de-Lis, at this, breaks forth into praises of Charlemagne's blood-stained beauty on the cross and vows to carry off as royal spoils both the Synagogue and Death. Thereupon the Synagogue acknowledges the omnipotence of Fleur-de-Lis and her sovereign spouse.

In the auto Luis Vélez fuses the story of Charlemagne and his paladins, Roland, Montesinos, Durandarte, and Galalón, with the life of Christ and his apostles, of whom Peter and Judas are especially prominent. His romantic material was thus taken chiefly from the ballads which deal with the episode of Roncesvalles and the chief participants in that battle; this theme he mingled with his biblical sources. The story of Montesinos and Durandarte must have been known to many through the exploits of Don Quixote, who revived the legend in connection with his adventure in the *Cueva de Montesinos*.

[72]

AVTO DEL NACIMIENTO DE CHRISTO

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GVEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Pastoras. A Maitines tocan las campanillas,
como nace a Maitines el Sol del día.

[LAST LINES]

boluiendo como primero
al coloquio de Dios Niño,
fin al regocijo demos.

First printed in *Avtos sacramentales con cuatro comedias nuevas y sus loas y entremeses. Primera parte* (Madrid, por María de Quiñones. 1655), p. 235, No. 38;[1] again printed in 1675 (La Barrera, p. 710b). (Cotarelo p. 430, No. 4.)

CHARACTERS

La noche buena.	Ginés.	Bras.
La Virgen.	Gil.	Berrueco.
Joseph.	Llorente.	Una pastor muda.

Amid several portents and wonders, Noche Buena, with a black mask sown with silver stars, black dress and mantle, and a *sol de oropel* (a shining metal ball to simulate the sun) in her hand, announces to several shepherds the birth of the Savior in a stable at Bethlehem. They accordingly go forth and offer him their humble gifts in adoration.

THIS AUTO IS A MOST GRACEFUL and pleasing Christmas offering, especially in the lyrical passages, which are of exceptional merit. Its date of composition is not known.

[1] La Barrera, p. 709b; a copy of this rare volume is in the Stadtbibliothek of Berlin.

V. COMEDIAS ESCRITAS EN COLABORACIÓN CON OTROS AUTORES DRAMÁTICOS

[73]

ALGUNAS HAZAÑAS DE LAS MUCHAS DE DON GARCÍA HURTADO DE MENDOZA MARQUÉS DE CAÑETE

[FIRST LINES]

Caupolicán. Prosígase la fiesta
En el eterno abril desta floresta.

[LAST LINES]

Rebolledo. Y aquí Arauco, aquí su invicto
Conquistador tenga fin,
Aunque en la fama infinito.

Published as a *suelta, Algunas hazañas de las muchas de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete,* por Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez. En Madrid. Por Diego Flamenco. Año 1622. Bibl. Nac. The collaborators in writing this drama were Antonio Mira de Amescua, el conde del Basto, hijo del marqués de Belmonte, Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, Luis Vélez de Guevara, Fernando de Ludeña, Jacinto de Herrera, and Guillén de Castro. Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez is responsible for two parts, the last third of Act I and the last fourth of Act III; of a total of 3086 verses, Belmonte wrote 964; Vélez, 370; Alarcón, 368; Castro, 364; Herrera, 344; Mira, 252; Villegas. 196; Ludeña, 164; the conde del Basto, 64. Not in Cotarelo.

CHARACTERS

Caupolicán.	Chilindrón.	Guacolda.
Galvarino.	Soldados.	Rengo.
Colocolo.	D. García de Mendoza.	Tucapel.
Gualeva.	Reynoso.	Crompello.
D. Felipe de Mendoza.	Leocatán, *mágico.*	Nacol.
Rebolledo.	Coquín.	Indios.

JORNADA I

(De Antonio Mira de Amescua)

Chief Caupolicán at a war council of his people swears to exterminate all the Spaniards in Chile and strengthens his vow by pledging his warriors in the skull of Valdivia, which he fills with his own blood from a self-inflicted wound. Immediately afterward one of the warriors, Galvarino, enters the council and informs the

chief of the arrival of six Spanish ships, commanded by the valiant soldier, D. García Hurtado de Mendoza, who has come to Chile to put down an uprising of the natives. In proof of his assertion Galvarino shows them his mutilated arms, which the Spaniards wished should serve as a warning to all other natives.

(Del Conde del Basto, hijo del marqués de Belmonte)

Colocolo, an old warrior, urges the Indians to give up all idea of resisting D. García, who not only has won a great reputation as a resourceful and valiant soldier, but has also the good fortune to be descended from a line of illustrious forebears extending as far back as Pelayo. Caupolicán thanks him for his advice, but declines to submit to the invader. Guacolda, an Indian maid, offers to serve as a spy and chooses Coquín, a *gracioso,* to accompany her to the enemy's camp.

(De Luis de Belmonte)

The Spaniards are building a fort in emulation of the example of the marquis D. García, who takes part in the work like any humble soldier. Rebolledo, a coward and a braggart, is given the most important post to guard at night. The marquis twice discovers him asleep at his post. He pardons him the first time on the ground of his being exhausted from the preceding day's strenuous work, and, as for the second offense, although he thinks it unpardonable, he overlooks it on Rebolledo's pleading that shame at having twice failed in his duty has made a man of him.

On the arrival of Guacolda and Coquín at the Christian camp, the *gracioso* is put to the torture, under which he informs the Spaniards of the strength of the Indian forces. Soon afterward he attempts to escape, but is captured by one of D. García's soldiers, Reinosa.

Meanwhile, Caupolicán and his warriors have planned to attack the Christian fort. In the first assault Rebolledo loses his weapons and in despair at the loss throws himself from the walls. Caupolicán orders his warriors not to hurt him and permits him to fight hand to hand with his opponent, whom he vanquishes. The Spaniards make a sally from the fort and in the battle Caupolicán and the marquis fight in single combat. The Christians sound a retreat and the marquis is forced to accompany them, but both he and his opponent are anxious to meet again.

JORNADA II

(De Juan Ruiz de Alarcón)

D. García receives an embassy of three of the Indians, who offer him two alternatives: (1) that he leave the country in return for whatever wealth he may demand, or (2) that, on condition that he promise not to pass the river Nibequeten, he will be permitted to stay in Chile. In reply the marquis tells them that the only way to put an end to the war is to acknowledge the king of Spain as their sovereign, whereupon they treacherously attempt to slay him; but their plot is discovered in time and the marquis, instead of having them punished, lets them go free, while they wonder at his magnanimity.

(De Luis Vélez de Guevara)

The marquis is warned by a friendly Indian not to engage in battle as the advancing host is forty thousand strong; but he is determined to meet them, for the glory of conquering such overwhelming numbers will be all the greater. Soon afterward Gualeva, Caupolicán's squaw, braves the Nibequeten and endeavors to persuade the marquis not to offer combat to her people, saying that their superior numbers will mean utter defeat for him. Although he is unaware that this is only a ruse on her part to prevent him from fighting, he will not listen to her, but, fired with the hope of winning fame and glory, resolves on an immediate attack.

(De Don Fernando de Ludeña)

Rebolledo performs a dangerous and heroic feat by fording the river, and on landing is aided by Guacolda against several braves who attack him. Caupolicán, seeing one against many, orders his warriors to desist, and allows Rebolledo to go free, emulating thus the example of the marquis, who had pardoned the two Indians who attempted to kill him.

JORNADA III

(De Jacinto de Herrera)

In the thick of the ensuing battle between the whites and the Indians a rock splits into three parts, disclosing the magician, Leocotán, seated therein. He is loud in the praises of D. García, and urges his people to submit to the Spaniard, after which he sinks into the ground, his disappearance being followed by a dreadful tempest. The Indians will not listen to his counsels, with the result

that their chief, Caupolicán, is soon afterward taken prisoner by Reinoso.

(De Don Diego de Villegas)

Caupolicán's squaw, Gualeva, upbraids him mercilessly for allowing himself to be taken captive and ends her taunts by hurling their young child, before his eyes, over a cliff.

(De Don Guillén de Castro)

The marquis and some of his men learn that Caupolicán is doomed to death. D. García wishes to save him, but arrives too late, as Caupolicán was executed soon after he had embraced Christianity.

(De Luis de Belmonte)

D. García rebukes Reinoso for having presumed to take Caupolicán's life, not only because the inhuman act sullies the honor that he expects from victory ("es contra el honor que de la victoria espero"), but also because Reinoso, being only a captain, had no right to execute a general or chieftain such as Caupolicán. He orders Reinoso to be held prisoner until the punishment for his offense has been determined.

A curtain is drawn, showing the dying Caupolicán. Shortly before his death, the chieftain tells D. Felipe, D. García's brother, that he is grateful to the marquis because he has been instrumental in his going to heaven. The marquis then receives the surrender of the Indians and decides to govern in the name of Philip II.

In 1557 D. Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, viceroy of Peru, hearing of a revolt among the natives of Chile, sent his young son, D. García, in command of a small force, to put an end to the uprising. One member of this victorious expeditionary party was the poet, Alonso Ercilla y Zúñiga, who subsequently recounted the events of this campaign in his epic poem, *La Araucana.*[1] Because of personal grievances against D. García,[2] Ercilla failed to give due credit to the part played by his commander in the subjugation of the natives, and this affront led to the writing of several works in vindi-

[1] A continuation, of far less merit than Ercilla's poem, was written by D. Diego de Santisteban y Osorio, *Cuarta y quinta parte de la Araucana* (Salamanca, Juan y Andrés Renaut, 1597).

[2] "We know that Ercilla and Juan de Pineda had quarreled at a joust in 1566, and that the vigorous young governor, D. García, had threatened to hang them both. Ercilla could not forgive this affront, and in his epic he took good care not to overestimate the importance of the rôle played by the commander." —J. P. Wickersham Crawford, *The Life and Works of Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa* (*Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Series in Romanic Languages and Literatures,* No. 1 (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 50.

cation of the marquis. Of these the first in order was an epic poem by the young Chilean poet, Pedro de Oña, entitled, *Arauco domado.*[3] This was followed by Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa's prose history, *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Qvarto Marques de Cañete.*[4]

The authors of our play drew chiefly from Suárez de Figueroa, although it is almost certain they got their local color from Ercilla and possibly from Oña. Menéndez y Pelayo thus briefly summarizes the merit of this play: "El estilo y la versificación merecen aprecio, especialmente en los trozos escritos por Luis Vélez y Guillén de Castro. Pero, en conjunto, la obra es monstruosa, como podía esperarse de un poema dramático repartido entre nueve personas que destrozan un texto histórico para hacer mangas y capirotes de él."[5]

In Luis Belmonte Bermúdez's dedication to the marquis of Cañete, D. Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, son of D. García, he says of himself and his collaborators that "son los que en España tienen mejor lugar, a despecho de la invidia." This sounds like a thrust at Lope, who may have answered by writing *Arauco Domado.*[6] But it is likely that Lope's play was written long before 1622, since it is listed in the *Peregrino,* 1618. Like the epic of Oña, Lope's *comedia* is a panegyric on the marquis, as is also Gaspar de Avila's *El governador prudente*[7] and Francisco González de Bustos' *Los Españoles en Chile.*[8]

Nicolás Antonio (*Bib. Hisp. Nova,* I:367, ed. of 1788) first cited as a manuscript by F. Álvarez de Toledo, *Puren indómito, guerras de Arauco,* which was printed by Barros Arana (Leipzig, 1862). The anonymous *auto, La Araucana,* listed by La Barrera (*Cat.,* 593a) may be identical with Lope's *auto* with the same title.[9]

The *Hazañas del marqués de Cañete,* by nine *ingenios,* was performed in the queen's apartments in October, 1622.[10]

[3] *Primera parte de Arauco domado,* por el licenciado Pedro de Oña (Madrid, 1596). Reprinted in B.A.E., XXIX:351–455. Part II never appeared.

[4] Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1613.

[5] *Acad.,* XII, Intro., p. CLXXIII.

[6] *Parte XX* of Lope's *comedias* (Madrid, 1625); reprinted in *Acad.,* XII: 597–637.

[7] *Escogidas,* XXI (Madrid, 1663).

[8] *Ibid.,* XXII (Madrid, 1665).

[9] *Acad.,* III:107–119.

[10] H. A. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega* (New York, 1909), p. 236; W. A. Kincaid, *op. cit.,* p. 168.

[74]

LE GRAN COMEDIA DE LA BALTASARA

La Primera Jornada, de Luis Vélez de Guevara

La Segunda, de D. Antonio Coello

La Tercera, de D. Francisco de Roxas

[FIRST LINES]

Fvera, dixe, plaça, a vn lado;
que es vn rayo el que me lleua.

[LAST LINES]

Mig. Y don Francisco de Roxas
Aqui por los tres Poetas,
os pide vn victor, señòres;
mostrad aqui la grandeza,
dadsele compadecidos;
que no será gran largueza,
porque vn victor entre tres
aun no ha de caber a medias.

First printed in *Primera parte de comedias escogidas de los maiores de España* (Madrid, 1652); Bibl. Nac.; also a *suelta* s. l. n. a.; Schaeffer, XLVII. (Cotarelo 9.)

CHARACTERS

Don Rodrigo.	Miguel.	Iusepa.
Don Álvaro.	El demonio.	Un vejete.
El Saladino.	Baltasara.	Un criado.
Tafer.	Leonor.	Una viuda.
Un capitán.		Músicos.

JORNADA I

The company of Heredia is to perform for the first time in Valencia the *licenciado* Poyo's *comedia, Saladino,* in which la Baltasara is to play the leading part. Don Álvaro and Don Rodrigo are to attend the performance. The former is in love with la Baltasara, the latter with Leonor, another actress of the same company, but neither gets much encouragement. La Baltasara, it seems, has lost all interest in her art and longs for the peace and quiet of a religious life. She is so deeply preoccupied with this thought that, greatly to the surprise and annoyance of Saladino, in a rehearsal which takes place before the beginning of the play, she reads her

last lines first. In the first performance, la Baltasara is so carried away by the spirit of the play that, at the end, to the amazement and consternation of all present, she renounces the world and its attractions and rides off the stage no one knows whither.

JORNADA II

Don Álvaro seeks out la Baltasara in the desert, whither she has retired, and pleads with her in vain to return to her former life. Her husband, Miguel, and the actress, Iusepa, likewise appear and try to prevail upon her to rejoin the company. On her refusal, they both desire to become hermits, and decide to remain with her. Meanwhile, Leonor has escaped with Tafer, a Moorish pirate, but as they approach the coast of Spain, Don Rodrigo, who is a captain, attacks them and Tafer is slain. Leonor, crazed by grief and eager for vengeance, lands near the spot where la Baltasara is dwelling. La Baltasara meets her and learns the cause of her sorrow, but her efforts to dissuade her from thoughts of vengeance are ineffectual.

JORNADA III

A devil in the shape of Don Álvaro now offers aid to Leonor, and, when she accepts this proffer, he tells her that she is powerless to escape him. She conquers him, however, by appealing to the cross.

Don Álvaro renews his attentions to la Baltasara and threatens, in desperation, to jump into the sea. She is about to set out after him, when the falling down from the door of the hermitage of an image of St. John the Baptist prevents her. Don Álvaro again appears, and la Baltasara, seeking an escape from his repeated persecutions, throws herself on a bed of thorns, thereby disfiguring her countenance. Leonor, now repentant and despairing of obtaining pardon, comes to la Baltasara, who urges her to trust to the divine mercy and conducts her to a hermitage.

Don Rodrigo, as captain of the order of St. John the Baptist, together with his men, seeks a secluded chapel in which to celebrate the feast of their patron. Finding a hermitage suitable to their purpose, they discover, on opening the door, la Baltasara lying dead within.

LA BALTASARA of the play is Baltasara de los Reyes, wife of the actor, Miguel Ruiz. Both were in the company of Gaspar de Porres

in 1604–1605, in that of Melchor de León in 1607, and in that of Pedro de Valdés in 1614. La Baltasara subsequently gained fame in the company of Heredia. When at the height of her success, she withdrew from the stage to enter a hermitage dedicated to St. John the Baptist, near Cartagena.[1]

The first act of *La Baltasara* by Vélez, which is by far the best, gives a vivid picture of the interior of a Spanish theater in the seventeenth century. The scene is supposed to take place in the *Corral de la Olivera* at Valencia, and the skillful way in which the author handles the dialogue, and his happy choice in introducing the right types upon the scene add greatly to the realistic effect.[2]

The date of Damián Salustio del Poyo's *Gran comedia del Saladino,* mentioned in the text, is not known, nor is there any copy of this play extant, so far as we are aware. Rennert surmises that *La Baltasara* was probably written about 1630, when the memory of the actress was still fresh in the mind of the theater-going public. The play, in all probability, was acted previous to 1636.[3]

Two plays in which la Baltasara is the heroine should here be mentioned: *La Baltasara,* a drama in three acts, in verse, written in collaboration by Miguel Agustín Príncipe, Antonio Gil y Zárate, and Antonio García Gutiérrez (Madrid, 1852); and *La comedianta famosa,* a three-act drama in verse by Rafael García Santistéban, first acted at the *teatro de Apolo* on December 23, 1873. The argument of neither of these plays resembles that of the drama in which Vélez collaborated.

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[1] Rennert, "Spanish Actors and Actresses between 1560 and 1680," *Rev. Hisp.*, XVI:142 (reprint).

[2] See Rennert, "The Spanish Stage," *loc. cit.*, p. 278, note 2, for a good appreciation of this particular act.

[3] See José Sánchez Arjona, *Noticias referentes a los anales del teatro en Sevilla* (Sevilla, 1898), pp. 310–311.

[75]

EL CATALÁN SERRALLONGA Y BANDOS DE BARCELONA

DE DON ANTONIO COELLO, DON FRANCISCO DE ROJAS Y DON LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

[FIRST LINES]

Serrallonga. ¿Fuése ya mi padre?
Alcaraván. Sí,
Ya se fué; pierde el cuidado.

[LAST LINES]

Don Carlos. Desta suerte *Serrallonga,*
El catalán bandolero,
Fin ha tenido; y Luis Vélez,
Por mí, Senado discreto,
Os pide con los demás,
Sacrificándoos deseos,
Como perdón de las faltas,
Vítores de los aciertos.

First printed in *Parte treinta de comedias famosas de varios autores* (Zaragoza, 1636), has had several impressions as a *suelta;* Bibl. Nac.; reprinted in the B.A.E., LIV:565–584. (Cotarelo 13.)

CHARACTERS

El duque de Cardona.	Doña Juana Torrellas.	El veguer.
Don Juan de Serrallonga.	Flora, criada.	Un alcaide.
Don Carlos Torrellas.	Don Bernardo, barba.	Unos presos.
Fadrí de Sau, bandolero.	Alcaraván, *gracioso.*	Soldados.

JORNADA I

(De Don Antonio Coello)

Don Juan de Serrallonga returns to Barcelona after years of exile for having killed one Felix Torrellas. He seeks to avenge himself by slaying the clan of Caderes, to which the family of Torrellas is allied. Don Carlos Torrellas, a cousin of Don Felix, has vowed to have Don Juan's life. Not far from Barcelona, Serrallonga rescues a young woman whom he found in distress and to whom he represents himself as a Castilian gentleman, Don Alonso de Chaves by name. The young woman is Doña Juana Torrellas, the sister of

Don Carlos. Don Bernardo, the father of Juan, suggests to Carlos the marriage of his son to Juana as the best solution of the long-standing enmity between the two families. The proposal is refused by both Carlos and his sister, and the old man, incensed at the insult offered him, begs his son to avenge him. With the help of his friend, the outlaw, Fadrí de Sau, and Fadrí's men, Serrallonga attacks the clan of Caderes. Carlos is about to meet death at the hands of his enemy when Juana, throwing off her mask, pleads with Serrallonga for her brother's life. The arrival of the civil authorities forces him to flee and Juana accompanies him.

Jornada II
(De D. Francisco de Rojas)

Serrallonga and Juana have been living as outlaws in the mountains. Fearing lest some harm may have befallen her love, Juana begs his men to look for him. Serrallonga appears, wounded, and tells them of the narrow escape he has had from Carlos' men.

Meanwhile, Bernardo and Carlos have been taken captive by Serrallonga's men and are to be executed, blindfolded. As Serrallonga and Juana are about to slay the unknown captives, each uncovers the face, respectively, of father and brother. Juana finds a pretext to lead her brother away, but he, scorning her efforts at reconciliation, attempts to slay her to avenge her honor. Don Bernardo is deeply grieved over his son's criminal career, and both captives are conducted safely out of the camp.

Jornada III
(De Luis Vélez de Guevara)

News is brought to Serrallonga of the death of his father and the approach of the Duke of Cardona and Carlos, whose forces attack him. Serrallonga is wounded in the affray and seeks refuge in a church. While he fights for his life within the sanctuary, his father's tomb, within that church, opens and swallows him up. His pursuers, awestruck by this miracle, give up the chase. The shade of Don Bernardo remonstrates with his son, advising him, for the good of his soul, to give himself up to justice. Serrallonga yields and is taken in chains to Barcelona. He again meets Juana, whom he promises to marry before he is executed. We learn of the marriage between Juana and Serrallonga, of Juana's entrance into a convent, and of the exemplary death of the bandit on the scaffold.

The duke, expressing a desire to view the body, causes the trunk, but lately severed from the head and still dripping blood, to be uncovered, and the head itself, lying near by, has not yet lost the lifelike expression of its countenance.

THE PLAY ON THE WHOLE is loosely constructed, as such collaborations often are, and has scanty literary merit; Act III, in which the sudden repentance of Serrallonga is crudely motivated by the appearance of the shade of Don Bernardo, has its counterpart in numerous plays of that period and no doubt impressed the public.

El Catalán Serrallonga was performed in Madrid by the company of Antonio de Prado, January 10, 1635.[1] Pérez Pastor[2] mentions a performance given by Manuel Vallejo's company in the Retiro before the king and queen on December 25, 1679.

The argument is based on the history of the famous bandit, Juan Sala Serrallonga, who was active in the vicinity of Vich from 1621 to 1633. Among his crimes is recorded the violation of the women whom he captured, one of whom, Juana Macisa, afterward became his companion. His second companion was called El Fadrí de Sau. The duke of Segorbe, viceroy of Catalonia, in 1633 began an active campaign against him, with the result that Serrallonga was captured that year by the people of Vich and hanged with some of his men.[3]

A drama in four acts and a prologue with the title, *D. Juan Serrallonga, o los bandoleros de las Guillerias* (Barcelona, 1858), was written by Don Victor Balaguer. That same year Balaguer published a novel also entitled, *D. Juan Serrallonga.*

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[1] See Rennert, "Notes, etc.," *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, III:53.

[2] *Nuevos Datos*, 2ª serie (1914), p. 206.

[3] Cotarelo y Mori, *D. Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla* (Madrid, 1911), p. 151. For the feuds between the Nyerros and Cadells, see Pablo Parassols y Pi, "Nyerros y Cadells," in *Memoria de la Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, III:561; Cortejón's edition of *Don Quijote*, VI:239–242.

[76]

ENFERMAR CON EL REMEDIO

Comedia Famosa de Tres Ingenios
De don Pedro Calderón, Luis Vélez de Gueuara, y don Gerónimo Cancer

[FIRST LINES]

Musi. Aspid de plata, vna roca
los pies le muerde a vna peña.

[LAST LINES]

Car. Y aquí tenga fin dichoso,
si lo merecen sus yerros,
curar el mal con el mal,
enfermar con el remedio.

First printed in *Laurel de comedias. Quarta parte de diferentes avtores* (Madrid, 1653), Bibl. Nac.; *suelta* in Schaeffer's library, XL. (Cotarelo 33.) B.A.E., XIV:429ff., among the plays of Calderón.

Characters

Aurora, duquesa de Urbino.
Diana, su hermana.
Laura, dama.
Flora, dama.
Ludovico, duque de Ferrara.
Roberto, viejo.
Alejandro, duque de Parma.
Carlos, galán.
Julio, *gracioso.*
Músicos.
Acompañamiento.

Jornada I

According to her father's will, Aurora, duchess of Urbino, is to marry her cousin Carlos within a stated period, otherwise the inheritance is to pass to her sister, Diana. But, try as she will, she cannot bring herself to love him. He, on the contrary, is in love with her, and Diana is in love with him. Aurora still tries every means to awaken within herself some love for her cousin, but he, convinced that the situation is hopeless, resolves that he will try to forget his infatuation.

Jornada II

Carlos determines to seek a remedy for his unrequited love by paying court to Diana. Aurora, too, thinks that if he were to make love to another, her indifference toward him might cease and is willing to have the experiment tried, to the great satisfaction of

Diana. But the attempt is unsuccessful, and Carlos, consulting Ovid, to learn what that authority says of the matter, finds that he gives as a remedy the dwelling on the defects of the beloved. However, when Julio, a *gracioso,* speaks to him jestingly in defamation of Aurora's beauty, Carlos grows angry and will not listen, so he abandons the remedy in disgust.

His friend, Ludovico, duke of Ferrara, seeing him thus perplexed, inquires the cause and is told that it is a case of wishing to be cured of love, that Carlos has sought for a remedy in books, but instead of finding therein what he desired, he realizes that his malady is all the worse for the experiment—"enfermar con el remedio." Ludovico advises him that the best way to be cured is to offer no resistance whatever.

Aurora's subjects, vexed at her delay in marrying Carlos, have revolted against her and have declared in favor of Carlos. By the advice of Roberto, her old councilor, Aurora places the task of restoring order in the hands of Carlos.

Jornada III

Alexandro, duke of Parma, offers to aid Aurora against her revolted subjects, but she declines his offer, refusing to bring outsiders against them. Carlos, however, promises to use force if necessary to restore her subjects to order, or if this fails, he will feign indifference and go away, thus removing all difficulties from her path. This proof of his disinterested affection and his willingness to sacrifice himself for her sake arouse new sensations in the heart of Aurora which heretofore she has never experienced. She now becomes jealous of Carlos on seeing him show his preference for Diana and, finally, on hearing him converse in a darkened room with a lady of the palace, who, as a matter of fact is Diana, all these newly experienced sensations are intensified, and love awakens. When her subjects come in a body to protest against her long delay in marrying her cousin, she at once replies by freely offering her hand to Carlos and, as she confesses, solely from love.

The play is devoid of marked literary or dramatic qualities; the language is frequently stilted, and the sentiments stereotyped and affected. Act II, by Vélez, is on the whole better than the others. The argument of the play is, in a sense, a burlesque on

the exceedingly popular advice to lovers to be found in Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*[1]; this Vélez makes clear in his act when Carlos exclaims, on finding the remedy unsuccessful:

> Los necios libros maldigo;
> no quede ninguno en casa,
> y deshechos y rompidos,
> pues aconsejar no saben,
> queden al enojo mio.

and later:

> Es un alevoso medio
> con que me quise engañar,
> y en fin es querer sanar,
> y *enfermar con el remedio.*

It is of interest to note that Schmidt[2] rejects the attribution of Act I to Calderón, pronouncing it entirely too immature for so noted a playwright.

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[1] See *Works of Ovid* (ed. C. H. Weise, Lipsiae, 1902), I:294–295; II:311–356. For an account of the Ovidian tradition in Spain, see R. Schevill, "Ovid and the Renascence in Spain," *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, IV:1–268 (1913); pages 199–233 discuss the general indebtedness of the *Siglo de Oro* to Ovid, and pages 240–244, the Spanish versions of the *Ars Amatoria* and the *Remedia Amoris.*

[2] *Die Schauspiele Calderon's*, dargestellt und erläutert von F. W. V. Schmidt. Aus gedruckten und ungedruckten Papieren des Verfassers zusammengesetzt, ergänzt und herausgegeben von Leopold Schmidt (Elberfeld, 1857), p. 532.

[77]

LA LUNA AFRICANA

COMEDIA DE NUEVE INGENIOS: LUIS DE BELMONTE, LUIS VÉLEZ, D. JUAN VÉLEZ, MTRO. ALF. ALFARO, D. AGUSTÍN MORETO, D. A. MARTÍNEZ DE MENESES, D. ANTONIO SIGLER DE HUERTA, D. JERÓNIMO CÁNCER, Y D. PEDRO ROSETE

[FIRST LINES]

E. Leonor. O noche, a tus sombras frías
más desdichas no atribuias.

[LAST LINES]

A. Cosme. Memoria de los ingenios
que se juntaron a haçer
esta comedia. El primero,
Luis de Velmonte, tras el
Luis Vélez el afamado.
luego don Juan Vélez fué
quien acauó la primera;
empezó la otra después
el maestro Alfonso Alfaro;
quien le uino a suçeder
fué don Agustín Moreto,
y a la segunda el pinçel
do don Antonio Martínez
la acauó de componer;
la postrera comenzó
con don Antonio Sigler
de Huerta; siguiose luego
la ingeniosa pulidez
de don Gerónimo Cánzer,
y acabóla, como véis,
don Pedro Rosete, el cual
os pide humilde y cortés
perdón en nombre de todos,
siendo la comedia y él
fuera de los nuebe nada,
si no a parecido bien
la mejor luna africana,
por siempre jamas amén.

From a seventeenth-century manuscript copy in the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 15540) formerly in the Osuna Library. This play is listed by La Barrera,[1] but the authors' names are not cited; folio 64b, at the end of the text, reads: "Trasladola Salbador de la Cueva Año de 1680 en Madrid a 8 de henero. El censor y el fiscal vean esta comedia intitulada la luna africana y con lo que digeron se trayga. Madrid y Henero a 15 de 1680. Vista y aprobada muchas vezes. Madrid a 16 de Henero de 1680. d. Francisco Auellaneda." Printed also as a *suelta* in the eighteenth century with the title, *La mejor Luna africana,* and ascribed to *Tres Ingenios.*[2] Medel (*Indice*) attributes this *comedia* to Calderón, and la Barrera (p. 564a) lists: "La mejor Luna africana, y Rey Chico de Granada. Tres Ingenios: Calderón de la Barca (tercera jornada) y Otros Dos No Conocidos." The ascription to Calderón has not been accepted; *suelta* in Schaeffer's library, XLI, with ascription to *Calderón y dos ingenios.* (Cotarelo 47.)

[1] *Cat.*, p. 560a: "Luna africana. Manuscrito. Biblioteca de Osuna."

[2] In a *suelta* possessed by Melchior García (cat. No. 57, item 1044) it is ascribed to Cáncer, Moreto, and Matos.

CHARACTERS

Leonor.	Rey Chico.	Gomel.
Sultana.	Maestre de Calatrava.	Un criado.
D. Juan Chacón.	Cosme.	Acompañamiento.
Hacén.	Un moro.	Músicos.
	Zulema.	

JORNADA I

In the final struggle between the Moors and the Christians, Doña Leonor, a young Spanish woman, with her manservant, Cosme, is forced to seek shelter in the mountains because of a night attack by the Moors. Two of the Moorish leaders are Gomel, a Zegri, and Hacén, an Abencerraje. Gomel, in spite of the truce sworn between these two rival families, is jealous of Hacén, and in the night he attempts to murder him. Hacén, who is friendly toward the Christians, discovers Cosme, but gives him permission to escape unharmed. Cosme desires to take Leonor with him, but Hacén, on seeing Doña Leonor, resolves to take her captive to Granada. He permits Cosme to return for her ransom, to be obtained from Don Juan Chacón ("hasta aqui de d. Lvis de Velmonte").

At Murcia the *maestre* of Calatrava speaks of his intention of joining Ferdinand in an attack on the Moors of Granada. D. Juan Chacón enters, having just returned from that city, of which he speaks in the highest terms, describing at length some festivities recently held there. In reply to the *maestre's* surprise at his sudden and unexpected return to Murcia, he says that, when in Granada, one Hacén, in gratitude to him for having saved his life, warned him that the Moors were about to make another attack on the Christians and that the Christians would do well to arm their frontier. Cosme enters and brings the news of Leonor's captivity to Chacón, who at once sets out for Granada to effect her ransom ("hasta aqui de Luis de Guebara").

On the return of the Moorish forces to Granada, Leonor is brought by Hacén before the king and his court and by him delivered over to the queen. Soon after, the king is terrified by a prophetic vision of his approaching defeat and overthrow by the Christians. During this entire scene, Gomel, noting the favor shown his rival by the queen, is vowing that he will make this a pretext to effect his ruin ("don Juan Velez de Guebara acabo").

JORNADA II

On D. Juan Chacón's arrival at Granada he meets Hacén, who tells him that Leonor has promised to become his wife; but Chacón objects to this marriage for his cousin, on religious grounds. The Moor replies that he intends to become a Christian and to enlist with several of his followers in the service of the Catholic sovereigns. That evening, at dusk, the king, whose mind has already been poisoned by Gomel, overhears the queen speak favorably of Hacén in an interview which she has granted D. Juan and which takes place under her balcony. The king's jealousy is at once inflamed, and he gives orders to have Hacén imprisoned. He accosts Don Juan, whom he mistakes for Hacén, and reproaches him for presuming to address a lady so far above him in station. Don Juan replies that he dares aspire to the highest. This equivocation confirms the king's suspicions. The two are about to resort to arms, but noting the approach of several persons who issue from the palace, they make a hasty retreat, as neither wishes his identity to be disclosed ("hasta aqui del maestro Alfaro").

The king hears that the Abencerrajes are treating with the Christian monarchs, and, convinced of Hacén's treachery in particular, vows that they all shall die. The queen, too, is imprisoned by her royal spouse on charges of which she is entirely innocent. When Hacén hears of this, he declares he will defend her honor against all who may defame it ("hasta aqui de Moreto").

In prison, the queen learns of the bloody execution of many of the Abencerrajes and fears that Hacén may be among them. He has escaped the fate of his kinsmen, however, and even succeeds in entering the tower in which the queen is imprisoned. The queen hands him a letter which she requests him to deliver to Don Juan Chacón, who has left Granada to rejoin the Christian forces. This missive (an appeal to Chacón to champion her cause in the trial by combat to be held to prove her guilt or innocence) Hacén, by clever strategy, bears safely out of the tower, although with no little peril to his life owing to the presence of both the king and Gomel. Even so, the queen fears treachery, but Leonor assures her that:

> aunq[ue] no llegue a intentar
> la traiçion, no a de eclipsar
> la mejor luna africana.
>
> ("Acabo esta jornada don Antonio Martínez.")

JORNADA III

From the queen's letter Don Juan learns that she will shortly be condemned to death on false charges of adultery, unless someone offers to prove her innocence. He at once responds to her appeal. Accompanied by Hacén and the *maestre,* Telléz Girón, who has also nobly volunteered his services, he sets out at once for Granada ("hasta aqui de don Antonio Sigler de Huerta").

On the day set for the trial, Leonor begs the king to give the queen one more day's respite, in the hope that someone may still appear to champion her cause. He refers the matter to Gomel, who grants the request, but the queen will not receive this favor at his hands and asks the king himself to bestow it upon her. This he refuses to do ("hasta aqui de don Gerónimo Cánçer").

The assembled crowd are despairing of anyone's appearing to defend the queen's honor, when three champions suddenly enter, and, in the ensuing contest, prove her innocence. Gomel, vanquished, admits his villainy, and the king rejoices once more in his "African Moon."

dichosamente
sin eclipses llego a ver
la luz de la mejor luna
que del sol afrenta fue.
Y repetira otra vez
este vinculo mi amor
y aqueste afecto mi fee. [Pedro Rosete]

FOR THE WORK OF NINE AUTHORS, this is a remarkably good play. The best part is by Juan Vélez, whose contribution was the last third of the first act. The scene is not only of great dramatic intensity, but is also a vivid and realistic study of the different emotions under which the chief characters are laboring: the king's overmastering fear and despair at the warning he receives, prophetic of his defeat at the hands of the Christians; Hacén's joy in his love for Leonor; her sorrow because of her captivity; Gomel's jealousy, and his plotting of revenge against his favored rival—all these varied and conflicting emotions are splendidly depicted. Other scenes worthy of note are those in which the king mistakes D. Juan for Hacén; his concluding that the queen is guilty of infidelity (written by *el maestro* Alfonso Alfaro); the episode in the tower in which by exceeding cleverness and ingenuity Hacén es-

capes unharmed with the letter for D. Juan (written by Don Antonio Martínez); and, lastly, the part by Cáncer showing the queen's scorn at receiving favors at the hands of Gomel, and the king's refusal to grant her the favor. Vélez' contribution is rather mediocre. D. Juan's long harangue about festivals which he had witnessed at Granada is wearisome and poorly written, and is, moreover, a wholly unnecessary interpolation in the play. D. Juan's denunciation of Cosme for not having sacrificed his life in the defense of his mistress when she was taken captive, and the servant's cowardly but exceedingly prudent defense, is a clever bit of comedy, worthy to rank with many of our author's best scenes.

The argument of the play was adapted from Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Guerras Civiles de Granada, Primera Parte,*[3] Chapters XIII to XV, inclusive. These three chapters are entitled, respectively:

Capítulo XIII. Que cuenta lo que al Rey Chico y su gente sucedió yendo a entrar a Jaén; y la gran trayción que los Zegrís y Gomeles levantaron a la Reyna Mora y a los cavalleros Abencerrages, y muerte dellos.

Capítulo XIV. Que trata el acusación que los cavalleros traydores pusieron contra la Reyna y cavalleros Abencerrages, y cómo la Reyna fué presa por ello y dió quatro cavalleros que la defendiessen, y lo que mas passó.

Capítulo XV. En que se pone la muy porfiada batalla que passó entre los ocho cavalleros sobre la libertad de la Reyna, y cómo la Reyna fué libre y los cavalleros Moros muertos, y otras cosas que passaron.

The play contains a frequently used episode on the well-known theme of the vindication of a woman falsely accused of adultery, a theme which Vélez introduced in various plays, as we have already seen. Our *comedia* is posterior to 1632, as we learn from the following conversation between D. Juan Chacón and Cosme, in which Cosme is reproved for not having defended Doña Leonor with his life, when she was taken captive:

D. Juan. Cosme, ynfamia fue y deshonrra
no morir en su defensa.
Cos. Despues de muerto, no ay cosa
porque se me de dos blancas,
y, al fin, para mi persona.
D. Juan. no ay honrra como la vida.
Cos. No ay vida como la honrra:
ese es titulo, d. Juan,
de comedia.

[3] *Reproducción de la Edición Príncipe del año 1595. Publicada por Paula Blanchard-Demouge* (Madrid, 1913), pp. 163–248; see also W. A. Kincaid (*op. cit.*, pp. 176ff.), who had access to Dr. Spencer's manuscript.

Montalván's *No hay vida como la Honrra* was first published in *Para todos* (Madrid, 1632), and in *Parte veinte y cinco de comedias recopiladas de diferentes autores é illustres poetas de España* (Zaragoza, 1632).

The uncertainty about the exact authorship may be due to the possibility that the play was originally by three authors and was later revised by the nine *ingenios* listed at the end of the above-cited manuscript. That manuscript, however, differs but slightly from the printed versions. *La Mejor Luna Africana* begins:

> *Leon.* O Noche, a tus sombras frías
> más desdichas no atribuyas

and ends:

> *Leon.* Assí
> mi fortuna lograré.
>
> *Juan.* *La mejor Luna Africana*
> tenga fin, y aplauso, pues
> piden perdón de sus yerros
> *tres plumas,* a vuestros pies.

The *tres plumas* may refer to the three authors who wrote the last act, this change in the ending being a later substitution for the sake of brevity.

[78]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

DEL PLEITO QUE TUVO EL DIABLO CON EL CURA DE MADRILEJOS

DE TRES INGENIOS

(JORNADA PRIMERA DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA)

[FIRST LINES]

Alc. Quedense hucra las Cruzes,
los pendones, y las danças.

[LAST LINES]

Cur. Y en esto queda concluso
el pleito con el diablo.

First printed in *Flor de las mejores doze comedias de los mayores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1652); Bibl. Nac.; and again in Lisbon in 1653 (La Barrera, p. 709b), with the title *El pleito que puso al diablo el cura de Madrilejos;* later frequently reprinted as a *suelta.* Schaeffer, XLVII. (Cotarelo 59.)

CHARACTERS

D. Juan de Guevara.	Tembleque, sacristán.	Marina, criada.
El alcalde.	El escribano.	Mateo.
El cura.	Catalina la Rosela.	Lorenzo.
	Mari Sánchez, su hermana.	

JORNADA I

(By Luis Vélez de Guevara)

Catalina Sánchez, called *La Rosela,* is suffering from a strange melancholy which makes her do fantastic things quite against her will. For example, when the peasant, Mateo, proposes marriage to her, she replies by seizing his hand and flying with him through the air, such flights being common experiences with her.

It is the feast of the Holy Ghost, and the mayor of Tembleque, according to custom, has prepared a feast for the *comendador* and the curate of Madrilejos. Missing the sexton, he calls for him. The latter appears, all sooty, in company with the servant girl, Marina, for they have just emerged from the chimney down which both have been dragged by Catalina after a short but exciting aerial flight. Soon after, the sexton is dropped into a well in another

forced trip through the air with Catalina and is barely rescued in time. Then the food for the mayor's banquet mysteriously disappears, owing, of course, to Catalina's instrumentality. Naturally the villagers come to her house to seize her for a witch, but she eludes them by flying away through the air.

Jornada II
(By Rojas Zorrilla)

Catalina, living apart from the village in complete isolation, suffers all manner of torments. The priest of Madrilejos, passing that way, is attacked by her with intent to kill, but, at his protest, she falls in a fit at his feet. The sexton and others who rush upon the scene at the priest's outcry believe her dead and proceed to bury her at once. Luckily, when she recovers from her illness, the sexton and Mateo happen to be near the vault where she is buried and hear her cries for help. Mateo descends to help her, but she flies at him in a fury, not recognizing him nor the place in which she finds herself. When he offers to take her home, however, she readily consents.

Jornada III
(By Mira de Amescua)

The priest, convinced that Catalina is possessed, determines to bring the devil possessing her to trial. After some difficulties the said devil (or devils) leads Catalina to the court in answer to the priest's summons. In reply to the latter's question why he entered into her, the spokesman, Asmodeo, replies that they are legion and that they received divine permission to enter into her because, at her baptism, a lay one, the name of the Holy Ghost was omitted. The priest thereat sees to it that Catalina is properly baptized, after which she comes forth from the church praising God.

This play, although put together by three of the foremost names of the Spanish stage, is difficult to appreciate today. It is full of extravagant incidents and is loosely constructed, presumably because it is a work of collaboration. Act I, by Vélez, is by far the best. The theme of witchcraft, magic, and sorcery, sincerely believed in at that time, is one that he always handles well and in a manner peculiarly his own (compare *El diablo está en Cantillana,*

El embuste acreditado y el disparate creído, El diablo cojuelo). Our play was written in 1639 or shortly after, to judge from the following in Act II, Scene III:

> Marina se adelantó;
> quiero alcanzarla, y, cogiendo
> el *perico* a la ocasion,
> que ya no se vsan *copetes*,
> decirla todo mi amor.

The *copetes* were forbidden in 1639.[1]

The argument of the play was, in all probability, based on the following pamphlet: *Relacion de vn caso raro en que fueron expelidos de vna muger casada demonios, en la villa de Madrilejos, a los 14. dias del mes de Otubre deste año passado de 1607 por el padre Luys de la Torre, de la Compañia de Iesvs.* (Cited by Gallardo, *Ensayo* I, 916. We have not seen a copy of this rare text.) Suárez de Deza, in *Amor, ingenio y muger en la discreta venganza,* first printed in *Parte primera de los donayres de Tersicore* (Madrid, 1663), may perhaps refer to our play in the following:

> *don Tal.* Y ¿quién ha de desposaros?
> *don Qual.* El Cura de Madrilejos.
> *don Tal.* Esse es el Pleyto del Diablo. (fol. 208)

Alonso de Olmedo also alludes to the play in his *Entremés de los títulos de comedias.*[2]

> *Simón.* Busque al Letrado del Cielo,
> pues pone el pleyto del Diablo
> o el Cura de Madrilejos. (vv. 68–70)

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[1] Cotarelo, *D. Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla* (Madrid, 1911), p. 208.

[2] Manuscript No. 14851, Bibl. Nac., fols. 95–98. A unique printed copy of this *entremés* appears to be that in the library of Schaeffer, contained in the volume *Rasgos del Ocio en diferentes bailes, entremeses y loas de diversos autores, segunda parte* (Madrid, Domingo García Morrás, 1664).

[79]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

TAMBIÉN LA AFRENTA ES VENENO

LA PRIMERA JORNADA, DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA
LA SEGUNDA, DE DON ANTONIO COELLO
LA TERCERA, DE DON FRANCISCO DE ROXAS

[FIRST LINES]

Músicos. A las fiestas que hace el valle,
al despedirse el invierno . . .

[LAST LINES]

Prior. Y aquí tiene fin, Senado,
Este caso verdadero
Del Rey don Fernando el Nono,
Hijo del cruel don Pedro.
Vasco. Perdonadle como nobles.
Prior. Aplaudidle como cuerdos.
Todos. Porque debamos el vítor,
A quien el favor debemos.

First published in *Comedias de los mejores y más insignes ingenios de España* (Colonia, 1697); copy in Göttingen; has had several reimpressions as a *suelta*, of which one may be anterior to the edition of 1697; Schaeffer, XLI. The *comedia* is included in B.A.E., XIV:585–602. (Cotarelo 80.)

CHARACTERS

El rey de Portugal.
El maestre de Avís, su hermano.
Prior de Ocrato.
Basco de Almeida.
Un pintor.
Juan Lorenzo de Acuña.
Barreto, *gracioso*.
Doña Leonor de Meneses.
Guiomar.
Infanta.

JORNADA I

Fernando I of Portugal vows to make Doña Leonor de Meneses his wife in spite of her resistance and regardless of previous arrangements with King Jaime of Aragon to marry Jaime's sister, the infanta. While Fernando is serenading Leonor, D. Juan Lorenzo de Acuña, who is secretly married to her, interrupts him. The king, on hearing of the marriage, decides to punish Juan severely. With-

out intending to give up Leonor, he consents to marry the infanta of Aragon, whose name is also Leonor. When Acuña seeks audience of the king, he finds in the king's apartment a portrait of his wife, and he is torn by conflicting emotions of jealousy and hatred. The king meets him not unkindly and dispatches him to Aragon to arrange the marriage with the infanta. His love for Doña Leonor, he tells Acuña, will be cured by another of the same name. The king vouches for Leonor de Meneses' fidelity and bestows her portrait upon the distracted husband, who is perplexed by the king's attitude.

JORNADA II

In Acuña's absence, Fernando presents Leonor to his courtiers as his lawful wife. He states that he has long been secretly married to Leonor, that her marriage with Acuña is therefore null and void, and that he, the king, has married her publicly. The nobles are offering their homage when Acuña enters to announce the arrival of Leonor of Aragon, but the king, informing him of what has taken place in his absence, bids him dismiss her. The king's brother, the *maestre de Avís,* attempts to bring the king to reason and vows to see that justice shall be done the infanta.

JORNADA III

The king, troubled by a vision he has had, decides to put Leonor away. The infanta informs the king of her intention to return to Aragon to prepare vengeance for the insult offered her. When he proposes to repudiate Leonor and take the infanta to wife instead, she naturally refuses. Fernando, however, forces Acuña to take the hand of his wife. As he grasps Leonor's hand, the blow to his honor proves to be a poison so potent that it instantly kills him. Thereupon, King Fernando decides to keep Leonor for himself, and marries the infanta, Doña Leonor of Aragon, to his brother, the *maestre de Avís.*

TAMBIÉN LA AFRENTA ES VENENO is a mediocre comedy of intrigue containing many timeworn themes of jealousy, honor, and revenge. Vélez' contribution, Act I, is quite the best, and his gift of portraying deep emotions is well exemplified in Juan Lorenzo's agitation of mind over the gradual destruction of his love and honor.

The collaborators in this drama have somewhat altered the facts of history. There are numerous histories of Portugal[1] which give an account of the events as they actually took place. After the death of Ferdinand in 1383, Leonor, whose many intrigues made her unpopular, was forced to flee from the court on December 6 of that year, when the people, headed by John, the natural son of Peter the Cruel, and Grand Master of the Order of Avis, rose against her. She sought aid of John I of Castile, offering him in compensation the throne of Portugal, but he, some time later, alleging that she had attempted to poison him, shut her up in the convent of Tordesillas, where she died in 1386.

Guillén de Castro's *Alla van leyes donde quieren reyes,*[2] written in all probability previous to the composition of *También la afrenta es veneno,* is more in agreement with the facts of history on which it is based. Rojas, near the end of the play, speaks of:

> este caso verdadero
> del Rey Don Fernando el Nono,
> hijo del cruel Don Pedro.

and Coello, in a speech of Vasco de Almeida refers to him as:

> Fernando de nuestros reyes
> el Noveno.

Although Ferdinand was the first king of Portugal of that name, he was the ninth, in order, of the kings of Portugal. Faria y Sousa, in his *Epitome,* heads Chapter X of Part III, "Fernando Rei IX," and the chronicle of this king is entitled, *Chronica do Senhor Rei D. Fernando, nono rei de Portugal;* therefore Rojas' *Fernando el Nono.* Menéndez y Pelayo includes among his *Romances castellanos tradicionales entre los Judíos de Levante* one entitled, *Gian Lorenzo y el rey de Portugal.*[3] It is another version of the same story

[1] Manuel de Faria y Sousa, *Epitome de las Historias Portvgvesas Primero i Segundo Tomo. Divididos en quatro Partes* (Madrid, 1628), pp. 435–437; also his *Europa Portuguesa* (Segunda Edición; Lisboa, Pedro Craesbeeck, 1679), Tomo II, Parte II, Capítulo V, pp. 201f.; Fernão Lopes, *Chronica do Senhor Rei D. Fernando, Nono Rei de Portugal,* published in *Colleçao de Livros Inéditos de Historia Portugueza* (Lisboa, 1816), IV; Chapters LVII-LXIV, pp. 241–260, deal with the king's marriage to Leonor.

[2] *Escogidas.* Part XVI (Madrid, 1662). A revision of this play is preserved in a seventeenth-century manuscript, No. 16943 of the Biblioteca Nacional, also entitled, *Alla van leyes donde quieren reyes.* A second part is promised at the end. The play is ascribed to Pedro Francisco Lanini y Sagredo in a different and later handwriting on the first page of the text.

[3] *Antología,* X:304.

with an altered ending. The concluding lines of the *romance* are supposed to be the words of comfort spoken to Gian Lorenzo by his loving and faithful wife:

> Non yoréis, Gian Lorenzo—ni quijerais yorar;
> en forma de carbonero—me verneis a vijitar,
> mataré yo al buen rey—y vos asento en su lugar.

Again, the *Romance de Doña Isabel,* No. 103 of the *Primavera,*[4] and No. 1239 of Durán's collection, undoubtedly refers to the later events in the life of Doña Leonor. Finally, mention should be made of Alexandre Herculano de Carvalho e Araujo's *Arrhas por foro d'Hespanha,*[5] which, in poetical prose, relates the story of Doña Leonor, Juan Lorenzo, and King Fernando.

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[4] *Ibid.*, VIII:210.

[5] Published in *Lendas y Narrativas* (Lisboa, 1851).

[80]

TAMBIÉN TIENE EL SOL MENGVANTE

DE TRES INGENIOS

[FIRST LINES]

Gal. Dete Dios, cédula mía,
oy tan buena manderecha

[LAST LINES]

Y aquí todos tres Ingenios,
A vuestras plantas procuran
les concedáis generoso[s]
vn vítor para dos plumas.

First printed in *Parte veinte y quatro de comedias nuevas, y escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1666); Bibl. Nac. There is also a *suelta* of the eighteenth century. (Cotarelo 81.)

CHARACTERS

D. Bernardo de Cabrera.
D. Lope de Luna.
D. Pedro, rey de Aragón.
El conde de Ribagorza.
Don Urgel.
Don Ramón.
Dª Violante, infanta de Aragón.
Dª Leonor.
Dª Marta, *dueña graciosa.*
Galindo, *gracioso.*
Luxán, *gracioso.*
Un guarda.

JORNADA I

D. Lope de Luna comes to Saragossa to seek advancement from King Pedro IV of Aragon in return for his services in the wars. He receives no encouragement, whereas other petitioners who present their demands at a later audience receive a favorable hearing, the king being in a more receptive mood. D. Bernardo de Cabrera, a friend of Lope, decides to speak to the king on his behalf. The king, on hearing the name of Bernardo announced, is delighted to meet a soldier who has won such fame on the field of battle and loads him with honors. In his gratification at having met Bernardo, the king leaves him no opportunity to carry out his friendly proffer to Lope.

D. Bernardo de Cabrera wins the affections of the infanta, Doña Violante, who, to his surprise, when she again sees him, hints at her love for him. At the first opportunity Bernardo, who has become a great favorite of the king, in a private interview seeks to obtain

some office for his friend. While he is pleading Lope's case, the king falls asleep and nothing is gained.

Jornada II

D. Lope de Luna tells his lackey, Galindo, that on the preceding night he had killed by mistake the infanta's musician, Collantes. Soon after, he goes with Galindo to the royal palace to see his friend, Cabrera, who accords him a hearty welcome. A letter is brought to Cabrera from Leonor, in which she refers to an interview which she had with him the preceding night. The contents of the letter, which are not disclosed to Lope, reveal that Leonor, mistaking Lope for Bernardo, had accorded to Lope a favorable reception.

In an interview between Bernardo and the king, the king becomes displeased with his favorite because of some unfortunate advice given him on matters of state. The displeasure of the sovereign is further increased when Cabrera, without mentioning the name, pleads for his friend, Lope. The king, thinking all the while that Cabrera is pleading for Urgel, who has been accused of Collantes' murder, therefore refuses to listen. Leonor, pursuing her own interests, requests the infanta to use her influence in effecting a marriage between herself and Cabrera, who, for his part, disclaims all love for Leonor.

At last Cabrera succeeds in speaking to the king on behalf of his friend. As evidence of Lope's merits, he leaves in the king's hands some memorials, among which happens to be the letter which Leonor has written to him. The king is irritated at his duplicity, as he has confessed to Cabrera his own love for Leonor. The infanta, too, is angered at this intelligence, having heard from Cabrera's own lips that he had no love for Leonor.

Jornada III

The king now manifests a preference for Lope's society, and slights Bernardo openly. Bernardo becomes more and more involved in misunderstandings with the king and is finally arrested for treason and sent to prison. Here the infanta comes to see him, and learning that he does not love Leonor, promises to aid him to the best of her ability. Nevertheless, although innocent of any treachery, Ber-

nardo is condemned to death. In the meantime, a certain García López de Sarne confesses that his master, the infante, sought by false charges to bring Cabrera into disfavor with the king. Orders are at once given to release Cabrera, but the pardon arrives too late, as the condemned man has already been beheaded.

THIS PLAY IS UNEVENLY CONSTRUCTED, and shows no outstanding poetic merit. Luna's repeated attempts to get the king's ear are tiresome, and only in the last act, when the play reaches its climax, is the interest of the reader stimulated; hence this portion of the play is the best. Cabrera is called the "Sun of Aragon," Lope, the "Moon"; as the former's sun sets the latter's moon rises. The story of D. Bernardo de Cabrera is found in the *Anales de la Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1610), of Jerónimo de Zurita.[1] The present play is clearly a revision of two *comedias*, attributed without sufficient reason to Lope: *La prospera fortuna de don Bernardo de Cabrera* and *La aduersa fortuna de don Bernardo de Cabrera*, both of which were published in *Doze comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio Parte veynte y nueue.*[2]

In the *Prospera fortuna de don Bernardo de Cabrera* the hero is speedily taken into the royal favor, whereas his efforts to speak for his friend D. Lope de Luna, are unsuccessful from causes similar to those outlined in the summary of *También tiene el sol menguante*. Cabrera falls in love with the infanta, Doña Violante, who reciprocates his affection, but, owing to situations of mistaken identity, he is deceived and renounces the hope of winning her. The king wishes them to marry, but Leonor, on hearing of the contemplated marriage between Bernardo and Violante, plans to do her utmost to prevent it.

In the *Adversa fortuna de don Bernardo de Cabrera*, Lope mortally wounds one of the king's musicians called Leonido. Cabrera, coming on the scene, discovers the corpse and bears it away. Lope at last succeeds in winning recognition. The infanta, having become aware of Lope's attachment, decides to give him encouragement. Circumstances so shape themselves against the erstwhile

[1] Bks. VIII–IX, Chaps. XV–LVII, fols. 203–337.

[2] En Guesca; por Pedro Bluson, 1634. Rennert questions the ascription of these plays to Lope (*Rev. Hisp.*, XXXIII:136 and 230). La Barrera (*Cat.*, p. 683) raises the question whether they may not be by Mira de Amescua.

favorite that his downfall is swift and certain. Accused of treason, he is imprisoned in his apartments, and through another misunderstanding he is condemned to death. After the execution of his favorite the king receives proof of his innocence. Luna also confesses his own responsibility for the death of Leonido, thereby clearing Cabrera of all the charges brought against him. Luna is betrothed to the infanta and the king bestows his hand on Leonor.

The summaries of these two plays suffice to indicate that they were the basis for *También tiene el sol menguante.* The earliest known copy of the latter composition is a seventeenth-century manuscript, No. 15568, in the Biblioteca Nacional. The heading of Act I attributes it to Vélez: *La Gran Comedia de También Tiene el Sol Menguante. Tragedia de luis velez de guebara. Acto primero.*

This manuscript copy begins:

> *Gal.* dete dios cedula mia
> oy tan buena manderecha

and ends:

> y don franc[isc]o de rrojas
> a buestras plantas procura
> le concedais generosos
> vn bitor para dos plumas.

The copy bears three censures, as follows:

> e visto Señor esta Comedia y aunq es verdad q se a hecho tantas vezes y con aplaussos grandes y q la historia de castilla y annales d Aragon concuerdan en q. D. Bernardo de cabrera murio degollado, respeto de los descendientes me parece está mejor no se hable en esto Como va enmendado y q no se diga todo lo que va borrado rubricado y con esto queda con Toda Seguridad esta comedia ajustada y decente y se puede repressentar a mi parecer saluo mejor. M. 17 de Nobiembre 1655 años. Don Antonio de Nanclares.
>
> Cumplio la Autora en esta comedia con la horden y mandato de V. S^{a}. madrid y Nobiembre A 19 de 1655 fiscal Juan Nauarro despinossa.
>
> Con las advertencias q en papel aparte haze el fiscal, esta comedia como esta oy XX de Nove. 1655 no doy lic^{a} pa q se represente.

The concluding lines of Act III above cited lead to the supposition that this drama was originally by Rojas, in collaboration with another dramatist, probably Vélez, if we can be guided by the heading of Act I. When published in *Escogidas, Parte XXIV,* the play was attributed to *tras ingenios* with "vn vitor para *dos* plumas."

A revision of the preceding is contained in a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, No. 17043. This, an eighteenth-century copy,

is entitled, *Comedia famossa tamvien tiene el sol menguante de tres ingenios o no ay priuanza sin embidia.* At the top of the first page of the text is written *La nueba de Mota.* This may imply that the revision was made by D. Juan Claudio de la Hoz y Mota. The text of this copy concludes as follows:

> Porque tenga Fin con esto
> no ay priuanza sin embidias
> ni Felizidad sin Riesgos.

In the Catalogue of Mesonero Romanos, B.A.E., XLV, Intro., p. li[a], a play entitled *Adversa fortuna de don Bernardo Cabrera* is listed with Mira's dramas. This concords with La Barrera's supposition recorded above. In the nineteenth century a *drama trágico en cuatro actos* entitled, *Don Bernardo de Cabrera,* was written by D. Heriberto García de Quevedo, and published in Madrid in 1849.

VI. ENTREMESES Y BAILES

ENTREMESES DE LUIS VÉLEZ

[81]

LA BURLA MÁS SAZONADA

[82]

LA SARNA DE LOS BANQUETES

[83]

LOS ATARANTADOS

[84]

ANTONIA Y PERALES

THESE FOUR FARCES are contained in a rare volume entitled, *Entremeses y flor de sainetes de varios autores.* "En Madrid en la Imprenta Real Año de 1657. Véndese en casa de Antonio del Ribero Rodríguez, mercader de libros en la Calle de Toledo y en Palacio." Copies are preserved in the University Library of Göttingen and in Schaeffer's Library. The Marqués de Jérez possessed a copy of which he printed a limited edition of one hundred copies (Madrid, 1903); not in the library of the Hispanic Society, which acquired his books; not listed by La Barrera. There are twenty-four pieces in the volume, Vélez' being numbers 1, 2, 7, and 17; and the authorship of each piece is indicated in the index. The reprint is in the University of California Library.

[81]

LA BURLA MÁS SAZONADA

[FIRST LINES]

Todos. ¡Al nobato, al nobato!
Tab. Mentecatos,
los antiguos se hazen de nobatos.
Cierren essas bocazas, que me tienen,
si no lo han por enojo,
de cada escupetín tapado un ojo.

[LAST LINES]

la vergüença me embarga pedir prestado,
y responde la hambre, que sin embargo.

CHARACTERS

Garullo.	Tabaco.	Alguazil.
Lechuga.	Merluza.	Compañero.

The scene presents a group of students who are hazing the freshman, Tabaco, after the manner described in some of the picaresque novels. Tabaco is asked to show his *patente* or warrant to admit him to the student group and learns that it consists of drink and pastries, to be supplied to the others, to the equivalent of three reales. In the midst of the noise Doña Merluza, a friend of the students, enters. She reproaches them, complaining that the university police have already called on her. There is a knock at the door and an officer (Alguazil de Escuelas) enters with a companion. The students conceal Merluza behind a door; and Tabaco, speaking alternately in falsetto to imitate a woman and in a deep voice, attempts to deceive the officers as to her whereabouts. They finally begin to search for Merluza, who escapes by one door as they enter by another. Peace is finally established and the play ends in song and dance (*seguidillas*).

[82]

LA SARNA DE LOS BANQUETES

[FIRST LINES]

Sol. ¿Qué me cuenta vuested, señor Targeta?
Tar. Lo que oye vuested, Señor Soleta.

[LAST LINES]

Tar. Gorras, gorristas, gorrones,
sírvaos esto de escarmiento;
que si apuráis los amigos,
os sucederá lo mesmo.

CHARACTERS

Targeta.	Soleta.	Tres criados.
	Remoquete.	

Targeta, a soldier and a "pest" who invites himself to the house of acquaintances, generally at the hour when they are prepared to sit down at their table, tells us how he gets free meals. He is about to visit Don Remoquete, whom we find in the next scene discussing with his servants the best means to be rid of Targeta. Targeta enters and as usual makes ready to partake of the food. At each request of the master to bring on the course, the servants answer that the dish has been spoiled. Targeta finally gets only a drink of water and toothpicks, which, he finally realizes, is the fate of a *sarna de los banquetes*.

[83]

ENTREMÉS DE LOS ATARANTADOS

[FIRST LINES]

Salen Tarima, Vejete, y Pistraco, y un
Gorrón, riñendo; y Berrueco, labrador viejo,
poniéndolos en paz.
Pist. Sal aquí, viejecillo impertinente,
más desigual que copla de repente.

[LAST LINES]

De tarántula picados,
parece que todos van;
pues jamás quedos están,
y saltan yendo sentados.

CHARACTERS

Pistraco.	Berrueco.	Micaela.
Tarima.	Garabís.	La Atarantada.

Tarima and Pistraco are quarreling over Micaela, who tells them under what conditions she intends to marry. She will demand a different kind of dress to suit every mood and characteristic of her husband. Tarima and Pistraco resume their quarrel, and Micaela, noting the physical superiority of Pistraco, is about to accept him, when Tarima whispers in her ear that he possesses a coach. This at once wins Micaela. Garabís enters with a girl (*atarantada*) who has been stung by a tarantula and is consequently unable to desist from dancing. He releases her from the bonds which restrain her and she begins to dance while the musician plays and sings:

Si bailando das bueltas, mi Bartolomé,
si bailando das bueltas, contigo me iré.

As she reels about touching them as she dances, they are all infected in turn and obliged to dance to the accompanying music.

[84]

ENTREMÉS DE ANTONIA Y PERALES

[FIRST LINES]

Per. Mirad, muger, que sois impertinente;
si soy vuestro marido tan corriente
y moliente que puedo al más marido
ser aranzel en lo que os he molido.

[LAST LINES]

Tab. Sin tanta ceremonia
tu esposo quiero ser esso per omnia.

CHARACTERS

Antonia.	Tábano.	Clara.
Perales.		Ribera.

Antonia and Perales quarrel over the career which their son Tábano shall choose. The mother wants him to be a student; the father, *un oficial.* But such occupations as shoemaker, tailor, water carrier, and the like are not good enough for Antonia. The parents appeal to the boy, who desires to be a *valentón,* to swear, and carry sword and dagger. This career also includes paying court to some girl, namely, Clara. But she has a *pretendiente* in the person of Ribera, a true *valiente.* In comparison with this *rufián,* Tábano proves to be a chicken-livered rival. But Clara prefers his gentler qualities (as well as his generosity), and chooses him, whereupon the farce again ends with music and dance.

[85]

ENTREMÉS DE LOS SORDOS

DE LVIS VÉLEZ

[FIRST LINES]

Suegra. Mirad que la hacienda es poca
y los gastos escesivos, y costosos,
el tiempo largo, y el ajuar es mucho.

[LAST LINES]

aunque en rehenes me llevaran
vida, y alma, que quisieran,
si a Serafina dexaren.

Printed in *Ramillete de Saynetes escogidos de los mejores ingenios de España* (Zaragoza, Diego Dormer, 1672); Bibl. Nac.; and as a *suelta* in Valencia, Cosme Granja, without date of publication. (Cotarelo, p. 430, No. 5.) *Los Sordos,* an *entremés* of Lope,[1] is distinct from that of Vélez.

IN THE ENTREMÉS DE LOS SORDOS a bride and groom and the groom's mother and father-in-law, all deaf, and each talking on a different subject, reply in foolish and amusing speeches, always irrelevant to the demands of the sexton and bailiff, who request the marriage fee due the priest.

[1] *Entremés de los sordos,* by Lope Felix de Vega Carpio (New York, 1903). Reproduced in facsimile from the original manuscript in the library of Archer M. Huntington. The manuscript bears Lope's autograph and the date, Madrid, November 22, 1617.

[86]

BAILE DE LA COLMENERUELA[1]

[87]

BAILE DE LOS MORISCOS

DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

Reprinted in *Flor de las comedias de España de diferentes autores. Quinta Parte* (Alcalá, 1615); Bibl. Nac. See *La hermosura de Raquel*, Nos. 63 and 64 above; also Rennert, "Bibliography," p. 17.

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[1] Cited by La Barrera, *Cat.*, p. 681a, as follows: "La hermosura de Raquel. —De Luis Vélez de Guevara, gentil hombre del conde de Saldaña.—Primera parte. Segunda parte.—Del mismo. (Con los bailes de Colmeneruela y de los Moriscos.)"

VII. COMEDIAS DUDOSAS

[88]

LA BIENAVENTURADA MADRE, SANTA TERESA DE JESÚS, MONJA DESCALÇA DE NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL CARMEN

[FIRST LINES]

d. Die. Grandes fiestas se previenen:
pienso que serán de ver.

[LAST LINES]

y fin a la historia demos
de nuestra gran fundadora.

First printed in *Doce comedias de varios autores* (Tortosa, 1638), attributed to Luis Vélez de Guevara; Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 10.)

CHARACTERS

Don Diego.
Don Ramiro.
Leonido, criado de don Diego.
Floro, criado de don Ramiro.
Santa Teresa de Jesús.
Don Alonso de Cepeda, su padre.
Lebrija, escudero.
El Amor Divino.
La justicia.
Don Juan del Valle.
Doña Juana.
Petrona.
Una abadesa.
Un sacristán.
Don Juan, hermano de Santa Teresa.
Un fraile.
Luzbel, demonio.
Astarot, demonio.
San Miguel.

JORNADA I

Don Ramiro and Don Diego love Teresa and send letters to her by their respective servants. She chides them but they quarrel between themselves. Teresa's father, Don Alonso, intercedes and reconciles the two lovers. When he finds opportunity to talk to his daughter alone, he reproaches her for encouraging the two young men. He considers her honor endangered and commands her to marry. She prefers to enter a convent. Her father ridicules her, saying that she probably intends to found an order of barefooted nuns. Later the two lovers enter Teresa's room, where they are found by her father. Guests arrive for a banquet and dance, in the course of which Teresa slips out of the house and enters the *Convento de la Encarnación.*

JORNADA II

While Teresa is dying an angel disputes with the devil over who shall have her life. The angel wins and she regains her health. The devil tempts her without success and she holds conversations with St. Paul, St. Peter, and Christ. Efforts are made to destroy the convent which she founds, but she rebuilds it stronger than before.

JORNADA III

The last act begins with an enumeration of the convents founded by Teresa. Don Diego makes an attempt on the life of Don Juan del Valle, Teresa's brother-in-law, but, failing, repents and becomes a *fraile*. She goes to the home of her sister, Doña Juana, and Don Juan del Valle, and there restores their dead son to life. On her return to her convent, Teresa dies in the midst of her Carmelite nuns, to whom she had devoted her life.

MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO reprinted this composition in Volume V of the Academy edition of Lope de Vega, giving as his reason for including it among Lope's religious dramas that the play is more in Lope's than in Vélez' manner. However, the play is so mediocre that, as Menéndez y Pelayo well observes, it can add nothing to the fame of either playwright.

Lope, in the second list of his plays in *El Peregrino* (1618), includes one entitled, *La madre Teresa de Jesús*. In the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, there is a seventeenth-century manuscript, No. 16579, entitled, *Comedia de la madre Teresa de Ihs. fundadora del carmen*. This manuscript is remarkable in that folios 6 to 10 of the second *jornada* are in Lope's handwriting. The manuscript, however, is anonymous, save that a modern hand has attributed the play, on the first page of the text, to Lope. This play is a variant of that included in the collection of Tortosa (1638). Acts I and II of the manuscript have certain scenes that are widely divergent from the corresponding parts of the printed version, but Act III, with some unimportant changes, is substantially the same as that of the printed text. The folios in Lope's hand have no counterpart in the Tortosa edition.

The Biblioteca Nacional contains another manuscript entitled, *Vida y muerte de Santa Teresa de Jesús*.[1] This late seventeenth-

century manuscript is also ascribed to Lope. It is very different from either of the preceding plays in Acts I and III, but Act II is substantially the same as that of the printed text. In the Palatinate Library at Parma there is a curious manuscript copy of this same play, *Vida y muerte de Santa Teresa de Jesús,* Act III and most of Act I being of the eighteenth century and a fragment of Act I seemingly Lope's autograph.[2]

It would be futile to theorize on the authorship of these plays. From the history of similar compositions we may assume that Lope wrote a play on *Santa Teresa,* not two (as seems to be the conclusion of Rennert-Castro, pp. 493 and 525), and that Vélez recast Lope's version, parts of which appear to survive in Lope's own hand in the mingling and confusion of the manuscript to which we have referred. The attribution to Vélez of *La bienaventurada madre Santa Teresa de Jesús* in *Doce comedias de varios autores* of Tortosa (1638), may be entirely correct. Vélez, as we have had occasion to state more than once, was famed for his skill in writing *comedias de santos,* and it is not unlikely that the present play is one of his hasty improvisations in that genre.

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[1] Paz y Melia, *Cat.*, library number 3489.

[2] Restori, "Obras de Lope de Vega," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* XXII:282–292 (1898).

[89]

COMEDIA FAMOSA DE

LA BOBA Y EL VIZCAÍNO

(Encontráronse Dos Arroyvelos)

DE DON IVAN VÉLEZ

[FIRST LINES]

Tal. Milagro, por Dios, ha sido
que daño no te ayas hecho
de la caída.

[LAST LINES]

Ort. Y aquí la comedia acaba:
perdonad las faltas nuestras.

Printed in *Parte veinte y tres de comedias nuevas, escritas por los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1665); Bibl. Nac.

CHARACTERS

D. Felix Pacheco.	Ortensia.	D. Alexo de Azpeleta.
El Doctor Ordóñez.	Alfonsa.	Talego, lacayo.
El Doctor Onofre de Salcedo.		Juana, criada.

JORNADA I

D. Felix Pacheco, accompanied by his lackey, Talego, comes to Salamanca to study with the famous Dr. Ordóñez. The professor is blessed with two daughters, the elder of whom, Ortensia, is said to be very beautiful and very learned, while the younger, Alfonsa, has the reputation of being very foolish and chiefly employed in the pursuit of matrimony. Shortly after his arrival at Salamanca, Felix is involved in a skirmish and is forced to seek shelter from justice in a neighboring garden. The garden proves to belong to Dr. Ordóñez, and the venturesome fugitive, nothing daunted, penetrates as far as Ortensia's study. Finding its occupant within, he at once begins an animated courtship, much to the lady's surprise and incredulity. Her father arrives, ending, perforce, the pleasing interview, and the young man is conducted safely away.

The professor's nephew, D. Alexo de Azpeleta, comes to pay his uncle a visit. He is a Biscayan and is described as *muy tosco y muy*

duelista. Moreover, it is rumored that the professor is anxious to marry him to one of his daughters. Alexo, on meeting Ortensia, repulses her demonstrations of affection, averring that such is not the custom in his province and, pleading fatigue, he soon gives orders that his bed be made up soft and comfortable.

Jornada II

The following morning, Felix meets Ortensia and Alfonsa in the country. Both ladies being veiled, he does not recognize Ortensia, and, since he is very much of a flirt, he begins making love to Alfonsa, who is the first one he happens to meet. Ortensia is disgusted at such fickleness, but Alfonsa responds readily enough to his advances. Alexo arrives, and it is not long before the two young men are quarreling over the girl's favors. The dispute is ended by the timely arrival of Ordóñez, who recognizes D. Felix and reconciles him with his opponent. The two ladies make their escape.

Felix comes to see Ortensia, but meets Alfonsa instead. She thinks that he has followed her home and seizes the opportunity to propose an immediate marriage. Ortensia sees them talking together and her vanity is wounded to think that Felix would come to court her sister, knowing that she (Ortensia) lived there. Taking advantage of the momentary absence of Alfonsa, she reproaches him for his lack of fidelity, but he swears he loves none but her. While still engaged in conversation, he is forced to hide from Alexo, who comes in a rage to hunt out two men who, it is said, have entered the house. Ordóñez and Dr. Onofre de Salcedo, a friend of Felix and one of Ortensia's suitors, join in the search. Onofre discovers Felix, but, hearing from him that his life and the honor of a certain lady are at stake if he should be discovered, he permits him to remain in hiding, although tormented by jealous suspicions. The men are not found, and Ordóñez rebukes Alexo for his credulity. Alexo is still convinced that the men are concealed somewhere about the house and he determines to watch all night to see if they leave it.

Jornada III

After much difficulty and many interruptions, Juana, Ortensia's maid, succeeds in letting Felix out. Talego the lackey, who has been sleeping, is about to slip out likewise, when the sudden en-

trance of Ordóñez places him in an embarrassing situation. His ingenuity comes to his aid, however, and he pretends that he has come for advice on a puzzling lawsuit. He spins a tangled yarn which drives Ordóñez to distraction, and he therefore bids the servant begone and return some other day.

The next day, Ortensia, wishing to ascertain whether her lover is fickle or not, comes veiled to his lodging on pretense that she is in love with him. According to his custom, Felix returns the advances of his fair visitor and also disclaims any affection for the three women whom, rather to his surprise, his visitor mentions as having been recipients of his attentions. The interview is suddenly interrupted by the entrance of Ordóñez, and Ortensia, not wishing her father to discover her there, seeks refuge in an inner apartment. Ordóñez nevertheless enters the room where she is hiding. Felix assures him that it is a woman who has concealed herself there in order not to be seen by his visitor, but the old man suspects that it is his daughter and determines to have her watched and followed when she leaves.

After her father's departure, Ortensia is about to make a stealthy, hurried exit when the arrival of Alexo forces her to retreat to her place of hiding. Hardly have the two young men entered into conversation when Alfonsa and her maid arrive, both veiled. Alfonsa is determined to get married then and there. Ordóñez returns and, with drawn sword, demands to see who the veiled woman is. In the ensuing skirmish Alfonsa thinks to settle the difficulty by unveiling and declaring that she is married to Felix. Pursued by her father in anger, she seeks refuge in the room where Ortensia is hiding and, greatly to the surprise of all except Felix, she returns dragging her sister after her. Everything is amicably settled, Felix offering his hand in marriage to Ortensia, and Alfonsa becoming betrothed to Alexo.

A LATE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT copy in the Biblioteca Nacional, No. 17040, gives the title as *Encontraronse dos arroyvelos* in the heading of each act, but each time a line has been drawn through this, and the title, *La Boba y el Vizcaíno,* substituted. The original title page reads: *La Boba y el Vizcaíno de Vélez,* and the modern title page, immediately preceding, gives: "La boba y el Vizcaíno Comedia en 3 jornadas de Vélez de Guevara," the change

in ascription of authorship being in pencil. The play may be from the pen of Juan, and his father may have had a hand in its composition; but the simple ascription "de Vélez" usually means the more famous father. As pure farce this comedy is very entertaining, with a cleverly constructed plot,[1] containing many amusing situations and several scenes sparkling in wit and repartee.

[1] Certain details, though commonplace on the stage in the Golden Age, remind one of Calderón's *Guárdate del agua mansa:* the skirmish upon the arrival of Felix, his unexpected meeting with Ortensia, the two daughters, the difference in the character of the two daughters, the boorishness of Alexo, the success of the serious daughter, etc.

[90]

DEL CAPITÁN PRODIGIOSO, PRÍNCIPE DE TRANSILVANIA

COMEDIA FAMOSA DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA

REPRESENTÓLA OLMEDO

[FIRST LINES]

Mahometo. ¡Mueran Celín y Amurates;
perseguildos, que se os van!

[LAST LINES]

Jacinto. El que al Turco poderoso
tantos encuentros le da,
que él mesmo le llama ya:
"el Capitán prodigioso."

From a rare volume in Schaeffer's library and reprinted by him in his *Ocho comedias,* I:147–261. (Cotarelo 12.)

CHARACTERS

El Gran Turco, Mahometo.
Celín, su hermano.
Amurates, su hermano.
Sinán, bajá.
Ferrad, bajá.
Solimán, hermano del Turco.
Un alfaquí.
Jacinto, cautivo.
Una guarda.
Un otomano muerto.
Marco, pobre.
Mario, soldado.
Marcela, mujer pobre.
Sigismundo, príncipe de Transilvania.
Alejandro, el Gran Cancelario.
Un general.
Un marqués.
Un Conde de Alba.
Mauricio, mayordomo.
Carrillo, maestro del Príncipe.
Un artillero.
Un embajador turco.
El pueblo habla.
Aurelio, soldado.
Nise, vestida de monte.
Leonardo, labrador.
Una niña de Leonardo.
Gonzalo, mozo de Leonardo.
Un barbero.
Un portero.
La guarda del Príncipe.
Cuatro grandes.
Cristerna, esposa del Príncipe.
Un Nuncio.
Una centinela, turco.
Un general tullido.
Muchos niños cautivos.

JORNADA I

Mahometo, sultan of Turkey, has killed off thirty of his brothers. Soon after the sultan's coronation, Jacinto, a Christian captive, brings him a box which is found to contain prophecies of the down-

fall of Constantinople and of his defeat by one to be known as "Prince of Wonders" and "Captain Dangerous." The sultan determines to make war on Germany, first passing through Transylvania.

Ottoman, founder of the dynasty, tells him in a vision that the end of his power is at hand; news is brought to him of the uprising of Sigismundo Batoreo (Báthory), prince of Transylvania; and Mahometo sends the pasha, Ferrad, forthwith to punish the rebel. Sigismundo refuses to acknowledge Mahometo's sovereignty, refuses, also, Ferrad's demand that he let the Turkish troops pass through his territories. His nobles object to these acts and rise in revolt against him.

JORNADA II

The prince is twice miraculously saved from death at the hands of the rebellious nobles. Carillo, the Spanish confessor of the prince, is about to be executed by the nobles when the news of the disappearance of the prince causes his captors to release him. The nobles are forced to seek shelter from the mob, which demands that their prince be restored and seizes the children of the nobles as hostages.

JORNADA III

The prince has shown clemency toward the nobles, but after escaping death at their hands for the fourth time, he decides to rid the kingdom of them. The chief conspirators, fourteen in number, are arrested and forced to sign papers giving up all their strongholds. The other nobles are summoned to view a wonderful crown which has been made by order of the prince. A curtain is drawn and the prince is seen seated on a throne with a drawn sword in one hand and a crucifix in the other and above him a crown or arch of fourteen heads. A faithful courtier of the prince advises them all to heed the warning.

Soon after, the prince goes to the aid of the Christians of Wallachia, where he defeats Mahometo's forces and by his remarkable prowess wins from his enemies the title of *Capitán Prodigioso.*

THE PLAY IS VIGOROUS and dramatically conceived with several impressive and well-constructed scenes; the character of the protagonist is carefully drawn, a statement not too often true of these

superheroes. The argument affords the author ample opportunity to give full play to sudden and startling theatrical effects which he introduces in several episodes of moving intensity. The minor episodes of the bastard Nise, daughter of the chancellor, who saves the king from death, does not detract from the main interest, but could well be omitted.

History remembers Sigismund Báthory as a valiant prince, but inclined to be a religious zealot and fanatic withal. He is presented in our play as an ardent champion of Catholicism; he dismisses all heretics from his ranks, wishing to gain his victories with the aid of Catholics alone, and in his fervor he exclaims that he will recapture Constantinople and free all Europe from the Ottoman yoke. His clemency toward the nobles is unusual and overdrawn, as well as the terrible revenge which he inflicts on them.

The argument of this drama is taken from history. Sigismund Báthory (1572–1613), prince of Transylvania, following the advice of his favorite counselor, Alfonso Carillo, in 1588 joined the Christian forces in league against the Turk. This caused so much stir among his people that the diet of Torda went so far as to demand a fresh coronation oath from him, and on his refusal to give it, threatened to dethrone him. In the ensuing struggle he came out victorious, and executed as many of his opponents as he could get into his hands (1595). The same year he subdued Wallachia and defeated Sinan Pasha (whom the playwright makes Mahometo's general-in-chief) at Giurgevo, October 28.

The action of our play takes place in 1595. Mahometo learns from the reading of a certain prophecy that his power will end in that year, and he sends Báthory a letter, with overtures for peace, dated 1595. The death warrant which is served on the nobles is dated August 26, 1595. But a letter sent to the prince from his lieutenant-general in Lipa bears the date of September 18, 1610, a manifest slip in chronology.[1] As to the date of publication of Schaeffer's volume which contains our play, it is in all probability posterior to 1626,[2] according to the history of another drama contained in the same volume.

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[1] Schaeffer, *Ocho Comedias*, I:223; in the Acad. edit. of Lope, new series, I:404, the date is more logically given as "2 de agosto de 1595 años." See also, on historical features, Ahrens. *op. cit.*, pp. 46ff.

[2] See study No. 42 above, *El Hércules de Ocaña*.

Previous to the writing of our *comedia* there had appeared various anonymous accounts of Báthory's life, one of which is entitled *Relación verdadera del linaje y descendencia del serenísimo Sigismundo Bartorio, príncipe de Transilvania, Moldavia y Valachia, sacada de historias auténticas venidas de aquellas partes, con algunas de sus hazañas y proezas dignas de gran memoria* (Sevilla, 1597), in folio.[3] The only copy of this book known to us is preserved in the British Museum; it is difficult to say whether or not the playwright drew from this work. Salvá lists an historical account of the same period under the title, *Nuevos avisos venidos de Roma, de lo sucedido en el Exercito Imperial y lo que a hecho el Principe de la Transilvania, y de otros auisos de diversas partes* (Sevilla, 1599).[4] In the Biblioteca de Palacio of Madrid is preserved a manuscript copy of our play of the seventeenth century with Lope de Vega as author. It is therefore included in the Academy's new edition (Vol. I, 1916, pp. 369–421), under the title, *Comedia del prodigioso Principe Transilvano;* see "Prólogo," p. viii.

Our play was also printed under the title of *El príncipe prodigioso y defensor de la fe,* of which G. W. Bacon[5] says:

> The catalogue of the British Museum—doubtless following the ascription of two copies in the Museum, dated Barcelona, 1770 (?) and 1808 (?)—attributes this *Comedia* to Montalván, but adds that Moreto and Matos have also been named as authors. In treating of Luis Vélez de Guevara's *El capitán prodigioso, Príncipe de Transylvania,* Schaeffer[6] states that Moreto and Matos have availed themselves of it in their *El príncipe prodigioso, y defensor de la fe;* Schaeffer thereby attributing the latter not to Montalván, but to Matos and Moreto. In *El mejor de los mejores libros que han salido de comedias nuevas,* Madrid, 1653[7], it is given the same ascription.
>
> The *comedia* is also found with the simple title *El príncipe prodigioso.* It does not read like Montalván's work.

Salvá[8] says that in the *Doze comedias las más grandiosas* (Lisboa, 1653) this play is attributed in the index to *dos autores,* but after the title to Matos alone. He adds:

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[3] Printed in *Memorial Histórico Español,* XII:292, note 1.

[4] *Cat.,* II:525.

[5] "The *Comedias* of Doctor Juan Pérez de Montalván," *Rev. Hisp.,* XVII:62.

[6] *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas,* I:291; in his *Ocho Comedias,* I, Intro., p. xiii, he seems to favor Montalván with the authorship.

[7] Listed as *La Defensa de la Fe, Y Principe Prodigioso.* See La Barrera, *Cat.,* p. 709a, for an edition of the same plays in Alcalá, 1651.

[8] *Cat.,* I:639.

A nombre de ambos la tengo suelta intitulada: *El príncipe prodigioso y defensor de la fe;* y con la primera parte del título hai en mi biblioteca una impresión suelta, hecha en *Sevilla por Francisco Leefdael,* en la que dice ser de Montalván.

Leaving aside the question of the authorship of the play, it seems fairly certain that all the editions which we have seen and recorded represent with certain variants and omissions the same work and it would be futile to assert who wrote the play. We are inclined to set down as our opinion that this drama, both by its content and by its language and its verse, is very characteristic of the muse of Luis Vélez.

The Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid contains a manuscript of a play in five acts with the following title: *Persecuciones y amparos del católico Príncipe Sigismundo.* It is a recast, by Don Felix Castrillón, of *El Príncipe perseguido y defensor de la fe.*

[91]

DIEGO GARCÍA DE PAREDES

[FIRST LINES]

Porcia. Carlos, ¿qué intentas?
Carlos. Morir.
Por. Pues ¿es remedio?
Car. El mejor.

[LAST LINES]

No es mi intento
dalles con la entretenida,
que les cuesta su dinero.
Todos. Y con esto damos fin:
perdonadnos nuestros yerros.

Manuscript from library of Aug. Durán, Bibl. Nac., No. 14871, eighteenth century, with title, *Comedia famosa intitulada Diego García de Paredes;* attributed to *Luis Bélez de Guebara.* With a few unimportant variants it is identical with another manuscript in the same library, No. 16881, dated 1636: *Dalles con la entretenida: Comedia famosa buena de Luis de Belmonte,* published in *Parte XXXI* of *Las mejores comedias que hasta oy han salido* (Barcelona, 1638), with the title, *Darles con la entretenida,* and ascribed to Belmonte. (Cotarelo 29.) With the title of *Diego García de Paredes,* the play is attributed to Vélez in a *suelta* without date or place of publication in the Ticknor collection (Boston). Schaeffer's library (XXXIV) lists a play *Dalles con la entretenida* ascribed to Vélez.[1]

CHARACTERS

Octavio.	D. César.	García de Paredes.
Porcia.	Hipólita.	Ostión, criado.
Carlos.		Marqués del Basto.

ACTO I

Porcia's father has arranged to have her marry the rich Don César whom she does not love, all her affection being centered on Don César's friend, Carlos, who is equally enamored of her. Don García de Paredes promises Porcia that he will help to prevent the mar-

[1] Lope has introduced the character of García de Paredes into several plays, *La contienda de García de Paredes y el capitán Juan de Urbina, El blasón de los chaves de Villalba,* and *Las cuentas del gran capitán.* Their relation and sources have been treated by Menéndez y Pelayo; see *Estudios sobre el Teatro de Lope de Vega,* V:339ff. On Belmonte and our play, see W. A. Kincaid, *op cit.,* pp. 120 and 183.

riage to Don César, so that she will be free to marry the man of her choice. This fiery old soldier has also become involved in a dispute with Don César, and they are to fight a duel. The scene is laid in Naples, but Paredes has been called to take part in the campaign in Milan. Fearing that her father will force her to marry during Paredes' absence, Porcia decides to stay with her cousin, Hipólita. Paredes postpones his departure because he has a dispute to settle with Don Carlos, arising from a discussion on an earlier occasion. Furthermore, he is pledged to help Porcia, to say nothing of the impending duel with Don César. When he finds out that Don Carlos is the man whom Porcia wishes to marry, in order to fulfill his promise to her he is obliged to defer settling his difference of opinion with Don Carlos. To complicate matters further, Hipólita is in love with Carlos, and this fact gives rise to misunderstandings and scenes of jealousy between Carlos and Porcia.

César and Paredes are to meet for their duel at a certain place on the mole, but Paredes' servant, Ostión, informs the marqués del Basto of the impending duel; the marqués, accompanied by some soldiers, hurries to the rendezvous to prevent the duel.

Acto II

Carlos has also been informed of the duel, and he reaches the scene before the marqués del Basto. To save his friend César, he reopens his old quarrel with Paredes. As they are about to draw swords, the marqués appears and orders them to desist. A soldier hands the marqués two letters, one of which he inadvertently drops to the ground. The marqués announces that the message which he has received is an order to proceed at once to Milan and to take Paredes and Carlos with him. He walks off with César, leaving the other two in a quandary what to do. Paredes advises Carlos to hide in Porcia's room, while he plans to delay her marriage with César.

Paredes recovers the letter which had fallen to the ground, opens it, and reads that an attempt is to be made on the life of the marqués. He and Ostión arm themselves with sword and buckler and hasten to Porcia's house, where the marqués is staying. An assault is made on the house by some masked men, but their attack is successfully repelled. Paredes receives a wound in the arm, but he makes light of it.

Acto III

Hipólita, in her anxiety to have her cousin Porcia's wedding take place as soon as possible, informs Porcia's father, Octavio, that Carlos has designs upon his daughter. Octavio goes for advice to the marqués, who, in turn, consults Paredes. The marqués is finally convinced that it would be wrong to force Porcia to marry a man whom she abhors. It is Paredes' intention to delay the wedding ceremony, and he does so by recounting a long story of a campaign. Through his graphic description of the defense of a bridge, he arouses the interest of the guests, who, one by one, join his audience. Finally, Octavio, who has come to tell Paredes that they are waiting for him in order to proceed with the ceremony, also becomes a spellbound listener to the endless recital.

The story is interrupted by the news that Carlos has been locked in Porcia's room. In these circumstances, César refuses to wed Porcia. Octavio is furious, but Paredes tells him that the only way in which he can safeguard his daughter's honor is by having her marry Carlos. Octavio finally consents to this, while César gives his hand to Hipólita.

Although a historical character as well as a legendary *valentón,* the García de Paredes of this play is a rather pale, two-dimensional figure. The romantic plot and the stereotyped intrigue militate against any original presentation of his virile personality.

[92]

COMEDIA FAMOSA DE

DISPARATES DEL REY DON ALFONSO, EL DE LA MANO HORADADA

DE VN INGENIO DESTA CORTE

[FIRST LINES]

Cel. Si sabes lo que son zelos,
Zoraida, no me respondas.

[LAST LINES]

Alf. Vamos, porque aquí fenezca
el juramento cumplido,
y da fin esta Comedia.

First printed in: *Parte diez y ocho de comedias nuevas, y escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid, 1662). Berlin; Schaeffer; Bibl. Nac.; *suelta* Schaeffer, XXXIII. (Cotarelo 66.)

CHARACTERS

El rey don Alfonso.	Tarfe.	Doña Urraca.
El rey Almanzor.	Zara.	El Cid.
Celimo.	Zoraida.	Un correo.
	Arias Gonzalo.	

JORNADA I

King Almanzor secures a promise from the infante, D. Alfonso, that he will not leave Toledo until permission has been given him three times by the king himself. Alfonso learns that he is king of Castile, owing to the death of his brother, Sancho, and decides to set out for Zamora. Knowing Almanzor's unwillingness that he shall leave Toledo, he determines to get away by artifice, yet without breaking the promise he has made to the Moorish king not to leave the city without his permission.

JORNADA II

King Almanzor discovers Alfonso apparently asleep near the place where he has been discussing matters of state. Fearing lest he may have overheard certain secrets, the king wishes to ascertain whether he has really been asleep or not, and therefore orders that molten

lead be poured into his right hand. Alfonso has been feigning sleep, but, unwilling to betray this fact, he does not flinch at the thought of the torture that awaits him. When the molten lead is poured into his hand Alfonso starts up in pain. He hurls the hot liquid at his torturers and rebukes the king, who is convinced that he has learned no state secret. While Almanzor is playing at chess, Alfonso sings and plays the guitar, whereupon the king tells him three times to be off. Alfonso interprets this as sufficient permission for him to leave Toledo and soon makes his escape.

Jornada III

Shortly before Alfonso's arrival at Zamora, his sister, Urraca, learns that her brother is fast approaching the end of his journey. After his arrival, Zara, a Moorish maiden beloved of the young king, appears disguised as a man, and challenges him to combat. The Cid answers her challenge, whereupon Zara unmasks and asks Alfonso to restore her honor. He betrothes her, in compensation, to the Moor Celino, and promises to establish them in his kingdom on condition that they embrace Christianity.

In this play all that part which has reference to Alfonso's escape from Toledo is handled in a clear and ingenious way. The incident of the burning of the young king's hand is a vivid and realistic bit of writing. The play, however, is loosely constructed and weakened by the tiresome love affair between Alfonso and Zara and the attendant jealousy of Celino.

In the *Crónica General* of Ocampo an account is given of the young King Alfonso's flight from Toledo, of his previous welcome by Ali-Mamún (called Almanzor by the playwright), and of the oath exacted from him by his host.[1] When the news of his brother's death reached Alfonso, contrary to Peransúrez's vacillations, he decided to acquaint his Moorish protector with a true account of what had happened instead of trying to conceal it from him. The *Chronicle* then gives Archbishop Rodrigo's version of the story to the effect that Alfonso left Toledo with the full knowledge of Alimamún, and explains its inconsistency by adding naïvely: "esto non sabemos ciertamente si fué assí: y lo que non sabemos non lo querremos afirmar."

[1] *Op. cit.* (edition of Zamora, 1541), Fols. CCXCIIb–CCXCIII.

Alfonso's escape from Toledo forms the subject of two *romances* reprinted in Durán's *Romancero General.* The first of these, No. 807, anonymous, and reprinted from the *Cancionero de Romances* of Antwerp, 1555, is entitled, *Fúgase Alfonso de Toledo para ocupar el trono de Castilla.* The *romance* recounts how messengers were sent by Doña Urraca to acquaint her brother with the news of Sancho's death; she urges secrecy upon him, but Alfonso acquaints the Moorish king with the news that he has received, and soon afterward, while winning at a game of chess, is thrice told by the irritated monarch to be gone. Thus Alfonso makes his escape and all reach Zamora in safety. Shortly after their arrival the Cid exacts an oath from Alfonso to the effect that he has been in no wise instrumental in his brother Sancho's death.

The *romance*[2] which immediately follows in the *Romancero* of Durán (No. 808) deals with the same theme. It is likewise anonymous and reprinted from Escobar's *Romancero del Cid* (Alcalá de Henares, 1612, 1614, etc.). All the preceding material may have been familiar to the author of the drama, even though we cannot designate the immediate source of his play.

A play on the same theme, *El hijo por engaño y toma de Toledo,* attributed to Lope, was published in Barcelona, 1630, in a *segunda parte extravagante* of dramas, entitled, *Doce comedias nuevas de Lope de Vega Carpio y otros autores.*[3] In this play of Lope's (if it be his)[4] the young Alfonso seeks refuge at the court of King Aldemón, who makes him promise that he will not leave the city without his permission. Act II contains the incident of the burning of Alfonso's hand with the molten lead. This legend is not found in the chronicles and was probably current in oral tradition. Mariana speaks of it[5] in skeptical terms, calling it "invención y hablilla de viejas."

The same incident, without the cruel experiment practiced upon the young king, forms one of the episodes in *romance* No. 767, of

[2] One of the incidents narrated in this *romance* can also be found in the playwright's composition:

> El conde Don Peranzures un consejo le fué a dar,
> *que caballos bien herrados al revés habían de herrar.*
> Descuélgause por el muro, sálense de la ciudad,
> fueron a dar a Castilla do esperándolos están.

[3] Reprinted in *Acad.*, VIII.

[4] *Acad.*, VIII, Intro., p. xxxii; also Restori's review in *Zeitschr., etc.*, XXVI:509.

[5] (*See bottom of page 379 for footnote.*)

Durán. A reference to the legend is found in Juan Hidalgo's *Los muzárabes de Toledo* (*Escogidas, XXXVIII*), a play based on Alfonso's conquest of Toledo.[5]

If the author of our drama borrowed from Lope's *El hijo por engaño,* which is quite possible, his play is probably posterior to 1618, since Lope does not mention this work in the list of *El Peregrino* published in that year. However, it is not improbable that Lope's play may have been in manuscript several years before that date. At any rate our composition is subsequent to 1605, since Celino, complaining of the treatment he receives from Zara, says: "¿porqué tratas con desdén a este pobre Don Quixote?"[7]

The play, which we feel inclined to attribute to Vélez because it reads very much like his work, has not, so far as we know, been published other than as *De un ingenio de esta corte;* La Barrera, *Cat.*, pp. 694a and 467a, note 3, and Cotarelo assert that in the *tabla* of *Escogidas, XVIII* (1662), the drama is attributed to Vélez de Guevara. But the anonymous ascription holds good also in the eighteenth-century manuscript copy now in the Biblioteca Nacional (manuscript No. 15853), *Comedia famosa de Disparates*

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[5] *Historia General de España,* I:275 (Madrid, 1852) (Bk. IX, Chap. VIII). A similar criticism discrediting this legend is given by Francisco de Pisa in his *Descripción de la Imperial Cibdad de Toledo, y Historia de sus Antiguedades, etc. Primera Parte* (Toledo, 1605), Bk. III, Chap. XIV, fol. 147.

Julián de Castillo, however, in his *Historia de los Reyes Godos, etc.* (Burgos, 1582), gives credence to the legend (Fol. XCIIIb, Libro IV, Discurso Segundo): Vn día estando en las huertas del Rey ambos Reyes a festejarse, auiendo comido juntos, el Rey don Alonso se apartó a dormir a otro aposento junto a do estauan: y tratando el Rey Alimaymón con los suyos de la gran nobleza y fortaleza de la Ciudad de Toledo, le dixo un Moro dellos: grande es la fuerça de Toledo: mas estando cercada siete años de enemigos, haziéndole cada año la tala en los panes y frutos, perderse ya: y al Rey Alimaymón pesó de oyrlo en tiempo que estaua allí el Rey don Alonso, que le podría ser auiso para ganarla los Christianos: y tratóse de que si lo auia oydo, le matassen por viuir seguros: y que fuessen a ver si dormía: y el Rey don Alonso que todo lo oyó, hizose muy dormido; y aun según fama quisieron aueriguar si dormía, con decir que le querían echar vna cucharada de plomo derretido en la palma de la mano, y que él, como sabio y fuerte, lo esperó y suffrió, y le horadaron con ello la mano, en manera de burla: y por ello fué llamado el Rey don Alonso de la mano horadada: lo qual manifiesta auer sido verdad el epitaphio del Conde don Peranzúrez, de su nobilíssima sepultura, en la Iglesia mayor de Valladolid.

[6] Restori, *Zeitschr.*, XXVI:509.

[7] In the same scene Celino says to Zara:

Llámate toda le tierra
la bella mal maridada.

Lope's play with this title is listed in *El Peregrino* of 1604, and was first published in *Parte II* of his *comedias* (Madrid, 1609).

del Rey dn Alfonso el de la mano Oradada. Since the publication of La Barrera's catalogue many have held the work to be in Vélez's style and technique. D. Adolfo de Castro (B.A.E., XLII: Intro., p. LXXIII) gives as by Mira a drama entitled, *El rey don Alfonso el de la mano horadada.* The subtitle of manuscript No. 15853 reads *El juramento cumplido.* Very likely, therefore, Lope referred to this play in verse 141 of his *Loa Sacramental de los Títulos de las Comedias.* Other plays on Alfonso VI are the anonymous *comedia seria* entitled, *El rey don Alfonso el de la mano horadada, y conquista de Toledo* (La Barrera, *Cat.*, p. 578a), which is not available and which Restori suggests may be Lope's *Hijo por engaño* (*Zeitschr.*, XXVI:509), and *La conquista de Toledo y Rey D. Alfonso el VI, comedia escrita por ocho ingenios en tres horas* (La Barrera, p. 538).

[93]

EL MILAGRO IMPOSIBLE SANTA RITA DE CASIA

[FIRST LINES]

tio. Vive Dios que eres de bronce,
que a tantos golpes mortales . . .

[LAST LINES]

Y aquí la comedia acabe
de *Santa Rita de Casia:*
perdonad sus faltas graves.

Comedia de la gloriosa Sta. Rita de Casia. De Luis Vélez de Guevara. Se copió toda el año de 1757. So reads the title of an eighteenth-century manuscript (No. 15088) of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. The heading of the first act, however, reads: *El milagro imposible. Santa Rita de Casia.* (Catarelo 73.)

CHARACTERS

Santa Rita.	Dos hombres.	Un ángel.
Su padre.	Dos niños.	San Juan Bautista.
Tiberio.	Trípili.	Dos sombras.
Alejandro.	Casandra.	Un ciego.
El Demonio.	Julia.	Un cojo.

THE BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL has three other manuscript copies of this same play, identical with No. 15088 save for a few minor variants. No. 14928 (eighteenth century) ascribes the play to D. Juan Bautista López on the second folio preceding the first page of the text proper; this ascription is in a modern handwriting. Manuscript 16050 (eighteenth century) is anonymous. It ends

Y aquí la comedia acabe
dando al ingenio el perdón
ya que el aplauso le falte.

Manuscript No. 15681 (copy of Valencia, May 11–12, 1709, by Pedro Phelix) is anonymous, save that a modern hand has attributed the play to López on the folio preceding the title page. This version ends:

Todos. Y del milagro imposible
aquí la comedia acaue
dando al ingenio el perdón
ya que el aplauso le falte.

The Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid has a manuscript copy of this play, *El milagro imposible, Santa Rita de Casia,* anonymous, with censures dated 1734. The play is the usual *comedia de santos,* dealing with the life and merits of Sta. Rita de Casia. It gets its subtitle from the fact that Sta. Rita, through the mediation of St. John the Baptist, is enabled, through a window, to enter an Augustinian convent for nuns. Henceforth, Sta. Rita is to be known throughout the world as *la santa de los imposibles.*

We consider the ascription of this play to Vélez difficult to determine. The *comedia,* save perhaps in the last act and last half of the second, wherein we have the usual juxtaposition of miracles in swift succession, does not read convincingly like his work. The predominance of the *romance,* and occasional passages in which verses of five, seven, and eleven syllables of varying order and arrangement with rather unusual rhyme schemes are introduced, constitute a system foreign to Vélez' technique and incline the reader to believe that the play is either not from his pen or that some other hand has intervened in his work. Again, the play is lacking in those passages of rhetorical declamation, those eloquent, if somewhat exaggerated, outbursts, and in the forward motion, force, and rapidity of action so characteristic of our author in most of his plays.

La Barrera, *Cat.,* p. 106b, mentions a *comedia* in Portuguese by Fray Pablo Coutiño, entitled *Santa Rita de Cassia,* included, with three other plays by the same author, in a manuscript copy of his *Tratado de Arte Poetica.* See Barbosa, *Bibliotheca lusitana,* III: 519.

[94]

COMEDIA FAMOSA

EL MONSTRVO DE LA FORTVNA Y LAVANDERA DE NÁPOLES

DE TRES INGENIOS

[FIRST LINES]

Carl. Abatid las vanderas
del zefiro texidas primaveras . . .

[LAST LINES]

Cala. Y Don Francisco de Rojas,
por el zelo de seruiros,
pide para tres ingenios,
con ser tres, no más que vn vitor.

First printed in *Parte veinte y quatro de comedias nuevas, y escogidas de los mejores autores de España* (Madrid, 1666); Bibl. Nac. (Cotarelo 49.)

CHARACTERS

El rey Andrés.	Octavio Ursino, viejo.	Damas.
Felipa Catanea.	Calabrés, *gracioso.*	Un capitán.
Carlos, Príncipe de Salerno.	Lirón, *gracioso.*	Soldados.
La reina Juana.	El condestable de Nápoles.	Un criado.
El infante.	Beatriz.	Gente.
	Julia.	

JORNADA I

Andrés, king of Hungary, has declared war on the queen of Naples for refusing to marry him, in the hope that he may win her by force of arms. In a battle between the Hungarians and Italians, the latter are defeated. They counsel their queen to surrender, but Felipa Cantanea, a washerwoman, alone of all her subjects, with drawn sword takes up the defense of the palace gates. After displaying remarkable courage and valor she falls wounded at the feet of the queen, who greatly admires her bravery. Andrés enters the palace in triumph, and the queen, making the best of her defeat, offers him her bloodstained hand in marriage. Carlos, prince of Salerno, who has led the queen's forces, is given his freedom and Felipa is taken in charge by the queen.

JORNADA II

After their marriage the king and queen are not happy, because each is distrustful of the other. The king overhears her tell Felipa that she loves another (Carlos). Felipa, now duchess of Amalfi, secretly hopes to wed Carlos herself. She speaks of this hope to the queen, who rejects it as presumptuous. That night the queen comes rushing into Felipa's room in great agitation, telling her how her husband has, in his sleep, revealed his intention of slaying her in order to reign supreme in Naples; moreover, she has found a sword in the bed and this she considers as good evidence of his plan to kill her in her sleep. At Felipa's advice they resolve to pay him in his own coin, and at once.

JORNADA III

All Italy has risen against Felipa, whom the people suspect of slaying the king; and the king's brother, upon hearing of his murder, has come to demand satisfaction of the queen. Felipa seeks to vindicate herself by telling the constable of Naples that she but obeyed her queen in slaying the king. The queen still trusts her and bids her keep secret the queen's part in the crime. At an audience with the king's brother, the queen is handed a letter which Felipa has written him, confessing that she slew the king at the queen's suggestion. The queen cannot believe that Felipa has disclosed her secret to the constable, but when, at length, *la lavandera* confesses her treachery and duplicity, the queen, though against her will, orders her to be taken prisoner.

In the tower Felipa learns from the queen who has come to visit her, that she is to be executed to save her country from being devastated by the king's brother and to prevent all Italy from rising in revolt. Felipa resolves to die bravely and philosophically and she and the queen take a touching leave of one another. As Felipa is led to the block, the queen rushes out to plead for her favorite's life. She is too late, as she finds but the head and headless body of Felipa—*El monstruo de la fortuna.*

THIS PLAY in *Parte XXIV* of *Escogidas* is attributed to three authors, one of whom, as the text informs us in the final apostrophe to the audience, is Rojas. Most critics name Calderón and Montalván as his collaborators, attributing the first act to Calderón,

the second to Montalván, and the last to Rojas. Hartzenbusch, Schaeffer,[1] Bacon,[2] and Cotarelo[3] all concur in this respect, but Menéndez y Pelayo is of the opinion that the usual arguments employed in attributing Acts I and II to Calderón and Montalván, respectively, have little weight.[4]

La Barrera[5] lists the following: (a) *Monstruo de la fortuna* (*La Reina Juana de Nápoles*).—Lope. (Printed in *Parte VI* of his works.) (b) *Monstruo de la fortuna: la lavandera de Nápoles, Felipa Catanea.*—Tres ingenios: Calderón, Montalbán, y Rojas Zorrilla. Does he refer to *Escogidas, XXIV?* See Schack's list, Appendix, III:533. (c) *Monstruo de la fortuna: La lavandera de Nápoles, Felipa Catanea.*—Tres ingenios: Rojas Zorrilla, Don Antonio Coello, y Luis Vélez de Guevara. Did La Barrera get this ascription from Fajardo's index? Elsewhere[6] he associates Vélez with one act of *El monstruo de la fortuna, la lavandera de Nápoles: Felipa Catanea* (con Rojas Zorrilla y don Antonio Coello [but he adds:] Anónima. Diversa de la que está en las *Partes séptima, y veinte y cuatro,* que es de Calderón, Montalván y Rojas. [This is a confusion on his part between Lope's play, attributed to *tres ingenios* in *Escogidas, Parte VII,* under the title, *El monstruo de la fortuna,* and the play with the same title in *Escogidas, Parte XXIV.*]

It seems unlikely that Rojas would collaborate in two plays (b and c) on the same subject. Moreover, the editions we have seen of the play in the Biblioteca Nacional all publish it simply as "de tres ingenios."[7] J. Cejador y Frauca[8] lists a play entitled, *El monstruo de la fortuna, la lavandera de Nápoles,* attributing it to Luis Vélez, Coello, and Rojas, adding that it was published in the *Ramillete,* 1672; in this he copies the old mistake made by La Barrera in confusing the two plays printed respectively in *Parte VII*

[1] *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas,* II:285.

[2] "Life and Works of Montalbán," *Rev. Hisp.,* XXVI:433.

[3] *D. Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla* (Madrid, 1911), p. 192.

[4] *Obras de Lope de Vega,* VI:cxxx; see also Restori, *Zeitschr.,* XXIII:452.

[5] *Cat.,* p. 565b.

[6] *Cat.,* p. 468.

[7] *La Gran Comedia, El Monstruo de la Fortuna, la Lavandera de Nápoles. Phelipa Catanea. De Tres Ingenios.* Published without date or license. *El Monstruo de la Fortuna, y Lavandera de Nápoles. De Tres Ingenios. Con licencia* (Barcelona, Pedro Escuder, 1757).

[8] *Historia de la Lengua y Literatura* (Madrid, 1916), IV:223.

and *Parte XXIV* of *Escogidas.*[9] The collection entitled *Ramillete,* 1672, which contains only *saynetes,* as far as we know (see La Barrera, p. 715b), is not accessible and there is no means of verifying Cejador's citation. From a study of *El monstruo de la fortuna,* printed in *Escogidas, Parte XXIV,* we are unable to give any definite opinion about the identity of Rojas' collaborators. The fact that Rojas wrote several plays in collaboration with Vélez de Guevara and Coello makes it probable that the present play was written in collaboration with these two contemporaries, especially as Act II has numerous traits of the style of our author. The similarity to Calderón in Act I may be an imitation of his style and sentiments by some other dramatist, for it is well known that the Spanish writers of the seventeenth century had no scruples in copying from one another. The first act is poorly and loosely constructed, but it possesses some lines of real poetic beauty. Act II, which may be by Vélez, is unquestionably the best.

The story deals with an incident in the life of Joanna I (1327–1382), queen of Naples, whose husband, Andrew of Hungary, was assassinated at Aversa in 1345. Suspicion at once fell upon Joanna, but no proof was obtained that she shared in the perpetration of the crime. Soon after the murder of Andrew, his brother, King Luis of Hungary, invaded Naples, and Joanna was forced to flee to Provence, whence, through the mediation of the pope, peace was made between them. Philippa Cattanea was a Sicilian woman of humble origin who rose to be an intimate confidant of the queen. She became involved in the king's murder and paid the penalty with her life.

Lope was the first of the Spanish playwrights to see the dramatic possibilities of this story. His *La reina Juana de Nápoles*[10] deals only with the assassination of Andrew and Joanna's love for Louis, son of the prince of Taranto, whom she married soon after the murder of her first husband. The authors of *El monstruo de la fortuna* borrowed certain incidents from Lope, but derived their

[9] ". . . diferente de la que está en las partes 7a y 24, que es de Calderón, Montalván, y Rojas." *Ibid.,* IV:223. But Cejador has a loose way of citing titles and as there were several *Ramilletes* of plays, he may refer to some other volume which we have not seen.

[10] Published in the *Sexta Parte* of his *Comedias* (1615). In *Parte VII* of *Comedias Escogidas* (1654), it was published under the title of *El monstruo de la fortuna* and attributed to *tres ingenios.* See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios, etc.,* II:300ff.

chief inspiration from Juan Pablo Martyr Rizo's *Historia de la prosperidad infeliz de Felipa Catanea, la labandera de Nápoles* (Madrid, 1625),[11] a translation from the French of Pierre Mathieu. Mathieu follows Book IX, Chapter XVI, of Giovanni Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium.* As the title indicates, the heroine of *El monstruo de la fortuna, la lavandera de Nápoles,* is Philippa, the main interest centering in her rise and fall and her share in the death of the king.

In Lope's play Philippa is not one of the characters and the interest centers in the queen and her unhappy life with Andrew. The two plays therefore have in common only those events concerned with Joanna's difficulties with her husband, but the data utilized by the collaborators of *El monstruo de la fortuna* in developing their plot were taken mainly from the above-mentioned translation of Juan Pablo Martyr Rizo. A play listed as *La lavandera de Italia*[12] is known to have been in existence in 1636. This may have been identical with *El monstruo de la fortuna.*

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[11] There is a *segunda impression* (Madrid, 1736) in the Biblioteca Nacional.

[12] José Sánchez Arjona, *Anales, etc.,* p. 311.