

SECTION FOUR

LOVE AND CLASS BARRIERS



CHAPTER SEVEN

EL VERGONEZOSO EN PALACIO. SHAME.



"amor,  
que sabe humillar los altos  
y ensalzar a los humildes."  
(El vergonzoso en palacio. III.xxviii)

El vergonzoso en palacio is one of Tirso's best known comedies. A number of interesting studies have been written on it, and there is little I can add to them.<sup>1</sup> I include it among the plays I am examining in this thesis merely to show that it fits into a pattern which can be discerned in a number of Tirso's plays. I shall therefore touch briefly on two of its aspects: its social thesis and the figure of the timid lover.

Since El vergonzoso is one of Tirso's early plays, it is clear that he was interested almost from the beginning of his dramatic career in exploring the problem of social relationships.<sup>2</sup> The way in which his handling of this theme develops is interesting in a number of ways.<sup>3</sup> The portrayal of Mireno is naturally of crucial importance here.

The social elevation of the "shepherd" is one of the central features of the comedy. From a lowly position which he abandons, urged on by his inner conviction that he is destined for nobler things, he rises steadily in the social scale until he becomes the husband of a Duke's daughter, discovering immediately afterwards that he is himself the son of a Duke. The story follows a traditional pattern often found in literature (Gil Vicente's Don Duardos is an obvious example), and it obviously has all the elements of romance, but it is interesting to note that the revelation of Mireno's real identity comes after the love-tryst, which emphasises the fact that the match is a socially unequal one. The Duke, of course, is at first furious:<sup>4</sup>

MAGDALENA: El Cielo y amor me han dado  
esposo, aunque humilde y pobre,  
discreto, mozo y gallardo.  
DUQUE: ¿qué dices, loca? ¿Pretendes  
que te mate?  
MAGDALENA: El secretario



[MAGDALENA:] - Sí; mas la desigualdad  
que hay, señora, entre los dos  
me acobarda. - Amor, ¿no es dios?  
- Sí, señora. - Pues hablad;  
que sus absolutas leyes  
saben abatir monarcas,  
e igualar con las abarcas  
las coronas de los reyes  
III.viii. p.481a.

And again:

[MAGDALENA:] ¿Mas que sé que os causa celos  
el Conde de Vasconcelos?  
- Háceme desesperar;  
que es, señora, vuestro igual  
y heredero de Berganza.  
- La igualdad y semejanza  
no está en que sea principal,  
o humilde y pobre el amante;  
sino en la conformidad  
del alma y la voluntad.  
III.viii. p.481a-b.

Secondly, when she has to face her irate father:

Ya le ha igualado  
a mi calidad amor.  
III.xxviii. p.496a.

This is so because love is a basic principle of the whole universe:

[MAGDALENA:] Decidme, ¿tenéis amor?  
¿De qué os ponéis colorado?  
¿qué vergüenza os ha turbado?  
Responded, dejá el temor;  
que el amor es un tributo  
y una deuda natural  
en cuantos viven, igual  
desde el ángel hasta el bruto.  
Si esto es verdad, ¿para qué  
os avergonzáis así?  
III.viii. p.480b.

But her love is not bestowed unworthily. It is Mireno's noble action in refusing to betray the man he has succoured which makes Magdalena notice him. The function of most of the action in which Mireno is involved in the first act is clearly to illustrate his moral nobility. He is prepared to defend Ruy, exchanges clothes with him, sends him to Lauro who will protect him, and refuses to give the Duke any information which may lead to Ruy's arrest. This nobility of

character proves the soundness of his aspiration to social nobility, which he will at the end achieve. That this elevation is part of the divine plan is indicated by the religious overtones of the comedy, of which the quotation at the head of this chapter (not to mention the names of some of the characters) is only one example. Often, Biblical and religious references are used for comic effect. Thus, Juana humorously tells Antonio:

Paso; que tienes talle de casarme  
con el Papa, según estás sin seso.  
II.ix. p.464a.

And Tarso, overcome by fear, moves from the fleshpots of Egypt to:

Si me cuelgan y hago un Judas,  
sin haber Judas lacayo,  
¿no he de llorar y temer?  
Hoy me cuelgan del cogollo.  
I.xiii. p.452a.

Throughout the play this religious atmosphere persists delicately but evidently enough in the background in both the language and the situations. Casaldueiro has drawn our attention to this in his article, where he points out that Mireno's social elevation has religious associations, and this is delicately underlined in the following comic exchange:

MAGDALENA: ¿Sois noble?  
MIRENO: Creo  
que sí, según lo que veo  
en mi honrado natural,  
que muestra más que hay en mí.  
MAGDALENA: ¿Y darán las obras vuestras,  
si fuere menester, muestras  
que sois noble?  
MIRENO: Creo que sí:  
nunca de hacellas dejé.  
MAGDALENA: Creo, decís a cualquier punto;  
¿creéis acaso que os pregunto  
artículos de la fe?  
II.iv. p.459a-b.

The theme of social rank being divinely conferred as the reward of virtue is taken up again by Tirso in Ventura te dé Dios, hijo, a point to which I shall return later.

Closely linked to the theme of the search for identity in El vergonzoso is the associated theme of appearances versus reality. Its basic manifestation in the play is, of course, disguise. Casaldueiro, Glenn and Ayala have all drawn attention to the importance of disguise and dress in this play. Here I would only stress the obvious point that there is a direct correlation between identity and disguise. As in El amor médico, the assumption of disguise reveals the true personality. This is so because, at the beginning, "normal" dress, as is clear from the way the play develops, is only a sort of disguise, a cocoon out of which the true person must issue. As Casaldueiro points out, on referring to Mireno's soliloquy in I.xi, it is the master of the horse who adorns it with rich trappings. Thus Mireno, Lauro, and Ruy shed their pastoral dress. Mireno's disguise turns out to be his real dress, his courtly clothes bring out or accentuate his innate nobility, while Tarso's newly acquired "calzas" only make it evident that he is a country bumpkin.

Perhaps in connexion with Serafina's disguise, a minor addition may be made to Casaldueiro's words: "La estética del Renacimiento y del Barroco se declara en la representación de Serafina: para ser buen actor lo importante no es sentir, sino saber fingir." (pp. 98-9). At the same time, it is significant to note how often in this play the borderline between feigning and actuality becomes blurred. Serafina is acting, but the part she is acting is real enough. It is clear that Serafina's disguise brings out her masculinity, and the symbolic connotations of her male disguise are made even clearer at the end of the rehearsal when she says:

SERAFINA: Ven, Doña Juana; que quiero vestirme sobre este traje el mío, hasta que sea tiempo de representar.

II.xiv. p.472a.

As we realise, the play is one in which Antonio-Dionís, also, will take part.

The play-acting motif, like the disguise motif, is linked to the underlying theme of appearances and reality. That these last should be made to correspond, in fulfilment of the divine plan, is one of the aims of the play. The motif is again present in Magdalena's feigned dream: here all that is feigned is the state of dreaming; the "dream" itself is real. F. Ayala has commented on the subtlety of this device, (condemned as childish elsewhere,<sup>7</sup>) in his article previously mentioned, where he stresses the parallelism and contrasts between this scene and Serafina's rehearsal. In both cases, the fiction is a convenient way of circumventing social conventions which inhibit the free expression of one's personality. From Serafina's comments such as:

JUANA: ¿Que aquesto de veras haces?  
 ¿Que en verte así no te ofendas?  
 SERAFINA: Fiestas de Carnestolendas  
 todas paran en disfraces.  
 Desécome entretener  
 deste modo; no te asombre  
 que apetezca el traje de hombre,  
 ya que no lo puedo ser.  
 JUANA: Paréceslo de manera,  
 que me enamoro de ti.

II.xiv. p.467b.

one would be inclined to suspect that her acting is as deliberate and as conscious as Magdalena's "dreaming". The dream scene also tells Mireno how he should act. One wonders whether Calderón's use of the dream in La vida es sueño owed anything to Tirso's use of the device in his plays, a device which I shall again discuss in my analysis of Mari-Hernández la gallega.<sup>8</sup>

The points made above concerning the relation of persona to person should throw some light on the Antonio-Serafina intrigue. Glenn has brought out the contrast established by Tirso between Mireno and

Antonio, although his judgment on Antonio as a self-indulgent man, intent only on satisfying his pleasure and his lust seems to me a bit too harsh. Casaldueiro's view seems more tempered and just. Antonio is motivated by love of beauty; like Mireno, he is conscious of his own deficiencies - especially after his rejection by Serafina. The deception he practises on Serafina is, of course, wrong. But it is a fiction which, as Casaldueiro says, allows him to achieve "la finalidad de su vida" (p.107). It is also significant that his "lie" coincides with the truth about Mireno. Both sisters, then, love "Don Dionís", which creates for the Duke a moment of excitement at the end. But this makes it clear why no name but D. Dionís would have done for Antonio's lie. The name is at the end to be assigned to the person whom it designates in reality. Antonio-Dionís is no more than a fiction. That Serafina surrenders to a fiction is her punishment. But her mercurial temperament, referred to by Casaldueiro, leads us to hope that she will love Antonio. Not for nothing is she called Serafina, and Antonio, too, has humbled himself in order to attain her love. At all events, it is through a fiction (Antonio's deliberate deception of Serafina, Serafina's self-deception born of narcissism) that these two characters must find fulfilment. As Casaldueiro points out, Serafina finds her punishment in her flaw. But in her punishment, too, lies her salvation - her escape from sterile self-love.

There is another aspect of the play which I would touch on briefly. Love is the basic motivating principle in the play. And it is love which provides us with one of the more delicate satirical touches in the play. Attention has already been drawn to this by Casaldueiro when he says with reference to Tarso's comment on Mireno's love, "hecho de vergüenza, lo cual, partiendo del refrán, sirve para

alejara esta figura del ambiente petrarquista ideal del osar y temer y situarlo en la sociedad ideal madrileña del XVII. Es el gracioso el que alude al refrán y vemos <sup>así</sup> cómo el amante petrarquista es leve y delicadamente caricaturizado. Caricatura que basta para hacerla surgir con que se coloque la figura individualmente abstracta del XIV italiano en el medio social del Barroco español" (p.102).

Indeed, Tirso's treatment of love in this play consists of the juxtaposition of the courtly ideal and the Christian social ideal of the seventeenth century. This reveals both the absurdity of the former and the inadequacy of the actual social attitude. I have already touched on this last when discussing Mireno's social exaltation. The gentle ridicule of the courtly ideal provides the literary satire in the play.

The courtly ideal expected the lover to be both bold and timid, as Casaldueiro says. That, of course, in his amorous relationship; for Mireno is by no means lacking in audacity either in his ambitions or when questioned by the Duke. But in his relationship with Magdalena, he is singularly timid. Various factors contribute to this. There is, first, the natural male timidity in romantic love, identified by G. Mancini and E. Calderà in their articles in Studi tirsiani. This is the psychological factor. Next, there is the social factor, which is very important. Mireno is conscious of his social inferiority, which he admits to himself:

[MIRENO:]

Pero mi bajeza  
no se puede persuadir  
que vuele y llegue a subir  
al Cielo de tal belleza.  
II.v. p.461a.

Magdalena, too, recognises this factor, as we have seen, and tells him to disregard it. And their marriage infuriates the Duke. Finally, there is the "nobility" of Mireno's love, pointed out by Casaldueiro,

but a nobility conditioned by the courtly love conventions. By these, Mireno is required to serve and worship the woman he loves, hope to receive favours and at the same time hope he will not. The lady's complementary attitude is to encourage and simultaneously discourage the suitor. This perversity is intended, naturally, to egg him on; but Mireno takes Magdalena's discouragements too seriously, which can only be explained by his own sense of inferiority and the fact that he is not expert enough in courtly ways to interpret the message correctly. As a result, he acts unnaturally and exasperates Magdalena.

This means that the feminine Magdalena must assume a much more active or aggressive rôle than is normally to be expected from the Petrarchan woman. To overcome Mireno's perverse shyness is a task which exercises her ingenuity. Her coquettish discouragements being counter-productive, she has to be ever more explicit in her encouragement and more liberal of her favours. Even the dream-scene still leaves Mireno doubting, and she has to chide him in the lesson-scene, which bears a certain resemblance to the "swearing scene" in Marta la piadosa. Thus the delicate courtly balance between male boldness and timidity and female reticence and generosity is disturbed, and we get a slight shift towards caricature. But this deviation from the literary ideal is an approximation to a more realistic one: the love-affair is not a game, and it ends in Magdalena's direct invitation to Mireno.

The mirror reflection, so to speak, of this relationship is to be found in the Antonio-Serafina relationship. Here, again, there is a shift towards extremes. Antonio, under the nominal cloak of D. Dionís, is more bold than timid; Serafina is more prone to withhold her favours than to grant them. But again the relationship is a serious one and it nicely balances the other. As has been pointed

out, Serafina finds her punishment in her own flaw. This is the irony of her fate.

A few words on the structure of the play would perhaps not come amiss. It has been criticised in the past as faulty, and even more modern critics tend to see a certain lack of unity in the play.<sup>9</sup> That these have judged the play by unsuitable criteria has been made clear by Casaldueiro's brilliant analysis of its structure. Several critics have drawn attention to the similarity between some features of El vergonzoso and those of other plays of Tirso's.<sup>10</sup> I would only add a few observations here.

The first act of El vergonzoso has met with Hartzzenbusch's disapproval: he would have preferred the play to begin at I.xvi. Casaldueiro has demonstrated the thematic connexion between the opening scenes and the rest of the play. It is clear that the harmonic structure rather than the fable itself is what we ought to concentrate on. As I have been trying to argue, it is an essential feature of Tirso's dramatic technique to use an asyndetic plot-structure in order to force the mind to concentrate on the thematic motifs of the play. In so far, therefore, as the first act of El vergonzoso can, on the level of the intrigue, be regarded as background exposition, with the intrigue proper beginning in Act II, the structure of this play follows the same pattern as that of El amor médico. But in both plays, the apparently irrelevant scenes are of fundamental importance in the harmonic structure of the play. They introduce motifs which it is the business of the play to develop and explore: the motifs of love, deceit, misconception (and a consequent jumping to conclusion), search for identity, and so on.<sup>11</sup>

The social exaltation of the hero and the foundation of social nobility on virtue are themes which are developed, more explicitly

perhaps, in Ventura te dé Dios, hijo. But whereas the development of the plot in El vergonzoso is carried along, on one level at least, by psychological motivation (i.e., love) and the conventions of romance, these are rejected in Ventura te dé ... in order to draw attention to the workings of Providence, which, as Casaldüero has pointed out, remain in the background in El vergonzoso. The sentimental atmosphere of romance in El vergonzoso is replaced by the highly ironical handling of the more satirical Ventura te dé ..., where the efforts of Césaró, for example, are consistently counter-productive.

There is thus a significant difference between El vergonzoso and Ventura te dé ..., namely, the fact that the social thesis in the former is attenuated, and from this point of view, Da. Blanca's comment is apt. The early hint that Mireno is noble - cf. Tarso's words:

Trájole su padre aquí  
pequeño, y bien sabéis vos  
que murmuran más de dos,  
aunque vive y anda así,  
que debajo del sayal  
que le sirve de corteza,  
se encubre alguna nobleza  
con que se honra Portugal.

I.vi. pp.444b-445a.

- means that the emphasis is on the process of self-discovery, proper to the romance, in which the prearranged order is to be discovered. The artificiality of the ending is part of the artifice of the play and the world it reflects, and arouses our wonder at the ultimate justice of things. In Ventura te dé ..., the emphasis shifts to the process of self-creation: the need to prove oneself worthy of one's position, seen as tenuously present in El vergonzoso by Casaldüero, is much stronger here. Otón has to win through to nobility: it is not there to be claimed; rather is it to be merited. In Otón's world, more

realistic, less ideal (the palacio/bosque opposition so rightly stressed by Casaldueiro in El vergonzoso is absent in Ventura te dé ..., where the Duke's court is as much a centre for intrigue as it is a symbolic judgment-place), there is no "hidden plan" necessarily to be discovered. There is the need, but it must be earned. There is an order, but it must be with effort imposed. There is a harder edge to this play, set in a harsher world. Perhaps one may discern here a hint of a shift towards a more pessimistic view in the later play, where humans are so perverse that God must intervene in order to ensure that justice is done. (This is the same view we find in El burlador de Sevilla.)

The theme of self-creation, more "realistic", more socially oriented, was obviously more attractive to Tirso. It is this problematic form of drama, more obviously concerned with social problems, with which he was mainly concerned in his final period: La prudencia en la mujer, Antona García, Ventura te dé ... are obvious examples. But the note had already been sounded in earlier plays.

.....

I should like to add a few brief remarks here on two other plays: El castigo del pensuero and its sequel, Quien calla, ortega.<sup>12</sup> Caro Baroja, in a highly interesting essay, remarks that timidity in a man, in a heterosexual relationship, is generally ridiculed: "For even in the plays of Tirso de Molina we find another figure, that of El vergonzoso en palacio, which shows how in a young man an excessive sense of shame was not highly esteemed by many women, who made a mock of him."<sup>13</sup> This remark is even truer of El castigo and its sequel. Whereas in El vergonzoso Mireno does in the end win

Magdalena, thanks to her direct invitation, Rodrigo loses the Countess Diana in El castigo because of his own hesitancy (hence his nickname, "el penséque"). In Quien calla, otorga, he very nearly loses Aurora, but, made wiser by his earlier humiliation, wins a Marchioness as his wife. In these plays, then, and especially the first, the figure of the timid lover is clearly satirised.<sup>14</sup>

But, as in El vergonzoso, there is another element in the hero's timidity: this is his awareness of the woman's superior social status. This leads to his loss of a Countess in El castigo. Two points arise from this. First, this loss is only a temporary setback, for, in the sequel, as I have mentioned, he betters his fortunes by marrying a Marchioness. Secondly, he is not the only one in El castigo who is frustrated: Diana, also, who loves him, is obliged to marry Casimiro, whom she does not love. But since the invitation was to be given to him who loved her more than himself, she was obliged to accept as her husband the recipient of her letter. In other words, she has unwittingly set a trap for herself. She is punished twice over: she loses the man she loves, and has to marry a man she does not love.

There is an interesting point here, but to see all the implications it will be necessary to try and date El castigo. Miss Kennedy has argued that Quien calla, otorga was written between December, 1619 and March, 1624, and probably in 1623.<sup>15</sup> It was produced by Olmedo, who was in Madrid in 1621-1622.<sup>16</sup> This therefore supports Miss Kennedy's dating. W. E. Wilson, in his article, assumes that El castigo "was written not many months before". Da. Blanca, however, argues that the play was written in 1613-14. There is one fact which may help us to date the play with some degree of accuracy. It was produced by Heredia.

Now, according to Cotarelo (pp.206-7), Heredia was not an autor after 1617. Since Tirso left for Santo Domingo early in 1616, the terminus ad quem for El castigo would seem to be early 1616 or late 1615. But we can perhaps narrow down the probable period of composition still further.

In Quien calla, oborga, Chinchilla refers to the fame of El castigo:

Yo la vi en Guadalajara  
representar a Balbín;  
y en saliendo con sus calzas,  
hecho lacayo Chinchilla,  
subióseme la mostaza  
a las narices, y estuve  
por darle una cuchillada.  
I.vii. p.1420a.

This may refer to a later performance of Tirso's play, but if it does refer to one of the early ones, it must have been to a period when Balbín was not an autor. Like Heredia, Balbín was autor between 1603 and 1615.<sup>17</sup> On April 8th, 1615, permission was given to Heredia to be autor for two years, but not to Balbín. It may be that El castigo was staged some time between April, 1615 and early 1616 if Balbín joined Heredia's company for a time. (I have no evidence which would confirm this. Later on, Balbín was again autor.) In any case, it seems reasonable to assume that El castigo was written before early 1616, probably in 1615.

The terminus a quo seems to be provided by internal evidence. In the first place, there is an obvious reference to Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares and the second part of Don Quixote in I.x. p.686b.<sup>18</sup> Secondly, there is a clear reference, in II.viii. p.701b, to Lope's El perro del hortelano (1613).<sup>19</sup>

But Tirso does not only mention Lope's play. He seems to be deliberately establishing a connexion between the two plays. The

woman courted by Rodrigo is Diana, a Countess who is not over fond of men. She is in love with her secretary. Both are conscious of the social barrier to their love, and this interferes with their relationship. The secretary keeps another girl as a reserve, in case his marriage to the Countess does not take place, while Diana tries to keep them apart. So she, too, adopts a dog-in-the-manger attitude. These parallels seem deliberate. Why have they been established?

That the two plays resemble each other was noted by Wade, who, however, being more interested in determining the literary sources of Tirso's comedy, plays down the significance of these parallels.<sup>29</sup> It seems to me that the full import of the resemblance is seen if we consider the themes or "points" of the plays instead of some of the situations which enter into the construction of the plot of El castigo.

As is well known, the ending of Lope's play is a skit on the conventional ending in which a surprise "discovery" ensures a happy ending. This is the ending Cervantes uses in La gitanilla and la ilustre fregona. Gil Vicente also uses it in Don Duardos. And Tirso uses it in El vergonzoso (1611). It seems that Lope's ending, on the one hand, may be connected with Rodrigo Calderón's "discovery" in 1612 that he was the bastard son of the Duke of Alba (a point whose implications I shall look at again in my analysis of La elección por la virtud), and, on the other, with the type of ending found in El vergonzoso. The conclusion seems inescapable that El castigo is a sort of "reply" to Lope's play. The two authors seem to have been playing a sort of game. Let me elaborate briefly on that.

In El vergonzoso, Tirso stresses the importance of personal

merit and moral virtue. Mireno is rewarded with the daughter of a Duke as his wife and with the discovery that he, too, is the son of a Duke, which, at the same time, resolves the social problem. The ending is artificial and proper to the romance.

In El perro, Teodoro is intellectually and, to some extent, morally superior to his rivals. Here, he genuinely loves and is loved by Diana. The triumph of love means a conscious flouting of social conventions. A solution is also found through an unexpected "discovery". But this is a fiction. It is an invented discovery.

In El castigo, we get the same situation as in El perro. But Tirso's later play seems to be a burlesque of Lope's (itself a burlesque of the type of play such as El vergonzoso). In El castigo, both the hero and the heroine play a foolish game with each other: they do not deserve each other. Therefore both are frustrated. But the implications are interesting.

There is an unwitting "revelation" of identity. Diana learns that her secretary, Otón, is Don Rodrigo Girón, who belongs to one of the noblest families in Spain. This knowledge at first seems to be enough to solve their problem (and would have solved the problem in El perro): she would lose nothing socially by marrying Rodrigo. But it turns out not to be sufficient. Though there has been a genuine revelation, it has been of no help, and the game between Rodrigo and Diana continues. The ending ensures that social decorum is scrupulously maintained: Casimiro is a Count. Propriety triumphs. But that is a punishment for both Diana and Rodrigo.

It seems, then, that there is a development of a theme from Tirso's El vergonzoso, via Lope's El perro, to Tirso's El castigo and, later, Quien calla, otorga. I have been able only to trace out here

the bare outlines of this development which needs further study.

It is possible, nevertheless, that there is an additional element in Tirso's development of the figure of the shy lover, noted by E.

Calderà: this is the inter-action between Tirso and Lope. That would seem to be another reason for thinking that Calderà's argument may need some modification.

CHAPTER EIGHT

EL MELANCÓLICO AND  
ESTO SI QUE ES NEGOCIAR.

ABSURDITY.

=====  
Toda melancolía  
ingeniosa, es un ramo de manía,  
y no hay sabio que un poco,  
si a Platón damos fe, no toque en loco.  
(El melancólico. II.i)

(a) El melancólico

El melancólico, published in Tirso's Primera parte, had for long been considered one of his early plays. Da. Blanca, following Cotarelo, assigned it to the year 1611, on the assumption that it contained a reference to the prematía against coaches issued in that year.<sup>1</sup> Miss Kennedy, however, put forward a strong argument for considering El melancólico a late play, dating it c.1622-23.<sup>2</sup> The cumulative evidence she puts forward is compelling, even though one must bear in mind the reservation that El melancólico may have been an early play which underwent considerable textual revision to give us the play as we have it. Perhaps the only point (and one which carries very little weight) which would make one hesitate over the dates suggested by Miss Kennedy for the play is the absence of any satire of the culto poets. There is a fairly long passage written in culto style, viz., Rogerio's description of Leonisa when he fell in love with her (I.x), but the tone does not seem to me to be that of satire or parody. However, in the absence of any stronger evidence for an earlier date, I shall accept Miss Kennedy's dating as valid. The fact that the play was put on by the Valencianos also suggests that it is a late one, and, as I shall indicate in my analysis of Amar por arte mayor, Tirso's late style is characterised by its serious use of the culto style.

The aspect of El melancólico with which I am principally concerned is the satire contained therein of social conventions regarding class. This is effected by stressing the absurd and ridiculous nature of the situation in which the protagonist, Rogerio, finds himself. The clash between the demands of love and those of social convention, which is one of the central aspects of the play,

has been indicated by Sr. Varela Jácome and Dr. A. K. G. Paterson.<sup>3</sup>  
This social satire is also linked to the satire of a literary convention. These are the points which I propose to develop here.

The opening scene of the play introduces the vestigial sub-plot, viz., the love-intrigue between Firela and Carlín. It fades out after the end of Act II, when Firela, her mechanical function fulfilled, seems to be cast out of the play because of her moral flaws - her betrayal of her friendship for Leonisa, her willingness to be suborned by Filipo (which is linked to a sort of misguided friendship for Leonisa), her blackmailing of Carlín. The latter soldiers on to the end of the play, but, for the last act, he is without a mate (or even a thought of one, for that matter). But while the sub-plot fizzles out, it does, while it lasts, cast light on the implications and problems of the main plot.

Carlín's humorous courting of Firela sounds the principal motif of the play: love and social precedence. In the burlesque pastoral tone with which the play opens - half realistically rustic, half artificially pastoral -, his anecdote about the donkeys presents us with an embryonic version of the story to come and its central problem: love at first sight, the perfect "courtesy" of the burro, the honesty of the burra - and the resulting impasse.<sup>4</sup> The suffering that results at once foreshadows, on the farcical level, the physical beating Carlín is to receive before the act is out, and, on a more serious level, the emotional and spiritual suffering which Rogerio and Leonisa have to undergo. The absurdity of the impasse created in the main action is brought about, ironically, by the fact that Rogerio and Leonisa hold to a view of "perfect" love. In order to examine the implications of this for the plot, it will be necessary to look briefly at these characters.

El melancólico has long been singled out for special commendation on the grounds that it is a play with a "character". Hartzbusch states this quite firmly.<sup>5</sup> Da. Blanca agrees with him, although she would stress Tirso's powers of characterisation somewhat more strongly. Miss Kennedy, too, concurs. On the other hand, E. Calderà senses something mechanical, artificial in the portrayal of Rogerio: the latter is drawn, so to speak, too much according to textbook rules. The truth, as is generally the case in such situations, is probably somewhere between these two views.

There is little doubt that Tirso has laid much stress on Rogerio's character. But the obvious consequence of this should be noted: there is very little purposeful surface action in the play; most of it is desultory. That is because the action is, to a large extent, internalised: the real action is psychological, not physical, and the purposeless acts reflect an internal state of mind. The explanation for that is the fact that Rogerio's will is paralysed, the sources of action have dried up. Hence his melancholy.

Late Romantic criticism, which lasted well into this century, sought character above all in drama. The warm praise given to El melancólico, which not only has a "character", but also a melancholy one, is easily understood.<sup>6</sup> But if the commonsense view that drama is action is adopted (a view at least as old as Aristotle and more recently defended by E. Bentley<sup>7</sup>), the plot of El melancólico seems to be particularly sketchy. This is a point to which I shall return later.

The dominant feature of Rogerio's character is his melancholy, which gives the play its title. Almost invariably in Tirso, the standard cause of melancholy is unrequited or frustrated love, and

this play is no exception. Curiously enough, there is little or no sign of Rogerio's melancholy in Act I, the exposition. It is in the second act that the melancholy Rogerio appears. To the puzzled Duke, his father, he gives two main reasons for his melancholy: his unexpected luck has put him in the same category as opulent fools, and at the same time has frustrated his personal ambition to make himself, that is, to owe what he is to his own merit and efforts. (II.i).

But these, as Rogerio immediately afterwards confesses, are sophistical rationalisations: he does not resent his good luck:

ROGERIO:      Todo esto es, Leonisa mía,  
                   con sofisticas razones,  
                   buscar necias ocasiones  
                   para mi melancolía.  
                   Si yo no te viera el día  
                   que perdí mi libertad,  
                   fuera esta prosperidad  
                   el colmo de mi contento:  
                   ya sin ti, será tormento  
                   la más regia voluntad.  
                                   II.iii. p.235b.

He is melancholy because he is in love and his newly acquired social status makes its fulfilment impossible:

[ROGERIO:]    Perdíte; ya no es posible,  
                   en desiguales estados,  
                   dar alivio a mis cuidados,  
                   ni ver tu rostro apacible;  
                   pues amar un imposible  
                   será eterno padecer;  
                   no amarte, no puede ser;  
                   pues, amarte, y no esperar  
                   padecer, y no olvidar,  
                   es morir y no poder.  
                                   II.iii. p.235b.

(Here we see the beginnings of Tirso's new, "Calderonian" manner, which I shall consider at greater length in my chapter on Amar por arte mayor.) The son of a Duke, he can no longer marry the peasant-girl, Leonisa. It is thus the frustration of his love which

brings out his melancholy.

Rogério is, of course, susceptible to melancholy precisely because he is intelligent and learned. This is important, because it throws some light on the nature of his predicament. There is a constant stress on Rogério's great learning from the beginning. He is introduced indirectly at first, the audience being prepared for his entry by Leonisa's and Firela's discussion of him in I.ii. The quality they emphasise most is his great learning. The fantastic, Gargantuan scope of his education is made clear when he at last enters with his supposed father and teacher, Pinardo (I.iii). As the latter here points out, there is nothing which Rogério does not know.

But, Pinardo insists, he is not yet a perfect, i.e., a complete, man. While the rational side of Rogério has been developed fully, his emotional side has remained dormant, if not stunted. This latter should also be developed, and Pinardo quotes Plato in support of his argument:

[PINARDO:] Si el filósofo admirable  
 llamó animal racional  
 al hombre, Platón, su igual,  
 le llama animal sociable.  
 El que no es comunicable  
 no es hombre, según Platón,  
 y siguiendo su opinión,  
 te hará tanta sequedad  
 bruto por la voluntad,  
 aunque hombre por la razón.  
 I.iii. p.224b.

The crucial rôle of love in the development and perfection of man is thus stressed. At this point, Pinardo urges Rogério to practise on the village girls:

[PINARDO:] y un discreto, si lo ignoras,  
 llamaba a las labradoras  
 espadas negras de amor.  
 I.iii. p.224b.

This attitude has ugly undertones, the least offensive of which is the

social arrogance of class. Rogerio, too, is not innocent of such arrogance, but his contempt for the village girls is a question not so much of social pride as of intellectual conceit:

ROGERIO: Aquí, señor, no hay sujeto  
 en que lograr esperanzas,  
 ni entre groseras labranzas  
 mi amor halla igual objeto.  
 Si me tienes por discreto,  
 y amor es similitud,  
 ¿por qué culpas la quietud  
 que en mi libertad desprecias?  
 ¿Es bien que serranas necias  
 malogren mi juventud?  
 Viva el alma libre y franca,  
 pues en su estudio me alegra.  
 I.iii. p.224b.

Besides, Venus and Minerva are incompatible:

ROGERIO: Entre el amor y el desdén  
 mal la ciencia se conserva,  
 porque Venus y Minerva  
 jamás se llevaron bien.  
 Ojos que hermosura ven  
 contra pasiones confusas,  
 no hallan a su daño excusas,  
 pues su ocupación distinta,  
 deshonesta a Venus pinta  
 y vírgenes a las Musas.  
 I.iv. p.225a.

Rogerio's attitude soon undergoes a drastic change when he falls madly in love with the villana, Leonisa:

ROGERIO: Es precipitado  
 amor. Vine, vi y perdí  
 la libertad, no el cuidado.  
 Ya juzgaré por mejor  
 potencia la voluntad  
 que el entendimiento: Amor  
 de su noble facultad  
 hoy me ha hecho profesor:  
 desde hoy cursaré su escuela.  
 I.x. p.227b.

So drastic, indeed, that the violence of his passion amazes and even frightens Finardo, who argues that Rogerio is not to go from one extreme to another, but to love in moderation. He should not take his love too seriously - it is, for Finardo, only a technical emotional

exercise (I.x). But Rogerio is too far gone: he cannot love by halves. Ironically, at the precise moment at which he gives his heart to Leonisa and promises to be hers, the Duke, his real father (as it turns out) has other plans for him.

These, principally, are his transfer to the court, his legitimisation, and his marriage to Clemencia. The first means only a separation from Leonisa, and is but the first test to which his love will be put. The second two are much more severe ones. With Rogerio's new life, there begins a conflict which, as Dr. Paterson has stated, by putting his love to the test, teaches him about the true nature of love - love as Christian charity.

Here, I am more interested in the nature of this inner conflict, the particular form which it takes in the context of the play. It is, at bottom, a conflict between those two fundamental aspects of man, the rational and the emotional. While learning characterises the "animal racional" that is man, it is love which perfects him as an "animal sociable" by awakening his soul. If the fundamental necessity of love is postulated, there arises a genuine conflict in the wise man, which can be formulated thus: how can the wise man bring himself to subordinate reason to passion? It turns out, at the end of the play, that there was no real conflict between these two. This may seem to suggest that the conflict was artificially set up so that Rogerio's love could be tested. I shall return to this presently, but first I should like to examine the causes of the inner conflict.

Rogerio, to perfect himself, falls in love. But when he reveals to Pinardo that the woman he loves is their vassal, Leonisa, Pinardo is disturbed. He warns Rogerio not to take his love too seriously, especially since Leonisa is his social inferior:

[PINARDO:] y el amor que agora adquieres  
 en cosa tan desigual,  
 de tu noble natural  
 te ha de hacer que degeneres;  
 I.x. p.228b.

However, Rogerio tosses this warning aside: for him, the distance between a caballero and a villana is not too great for his love to bridge.

Yet, when he becomes a Duke, Rogerio, in spite of precedents, cannot allow himself to marry Leonisa. In this decision, his intellect plays the crucial part. Yet there is more than a hint of intellectual arrogance in his self-esteem:

[ROGERIO:] Si yo de Pinardo fuera  
 hijo, cual pensé, y te amara,  
 cuando a mi ser te igualara,  
 poco tu suerte subiera.  
 Soy Duque: ¡ay, fortuna fiera!  
 tormentos con honras das:  
 ya yo sé que igualado has,  
 midiendo amorosas leyes,  
 los pastores a los reyes;  
 mas yo soy sabio, que es más.  
 En cuanto rey, no era mucho  
 llevarme de mi pasión;  
 en cuanto sabio, es acción  
 en que mi deshonra escucho.

II.iii. pp.235b-236a.

At the same time, while refusing to marry Leonisa, because of her social inferiority (or, rather, his newly acquired superiority), he is also unwilling to marry his social equal, Clemencia, because he still loves Leonisa and means to be faithful to her.

This highly intellectual approach to what is a vital problem lands Rogerio in an insoluble dilemma. For most of the time he refuses to question the pre-eminence of reason. This is why his "wisdom" is continually stressed in the play. He firmly persists in using his intellect as his guiding force. In II.iv, his refusal to be annoyed by Enrique's insults and his dignified response to them is a clear example of that. Another, perhaps even more interesting, example is

found in the episode of his "homework" on the court suitors he has to deal with in III.ii-iv. He gets his secretary, Filipo, to obtain information about the suitors so that he can deal justly with them. This allows him to impress his audience enormously, and one suspects that this episode may have been intended as an object lesson in kingship for Philip IV. Compare the following lines:

ROGERIO: Pretendo saber las faltas  
que tienen los pretendientes  
de mi corte y de mi casa;  
que aunque es bien premiar servicios,  
no será razón que se haga  
menos que con suficiencia  
de las partes.

FILIPO: La ignorancia,  
señor, y poca noticia  
de algunos príncipes causa  
que sin méritos se den  
injustamente las plazas.  
III.ii. p.249a.

Yet, in spite of his enormous intellectual control of himself, Rogerio's passions at times threaten to get the better of him. The enigmatic words he addresses to Filipo in I.vi, soon after the scene with the suitors, provide one instance when his strong passions (in this case jealousy) seem to break through his iron control. The speech, though enigmatic, contains a sinister threat:

ROGERIO: Filipo, la juventud  
también es enfermedad:  
disposiciones curad,  
sangraréis en salud.  
Corales que adornan cuellos,  
no generosos, villanos,  
afrentan los cortesanos:  
sangre muestra, sangraos dellos.

FILIPO: Señor, la que los perdió  
gusta.

ROGERIO: Yo soy vuestro amigo:  
que os sangréis dellos os digo;  
no aguardéis que os sangre yo.  
III.vi. p.252a.

Rogerio recognises immediately afterwards that his passions are hard to control:

ROGERIO: Por más que callar procuro,  
habla mi desasosiego;  
que en fin, donde amor es fuego,  
brotan celos, que son humo.  
III.vi. p.252b.

Therefore, when Filipo spills ink instead of sand on the letter he has written to Clemencia, it is further proof of his enormous self-control that he does not use that as an excuse for inflicting a severe punishment on Filipo in order to give vent to his feelings of jealousy.

But there are obvious limitations to an intellectual approach to life. In contrast to an early play like La elección por la virtud, where there is an exaltation of learning, in a number of later plays Tirso seems to express a certain disillusionment with learning: El amor médico and Ventura te dé Dios, hijo, analysed in earlier chapters, are obvious examples. This disillusionment seems to be present in El melancólico as well.

There is, without doubt, a positive side to Rogerio's intellectual approach to life. The conflict which it provokes allows him to learn something about love: the social obstacle to his marrying Leonisa means that this love must be a Platonic one, spiritual and unselfish, i.e., non-possessive. For love of Leonisa, he must be prepared to make what is for him the ultimate sacrifice and marry Clemencia. When he shows he is ready to do so, Leonisa's supposed father conveniently dies so that she can discover that she, too, is of noble birth. The obstacle has been an artificial one, imposed arbitrarily by the dramatist, and, consequently, the final solution is not an organic one.

But the obstacle can be seen as less artificial and more organic if we consider the negative side of Rogerio's intellectual approach to

life. It is this which leads him into one absurd situation after another and which, simultaneously, prevents him from realising the absurdity of these situations. Take, for instance, the "ultimate" sacrifice he is willing to make because of his love for Leonisa. This is noble, but, at the same time, it is, paradoxically, absurd: it entails marrying a woman he does not love and, more important, being untrue to Leonisa to whom, all through the play, he has considered himself engaged.

Once this ultimate absurdity is perceived, Rogerio's earlier actions also appear equally absurd. It is absurd for him to argue that his change in status makes it impossible for him to marry Leonisa, whom he was prepared to marry while he was only a caballero. His argument is based on the assumption that social position or status (the "dream" of Calderón's famous play) is an integral part of the individual, and that personal relationships are controlled by social factors. This argument is based on a misapprehension of values and of the nature of reality. For Rogerio, appearances are more important than reality, status and social honour more important than love and honesty in personal relationships. Ironically, it is precisely because of the importance which Rogerio gives to the intellect that he thus misconstrues reality and thinks he has incontrovertible proof of Leonisa's love for Filipo. So the wise Rogerio will not marry Leonisa, nor will he marry Clemencia. But he will not allow Filipo to court Leonisa either. He is content to settle for a perpetually hopeless love and melancholy.<sup>8</sup> Such a pure, non-sexual, Platonic love may be all very well in theory, but in practise and in reality it is little more than an absurdity. Love between a man and a woman (and this is love as passion, not friendship: Rogerio's

description of Leonisa in I.x proves that) is not intended to be an unnatural, disembodied, ether<sup>e</sup>al phenomenon.

That it is not, in any case, is proved by the fact that Rogerio is capable of experiencing intense jealousy. His love is, therefore, possessive - aggressively, but also absurdly so, since we realise that it is of the dog-in-the-manger variety. To prevent a marriage between Leonisa and Filippo (and anticipate the possibility of her falling in love with Filippo), Rogerio takes his rival with him to court, ostensibly to honour him, in reality to separate him from Leonisa. This we may agree is cunning, born of jealousy, but hardly the action of a "sabio".

An apparently, disinterested, noble act of generosity is promised when Rogerio, convinced that Leonisa returns Filippo's affections, decides to marry her to Filippo. But is this anything more than self-pity, we wonder. He dramatises the nobility of his gesture. But as he says the words, he knows that he cannot consent to it:

[ROGERIO:] Casarlos mañana intento,  
y mostrar cuán sabio soy,  
pues venciéndome a mí, doy  
corona a mi sufrimiento.  
Esto dice el pensamiento,  
mas no el amor en que excedo  
a la ley que admito y vedo.  
III.viii. p.254a.

His jealousy, too, is without foundation. Seeing Leonisa and Filippo struggling over her necklace, he jumps to conclusions. He deduces from the evidence that they are in love. But he, the wise Rogerio, is deceived. It is Leonisa who points out how fallible his reasoning is:

ROGERIO: Diréis que le aborrecéis:  
corales vi yo por trueco  
de eslabones, que, dorados,  
yugo son de vuestro cuello.  
LEONISA: También yo vi que os llamaba  
Bretaña sabio y discreto,

sin merecer este nombre,  
 quien preciándose de serlo,  
 es tan fácil en creer.  
 ROGERIO: ¿Los ojos cuándo mintieron?  
 LEONISA: Cuando no los rige el alma,  
 ni alumbra el entendimiento.  
 III.xvii. p.257a.

And surely this is the point of the play. Rogerio the wise is far from being wise, because he depends too much on his intellect. His blind confidence in its infallibility makes him ignore the desirability of subjecting its workings to dispassionate, intellectual scrutiny. And yet he seems unaware of the extent to which his intellect is influenced by his emotions. In this problem of love, the limitations of the intellect are clearly revealed. In Rogerio's misinterpretation of the struggle between Leonisa and Filipo in III.xviii, as in his refusal to marry Leonisa because of his change in status, he is committing the error of paying too much attention to external appearances, and not enough to inner reality.

Thus it is that Rogerio's ultimate professed self-sacrifice is his greatest absurdity, compounded in that it comes after he has been disabused of his jealousy and has again promised to marry Leonisa. He should have realised earlier that the real mark of a disinterested love would have been to sacrifice his own false sense of social decorum by marrying Leonisa. That would have been true humility and true love. But Rogerio loves himself too much. This is not to say that his final act is without nobility. But the trick he devises fools no one, and hardly does credit to his intelligence. The emphasis is on the ridiculing of Rogerio.

Perhaps it is convenient to point out here that Rogerio, unlike Mireno in El vergonzoso and Rodrigo in El castigo del penséque and its sequel, is not shy in love. His hesitations spring not from a sense of his own inferiority, as is the case with the other two, but

from a sense of his own superiority, or, rather, the inferiority of others. In this play, it is Filippo, rather, who is the hesitant one. Rogerio, for all his learning and wisdom, accepts society's conventions unquestioningly. Thus his dilemma arises from what he sees as a choice between two goods. The dilemma would be tragic if Rogerio were less blind. Consequently, I should hesitate to group Rogerio along with Mireno and Rodrigo, as Calderà does.

If Rogerio's ignorance in the midst of so much learning surprises us, so does Leonisa's passivity. In one crucial respect, namely, her lack of initiative and determination, she is unlike the heroic one normally associated with Tirso.<sup>9</sup> If we would look for an exemplary, pure love in the play, we should look to Leonisa's love for Rogerio.

The opening scene of the play, set in the country, is, as I have said, ambiguous in tone. This means that Leonisa can be seen both as a rustic peasant-girl and as a pastoral shepherdess. It is in her rôle as a Neo-Platonic pastoral shepherdess that Leonisa gives us a striking description of love which helps to bring into focus the central problem of the play. Her companion, Firela, is arguing that Rogerio is wise, proud, and noble: therefore Leonisa would do well to forget him and love someone who is her social equal:

[FIRELA:] Quiere a quien te quiere bien  
e imposibles locos deja,  
que del brocado y sayal  
nunca se hizo buena mezcla.  
I.ii. p.223a.

Leonisa replies magnificently:

LEONISA: ¿Pues qué importa que esté el fuego  
cebado en la tosca leña  
o en la despreciada paja?  
¿Por eso es razón que pierda  
su inclinación generosa  
y que el subir no apetezca?

Pues ¿qué importa que mi amor,  
 cebado en alma grosera,  
 humilde sujeto abrace  
 si experimento en mí mesma  
 que, a pesar de mi ser tosco,  
 subir al valor intenta  
 de Rogerio, noble y rico,  
 que es centro donde sosiega?  
 Todas las almas, amiga,  
 son iguales: la materia  
 de los cuerpos solamente  
 hacen esa diferencia.  
 Alma noble me dio el Cielo.  
 No te espantes si con ella  
 el amor, fuego con alas,  
 intenta subir y vuela.  
 A Rogerio he de adorar.

I.ii. p.223a-b.

To her, what really matter are love and the soul, which is love's province. Love is one of those human experiences, like birth and death, which cut across all social classes and prove the common humanity of all men. In a sense, it even transcends birth and death, since it is a quality of the immortal soul: it is one of the ultimate realities which man has to face. Love, then, is what encourages Leonisa to aspire to Rogerio's affections, for she, too, has a noble soul.

The events of the play do indeed prove the nobility of the soul. Leonisa, for all her theoretical boldness, seems prepared to accept the dictates of social convention, but that is so only because she is led to believe that Rogerio means to marry Clemencia. Yet she will be constant and love on. Leonisa, much more than Rogerio, is interested in perfect love in all its manifestations. In II.xiii, she upbraids Firela for debasing the love of friendship - "friend", on Leonisa's lips, is a word full of meaning:

LEONISA:                   ¿Qué desvaríos,  
                                   Firela, te descomponen,  
                                   o la lealtad, o el juicio?  
                                   ¿Tú eres mi amiga?

FIRELA:

Por serlo

esposo te solicito  
 igual, ya que no a tu estado,  
 a tu pensamiento altivo.

II.xiii. p.243b.

She then proceeds to describe her own love, pure and perfect, seeking not its own:

[LEONISA:]

Mi amor es sólo potencia  
 del alma, que no apetito;  
 y el amar por sólo amar  
 es perfección, si es martirio.  
 Que se case o no Rogerio,  
 ni con Clemencia compito  
 ni se amortiguan las llamas  
 de mi amor perfecto y limpio.

II.xiii. p.243b.

Ironically, it is because she tries to recover her necklace from Filipo in II.xviii, convinced that to allow him to retain it would constitute a blot on her love for Rogerio, that she gives rise to Rogerio's suspicions and jealousy.

The fact that Leonisa's love for Rogerio is "perfect", leads to a situation similar to the one familiar in the pastoral novel. An impasse is reached. The crucial difference in the play is, of course, that this impasse is not brought about by unreciprocated love, but by Rogerio's unwillingness to compromise (as he sees it) his social honour:

[ROGERIO:]

Mi amor no quiere a Clemencia,  
 ni mi nobleza a Leonisa.

III.xvi. p.256b.

This is not to say that Leonisa is wholly passive. At the end of Act III (xvii to end), she does make an attempt to reassure and disabuse Rogerio. The latter creates a scene of jealousy, thus himself going against the sound advice he had given out in III.iv, and at the same time, contributing to endangering the life of Leonisa. The latter does finally succeed in calming his jealousy - ironically

by taking her necklace from Filipino and putting it around his neck. Rogerio might now well regret his earlier condemnation of Filipino's effeminacy (which we, of course, know was primarily a manifestation of jealousy). Leonisa's initiative is not wholly successful, however, for she is imprisoned. It is now Rogerio's turn to demonstrate his perfect love: but his trick for securing Leonisa's release deceives no one, and it is only the revelation of Leonisa's real identity which prevents an unhappy ending.

The love of the main characters is thus a "perfect", pure, spiritual love. It is, perhaps, purest, most unselfish in Leonisa. Rogerio, too, affirms the perfection of his love:

ROGERIO: Yo te he querido, Leonisa,  
con el amor más perfecto  
de cuantos su deidad honran;  
vi tu mudable sujeto;  
déjame, y ama a Filipino.  
III.xviii. p.259a.

But, as I have suggested, it is inferior to Leonisa's, principally in that it is too selfish. Rogerio, for most of the play, thinks too much of himself: there is too much of self-love in his love. Another mode of self-denying love is presented in Clemencia: she loves Rogerio passively, silently, knowing that he loves another.<sup>10</sup>

The effect of portraying this type of suffering, "perfect" love is curious in dramatic terms. The passivity of the characters is evident: they all suffer from a virtual paralysis of the will. While the real obstacle in the play springs from Rogerio's character, from his inner conflict which derives from a misapprehension of values and a misconstruction of the evidence of the senses (both ironical in a wise, learned man), no other character has the determination and initiative required to break the stalemate of wills and actions.

All suffer in silence, waiting for a sort of miracle, one might almost say, which does occur to bring the play to an end.

The point the play is making seems to be that such perfect, Platonic, spiritual love has severe limitations and is productive of more unhappiness than happiness. Rogerio's final solution is quite absurd, for, reduced to its simplest terms, it means that he is prepared to marry Clemencia because of his love for Leonisa. This may be Neo-Platonism or Christian charity (though, ironically, it has been brought about by Rogerio's initial failure to understand truly the nature of Christian charity). But it is not life or love as ordinary humans understand them. Hence the need for an artificial solution, almost in the pastoral tradition. The discovery that Leonisa is Clemencia's sister allows the old Duke to arrange a marriage between Leonisa and Rogerio, and at the same time removes the sole objection Rogerio had to a marriage with Leonisa. But the ending is all the same ironical: Rogerio, even from the socially conventional point of view, would have lost nothing and done no wrong had he exercised true Christian charity and married Leonisa thinking that she was a peasant girl, but one whom he loved.

These, then are the dramatic problems posed by El melancólico. On the surface the play might appear to be unsatisfactory, not because it is carelessly constructed (one might say quite the opposite), but because the ideological premises of the play do not and cannot permit an organic solution, unless Rogerio undergoes a conversion. Rogerio's character, too, no matter how interesting it may be as a case-history, is also a stumbling block. This is not to say that the play is a failure: its lack of dramatic viability is precisely the point it is supposed to make: the apparent failure of the play is really the practical failure of a conventionally "perfect" love in a

human situation. That this failure is deliberately created by Tirso is indicated by the consistent burlesque of dramatic conventions in the play (which I shall touch on when I discuss Esto sí que es negociar). The play satirises both a literary and a social convention by demonstrating their absurdity. But the majority of Tirsian heroines are real women of flesh and blood who will not wait for time and fortune to favour them.

\* \* \* \* \*

(b) Esto sí que es negociar.

In my analysis of El melancólico, I suggested that in that play Tirso was drawing attention to the limitations of a so-called "perfect" love between a man and a woman by illustrating the absurdity to which it can lead. It is this literary idealisation of human love (which can ultimately be traced back to Platonic and Neo-Platonic philosophy) which Tirso takes delight in deflating. I suggested, too, that this "perfect", spiritual love was really the frustrated love of a man and woman for each other, and that the frustration could be attributed to Rogerio's subscription to false values. Because of the philosophical premises concerning the nature of perfect love, the conflict born of Rogerio's love for Leonisa and his unwillingness to marry her, a conflict essentially social in nature, could have no organic solution.

In Esto sí que es negociar, the refundición of El melancólico, an attempt has been made to re-cast the play so that an organic solution to the conflict is possible. The main problems remain the same, but the emphasis is shifted slightly in order to underline the fundamental absurdity of Rogerio's dilemma. The philosophical premises,

too, are altered, which allows Leonisa, like the majority of Tirso's heroines, to resolve the problem by the exercise of her initiative and will.

In assuming that Esto sí que es negociar is Tirso's, I have followed all Tirsian critics. While this play is published in the segunda parte and does not carry Tirso's "signature", to to speak, (as does Por el sótano y el torno, for example), the fact that it so closely resembles El melancólico makes it unlikely that Tirso would have included among the plays by other authors one which would be such a flagrant plagiarism of his own El melancólico. There is the possibility, if we admit that El melancólico is the later play, that the plagiarist was Tirso, but that would make us question his veracity when he asserts that he is not a plagiarist. At the same time, Miss Kennedy has commented on the obvious bad humour revealed in the last lines of El melancólico:

CARLÍN:                    ¡Alto! Vayan  
                              por otra para Carlín,  
                              que esta comedia se acaba  
                              sin bodas. Tirso la ha escrito:  
                              a quien la juzgase mala,  
                              malos años le dé Dios,  
                              y a quien buena, buenas Pascuas.  
  III.xxvii. p.265b.

Could Tirso be referring here to an author who was so dissatisfied with El melancólico that he re-wrote it as Esto sí que es negociar? The closing lines of the former, as I have suggested in my analysis of Por el sótano y el torno could have been written in the course of a revision, which would have been effected after the composition and staging of Esto sí que es negociar. This can only remain a speculative question at the moment. In the absence, therefore, of any positive evidence to the contrary, I shall take it that Esto sí... is Tirso's.

I have also assumed that Esto sí que es negociar is the refundición of El melancólico. While the majority of critics have thought so, Miss Kennedy suggests that El melancólico may be the later play. This is just possible, but, because of the technical superiority of Esto sí que es negociar and the bringing into clearer focus of the central issues of the play, it seems to me unlikely. The main point of a refundición is, after all, the re-casting of an earlier play in order to produce a technically superior one. But it must be borne in mind that this may not always be the dramatist's aim.

I shall now examine some of the differences between El melancólico and Esto sí que es negociar in order, first, to stress that the latter play is technically superior to the former, to identify, secondly, the shift in emphasis from El melancólico to Esto sí que es negociar, and, thirdly, to suggest that this shift, depending as it does on the creation of an absurd situation through the use of disguise, has something in common with Tirso's later comedies such as La celosa de sí misma.

Hartzenbusch, while recognising the importance of the characterisation of Rogerio in El melancólico, regards Esto sí ... as the superior play on technical and stylistic grounds.<sup>11</sup> Da. Blanca de los Ríos, following Hartzenbusch, affirms that Esto sí ... is the refundición of El melancólico, which, though less finished, is superior to the former in its characterisation of the protagonist; she also values it highly as an autobiographical document by virtue of its audacious satire of the rich and the foolish and of the unjust law of the mayorazgo.<sup>12</sup>

First, I should like to indicate several small, but significant

features which, by showing Esto sí ... to be the more unified and tauter dramatic structure, would indicate that it is the later play.

The most obvious difference is that Leonisa, and not Rogerio, is the protagonist in Esto sí .... In El melancólico, as has been stated, the idealised love between Leonisa and Rogerio leads to an impossible situation. Leonisa is a very passive creature, prepared to love even if her love is unrequited. Apart from pointing out to Rogerio his error, she never makes fun of him. Even her disguise in the final comic scene is a poor trick engineered by Rogerio to secure her liberty. But the satiric potentialities of this episode are realised in Esto sí ....

This accounts for the enormous development of the Margarita episode in Esto sí ..., where it is initiated in the middle of Act II and used to create the crisis as well as to effect the dénouement. This is fully consonant with the orthodox technical use of disguise in drama, but its implications go further, as I shall argue later.

Closely connected with the Margarita episode is the fact that, in Esto sí ..., the revelation of Leonisa's true identity comes only after Rogerio's personal decision to marry her, come what may. In El melancólico, this revelation leads to the Duke's decision to marry Rogerio to Leonisa (III.xxii) though Rogerio himself is prepared to marry Clemencia to secure Leonisa's release from prison. In this play, too, Clemencia's reconciliation with Leonisa is too forced and abrupt, and the whole episode of the discovery is artificial, although, as I have argued, necessarily so.

A further consequence of making Leonisa an aggressive female protagonist is the subordination of Rogerio to Leonisa in Esto sí ...., whereas in most respects he towers over the other characters in El melancólico. In fact, Rogerio, the grave, wise, almost omniscient

man of El melancólico is deflated and ridiculed in Esto sí ....

This ridiculous aspect of Rogerio is already present in El melancólico, although it is not systematically exploited.

Enrique, on the other hand, plays a more important part in Esto sí ... by virtue of the fact that he joins forces with the scheming Leonisa in order to solve the problem of who is to marry whom.

Similarly, the sub-plot dealing with the love-affair between Filipino and Leonisa is more closely woven into the fabric of Esto sí que es negociar. Leonisa's feigned marriage-preparations force Rogerio into a ridiculous situation and also set the scene for the solution. This incident helps to underline the social satire of the play.<sup>13</sup>

Thus there is no doubt that the changes help to produce a more tightly-knit structure. This would seem to indicate that Esto sí que es negociar is the later play. But, at the same time, there is also a shift of emphasis in the theme of this play.

Perhaps that is why some critics are not entirely happy with Esto sí ... in spite of its technical superiority. Da. Blanca says that El melancólico, a psychological play, is converted in Esto sí ... into a "linda novela escenificada", a "vulgar comedia novelesca". And she seeks some additional reason for this not entirely happy change. Rightly, I think, she rejects the hypothesis put forward by Hartzbusch.<sup>14</sup> But her reasons, while perhaps more interesting, constitute an over-statement of her case. She regards El melancólico as too obviously autobiographical. Its attacks on the concept of hereditary nobility, the law of the mayorazgo which led to "la servidumbre y despojo de bastardos y segundones" were unacceptable to the public and were therefore toned down in Esto sí .... But this

seems to contradict Da. Blanca's own statement that "No era Tirso hombre que se dejase imponer por nadie" (Vol.II, p.701b). Nor are the changes satisfactorily explained by Da. Blanca's hypothesis of a reconciliation between Tirso and the Girones.

Miss Kennedy's suggestion, based on the view that the satire of opulent fools is central to El melancólico, is suggestive, but does not seem to be entirely convincing. This satire is clearly an important aspect of the play, but Tirso did not need to re-write it, merely in order to include a passage of topical satire. The satire of opulent fools does not seem to me to be thematically central: its organic function lies in the fact that it heightens the irony of the situation in which the limitations of Rogerio's wisdom are exposed. He, who makes such scathing remarks about opulent fools and the social conventions which favour them, turns out to have limited reasoning powers, because his intellect is handicapped by the conventions he previously despised but now passively accepts. Such an ironical treatment of a protagonist is, of course, a recurrent feature of Tirso's plays.

The problem which confronts Rogerio is adumbrated in El melancólico and developed in Esto sí ..... A consideration of the way in which it is developed indicates that there is a case for arguing that in the latter social satire is a central feature and that this satire has wider implications than it does in the earlier play. We can perceive a shift from the exposure of the absurdity of an idealised form of love (in which a social convention is only a convenient obstacle) to a ridicule of this convention through the ridicule of Rogerio's actions. The social obstacle, which is almost an excuse for the exploration of one form of love in El melancólico comes to the fore in Esto sí que es negociar.

In this play, Tirso sets out to ridicule Rogerio, who, suddenly transferred to a higher social class, is led by his learning to adopt blindly a conventional set of values which require him to give up the woman he loves:

[ROGERIO:] Améos hijo de Pinardo;  
hijo del Duque, no puedo;  
. . . . .  
y es forzoso conformarme  
con el estado presente.  
II.iii. p.716a-b.

These values are false since they are contrary to nature: Rogerio claims that:

Hijo de un Duque, troc6  
la suerte mi amor  
I.ix. p.713b.

But he is unable to love Clemencia. How absurd these conventions are is shown by the fact that he is prepared to love Leonisa-Margarita and marry her because she reminds him of his Leonisa. Such a marriage would, of course, be technical adultery. Rogerio objects to Enrique's marriage to Leonisa for just such a reason:

[ROGERIO:] pues si ha de ser Margarita  
mi esposa, y a esotra imita,  
quien della est6 enamorado,  
de mi esposa lo estar6,  
porque es semejanza amor,  
y ofender6is vos mi honor  
si esa permisi6n se os da.  
III.ix. p.738a.

Here, the disguise of Leonisa has become symbolic, and Rogerio is prepared to take the shadow for the substance:

dividido mi amor crece  
adorando mi inter6s  
en mi serrana lo que es  
y en la otra lo que parece.  
II.xx. p.729a.

Rogerio is brought to his senses and taught true wisdom by Filipo. The latter, an hidalgo himself, is eager to marry Leonisa,

for he recognises her true worth. Marriage to Leonisa cannot be a stain on his nobility: "no mancha al mar una gota / de tinta" (III.i. p.730a). Furthermore, as Pinardo points out:

Pobre y serrana es Leonisa;  
mas en tal desigualdad  
la virtud es calidad.  
III.i. p.730a.

Leonisa has compensatory virtues that are more lasting than skin-deep beauty:

[PINARDO:] y cuando haga ejecución  
la vejez de su hermosura,  
no envejece la cordura,  
ni cansa la discreción.  
En esta el cielo la dicta,  
y esta suple lo demás.  
III.i. p.730a.

That is why Filipo realises that Leonisa will make him a worthy wife:

¿De qué roble  
no sale una imagen bella  
que el mundo después adora?  
III.i. p.730a.

And love is what can create this "imagen soberana" (III.i. p.730b).

Rogério's eyes are opened: he agrees with Filipo that

el alma es quien da nobleza;  
la virtud es calidad.  
III.i. p.731a.

In his soliloquy in III.ii, Rogério realises how stupid he has been:

Porque soy Duque, desprecio  
prendas que, aunque en la corteza  
contradicen mi grandeza,  
son de inestimable precio.  
III.ii. p.731b.

He would have seen what Filipo saw "si mi amor no fuera necio". He now realises her full worth:

el cielo ha encerrado en ella  
discreción de más valor  
que la calidad mayor;  
y es ignorante bajeza  
despreciar por la corteza  
lo que es noble en lo interior.  
III.ii. p.731b.

Rogelio now sees a justification, based on nature, for his marriage to Leonisa:

O soy bárbaro, o ignoro  
 que amor, hortelano astuto,  
 en sazonado tributo,  
 si la voluntad es huerto,  
 estima en más el enjerto  
 de dos almas, que otro fruto.  
 III.ii. p.731b.

(This horticultural image, it may be noted in passing, is a favourite one of Tirso's.)

In El melancólico, as I suggested, the social problem is not resolved organically. A happy discovery enables the Duke to marry Rogelio to Leonisa, whereas this discovery in Esto sí ... comes only after Rogelio, held to his promise, finally determines to marry Leonisa at all costs. The social aspect is stressed when Rogelio, finding he has to choose between obeying the dictates of love and obeying those of society, chooses love:

Su esposo tengo de ser,  
 aunque el patrimonio rico  
 pierdo que en Bretaña adquiero,  
 y otra vez viva estos riscos.  
 Sé que he de perder la vida  
 luego que pierdo el arrimo  
 que hasta agora la sustenta;  
 y así el menor daño elijo.  
 III.xv. p.742a.

It is, in fact, a choice between life and death. Although not as sentimentally heroic or pseudo-heroic as the melancholy Rogelio's would-be self-sacrifice on the altar of a marriage with Clemencia (one differentiating feature of the Rogelio of Esto sí ... from the Rogelio of El melancólico is the former's reluctance to dramatise his situation), this choice is, perhaps, even more of a sacrifice, since it is formulated in extreme terms. Thus the revelation of Leonisa's real identity in Esto sí ... can be seen as a symbolic reward for Rogelio. But the latter's conversion is not wholly the

result of intellectual persuasion. He must be made to realise how absurd his attitude is. Leonisa plays a vital part here.

The love of Rogerio and Leonisa in El melancólico is so passive that no real conflict is produced. If their love cannot be fulfilled, they resign themselves to unhappiness and self-sacrifice. Such an impossible love is all well and good as the subject for pastoral novels and for sonnets where the Petrarchan woman is set on a pedestal and worshipped from afar. But it is of no use for a flesh-and-blood woman like the Leonisa of Esto sí ..... The aggressive Leonisa, then, can be seen as a burlesque of the passive Petrarchan woman, and, in particular, the passive Leonisa of El melancólico.

But if the latter is burlesqued, what is the underlying reason? This is to be sought in social conditions. A woman may be content to be set on a pedestal and idolised because of her femininity, her beauty, her virtue, etc. But in real life such idolising is rare, and often has nothing to do with choosing a wife. Men base their love on interés; they want a wife who is rich, or noble, or both, and they are ready to abandon one woman when a better one turns up. Social conventions as they exist are detrimental to sound human relationships and hostile to emotions. Rogerio, by bowing to the demands of his social class, has rejected and thus offered Leonisa:

[LEONISA:] Porque Clemencia nació  
Duquesa, ¿es bien que me impida  
ser de Rogerio querida?  
II.iv. p.716b.

This is unjust:

vence mi competidora  
porque nació con nobleza;  
y yo, que en fe y en firmeza  
la venzo y mi amor abono,  
que compitan ocasiono  
fortuna y naturaleza.  
II.v. p.717a.

Therefore, Leonisa, wounded in her self-esteem and affronted, will challenge society. She explains the problem:

¿Cómo, siendo labradora,  
seré de un Duque mujer?  
II.v. p.717a.

She exalts her Titanic efforts to scale the heavens:

Yo, que de mi esfera salgo  
con mejores pensamientos,  
animando atrevimientos,  
merezo más, pues más valgo.  
II.iv. p.716b.

But, unlike the Titans' efforts, hers is not one of brute force, an achievement requiring the piling of mountain on mountain in order to scale the heavens. On the contrary, her art is very deft and subtle, and of the essence of femininity. She determines to show the absurdity of Rogerio's stand, and of the social conventions which hinder their marriage by ridiculing Rogerio's proud wisdom.

Leonisa has recourse to disguise, which creates an absurd complication - Rogerio is engaged to two women simultaneously - in order to show how the existing clash between nature and society is absurd and also immoral. Rogerio's marriage to "Margarita" would lead to spiritual adultery. The situation itself leads to moral and social confusion: is Rogerio to marry two women? Or is he, like the dog in the manger, to prevent Leonisa from marrying Filipo, and "Margarita" from marrying Enrique, and yet marry neither? He is being unjust not only to Leonisa by rejecting her for an aristocratic Leonisa, i.e., "Margarita", but is also unjust to "Margarita" by loving her not for herself but for being a Leonisa-substitute.

The use of disguise is also symbolic of social attributes; it is equivalent to corteza. It can be put on and taken off, and has nothing to do with the intrinsic worth of the real person. Not only can it hide one's real, inner nature (Leonisa, although apparently a

serrana, is of noble birth and also noble in character), but is also hostile to love. That is why Firela and Carlín comment cynically on the ornate dress of "la hermana Duca":

FIRELA: Trabajo tendrá quien la ama,  
con tanta ropa y botín.  
I.v. p.707a.

And Carlín adds:

El que la llegue a abrazar,  
por fuerza se ha de picar,  
según la guarnecen puntas.  
I.v. p.707b.

Furthermore, a person is not to be judged by what he or she wears:

CARLÍN: Dad al diablo la mujer,  
que gasta galas sin suma;  
porque ave de mucha pluma  
tiene poco que comer.  
I.v. p.707a.

Rogério, for all his learning, finds himself in a thoroughly ludicrous situation. He loves Leonisa, and also loves "Margarita", not for herself, but because she wears a different dress, i.e., her corteza is different. Yet she is really Leonisa.<sup>15</sup>

As has been already pointed out, real wisdom is imparted to Rogério by Filipo and Enrique. Rogério, now brought to his senses, will marry Leonisa. But he has more than once been brought near to tragedy. Because of a false generosity and unquestioning obedience to convention, he is prepared to sacrifice his own happiness and that of Leonisa by allowing her to marry Filipo. But then, to avoid losing Leonisa, he gets himself engaged to her after having promised to marry her "shadow", Leonisa-Margarita, in a weaker moment. It is only our knowledge that Leonisa and Margarita are one and the same person which allows the situation to remain on a purely comic level: but it is potentially tragic. Fortunately, the real Margarita appears. This solves Rogério's problem: he has been taught his lesson.

To sum up, one may say that if a refundición almost invariably is better constructed than its source-play, the fact that Esto sí ... is technically superior to El melancólico and also seems to echo situations found in the latter would indicate that it is the refundición of El melancólico. Secondly, the technical changes seem to be due not only to a wish on Tirso's part to write a better constructed play but also to a desire to bring into clearer focus a critical view of a social convention. In thematic terms, this means that there is a shift of emphasis from the satire of a literary convention to the satire of a social convention. And, finally, the way in which this satire is effected, namely the manoeuvring of the learned Rogerio into a frankly absurd situation through the use of disguise (the absurdity of Rogerio's situation being adumbrated in El melancólico, but the satirical use of disguise to underline the theme being a new addition in Esto sí ...), seems to place this comedy during the period of composition of some of Tirso's late plays, which are characterised by their subtle irony and strong sense of the absurd.

The element of social satire coming to the fore in Esto sí ... raises a number of interesting points. First, we can discern a straight line of development leading from the early El vergonzoso to the later plays analysed in this chapter. Miss Kennedy's dating of El melancólico and Esto sí ... is, of course, crucial here; but if it is accepted, Calderà's attempt to establish the chronological order of Tirso's plays on the basis of a development of a character seems to call for modification. A crucial factor in his argument is his view that Rogerio's character (in El melancólico) is lacking in subtlety and too schematic in outline. This, by any view, is a

questionable interpretation. Another of Calderà's points is that Tirso moves away from the court-country opposition to a more courtly type of play. This may well be possible, if the date I assign to Amar por arte mayor is correct. But it seems to me that such a change, if it does take place, is later than Calderà implies, and cannot validly be used as a criterion for dating the plays he discusses. The view I suggest avoids such difficulties by seeing a thematic development as the basic explanation for these various treatments of the shy lover. The basis of this thematic development can be seen as an increasing preoccupation with social problems. In the later plays, these are presented in sharper focus, with a greater degree of social realism, which contrasts with the strong romantic element in El vergonzoso. That Tirso's social preoccupation is not itself a late development will be shown in the examination of the next play.

SECTION FIVE

AUTHORITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL.

THE ABUSE OF POWER.



CHAPTER NINELA ELECCIÓN POR LA VIRTUD.

That La elección por la virtud is one of Tirso's early plays seems certain. Da. Blanca de los Ríos draws attention to a document of 19th September, 1612, discovered by her, in which the autor, Juan Acacio, acknowledges having received Sisto quinto along with two other plays from Tirso.<sup>1</sup> This play is undoubtedly La elección por la virtud. More recently, G. E. Wade has suggested that the play was written in 1612 or late 1611 as part of the celebration of the wedding (in 1612) of Juan Alonso Enríquez de Cabrera and Luisa de Sandoval y Padilla, the groom being one of the Colonnas, and, therefore, a distant relative of Pope Sixtus V.<sup>2</sup> Tirso was given to writing about the Mendozas, to whom the Sandoval family was related. Cotarelo's dating of this play (1622) must therefore be rejected. I shall return to this later.

La elección por la virtud is essentially a historical-religious play rather than a comedy, although Tirso's free handling of his material can be said to blur somewhat the distinction between these two genres (especially so in the sub-plot of the play). However, I consider it important to discuss it here for two main reasons: first, because this early play of Tirso's provides us with an example of the episodic structure which he uses frequently in his career, and of which La prudencia en la mujer and Ventura te dé Dios, hijo are good instances; and, secondly, because the theme of the play (indicated by the title) is one which, with modifications, recurs constantly in Tirso's theatre: this is the thesis that the individual's position in society is to be determined by his intrinsic worth.

What is remarkable about this play is its fiercely critical and condemnatory tone and implications. The main criticism is directed against the conventional attitude which regards lowly birth

as a bar to advancement of any sort. An inevitable result of this is that certain members of the nobility and the clergy (who, in the play, are clearly drawn from the nobility) are presented in a very bad light indeed.

In the play, this attitude is scrutinised in two spheres: ecclesiastical in the main plot, secular and social in the sub-plot. The two plots are inter-connected in a number of ways. They are, of course, related thematically, i.e., both deal with the struggle of individuals against this social convention. That the main persons concerned in both plots are brother and sister, members of the same family, helps to strengthen the inter-relationship of the plots. Finally, while the problem in the sub-plot is resolved through the exercise of Sabina's will and initiative, its final, happy ending depends on the events in the main plot. On the other hand, the stronger "story-line" in the sub-plot undoubtedly helps to give the more episodic main plot a tighter overall unity and coherence.<sup>3</sup>

The main plot is episodic in structure. As a whole, it deals with what is presumably the first part of Sixto's career, which culminates in his being made a Cardinal.<sup>4</sup> (The second part, dealing with his career as Pope, was to be the subject of a sequel, announced at the end of La elección por la virtud, but has either been lost or remained unwritten). The three acts constitute definite stages in his career. The first act, which presents the situation and hints at the problems to come, can be graphically represented as an unbroken ascent. The second and third acts, however, follow a fall and rise pattern: in each of the latter, Sixto's fortunes decline before they rise to a higher level, the low point of each being well marked, the high point coming towards the end of the act. It will be clear that this fall and rise pattern is also characteristic of La prudencia

en la mujer.

The fall and rise pattern is reflected in the emotional moods of Sixto. Periods of despair, defeatism, and dejection alternate with periods of confidence, trust, and optimism. The former are brought about by the machinations of envious enemies. But all obstacles are swept away by divine intervention, often in the form of miracles. Compare, for example, the way in which, to Fray Abostra's exasperation, Sixtus is appointed preacher in Rome (II.iii), and the miraculous transformation of the letter of condemnation and accusation into one of praise and commendation (II.xv).

Such divine intervention is, of course, only to be expected in view of the circumstances. That its necessity is hammered home in the play is curious, and I shall touch on this later. But what is more pertinent from the point of view of what goes on within the play itself is the fact that such divine intervention must be seen as God's protection and favour extended to his faithful servant. If Sixto is truly Christian, he must not resist evil, but depend on God's protection. But we seem to come up against a difficulty here. The miracles, etc. in the play are God's reward for virtue. But how virtuous is Sixto? A curious factor emerges if we look at his character more closely.

One of Sixto's most stressed virtues is his filial piety, a virtue which he shares with Enrico of El condenado por desconfiado:

[SIXTO:]           Que el padre, después de Dios,  
                      la joya es de más estima.  
                                  I.i. p.324b.

This is "la piedad en que me fundo" (I.i. p.324b.). The second scene presents a family meal: the symbolic overtones of harmony are evident. Again, this scene may be compared with the parallel one in El condenado, where Anareto does not eat the food Enrico offers him

(II.iii).<sup>5</sup> In a sense, Sixto, like Enrico, also deceives his father by keeping his studies a secret. But unlike Enrico, he does not do so in order to conceal a sinful activity. Sixto's solicitude and respect for Pereto continue throughout the play. Even at the end (III.iv), when he is a Cardinal, he is not too proud to kneel before his father and hold the stirrup for him to dismount:

SIXTO: Yo, padre, os tendré el estribo.

PERETO: Hijo, aguarda que ya abajo.

¿Un Cardenal ha de hacer tal cosa?

SIXTO: Si por honraros me honra el Cielo de este modo, no es mucho, mi padre caro, que teniéndoo el estribo estribe en él mi descanso. Aquesa mano me dad.

(De rodillas)

PERETO: Levanta y toma los brazos, que no es justo que a mis pies esté un Cardenal postrado.

SIXTO: Si como soy Cardenal gozara del trono sacro de San Pedro, ya os he dicho que os besara arrodillado esta venerable diestra.

III.xiv. p.372a-b.

Sixto's concern also extends to his sisters. That is why, for example, he invites Camila to do the washing for the monastery:

SIXTO: Jamás lo que te quiero se me olvida, Camila amada. Porque no hay quien lave la ropa en el convento, ya sabida vuestra pobreza, si gustáis quisiera que fuéredes desde hoy su lavandera. Seis reales os darán cada semana y de comer, que así lo ha prometido el Padre guardián. Venid mañana por la ropa.

II.ii. p.342b.

And, at the end of the play, he undertakes to look after Sabina's son. As is evident, his affection and concern for his family is intimately linked with his pride in his humble origins. Far from trying to reject or escape from his family, he almost aggressively parades his lowly origins:

[SIXTO:]

. . . . . quisiera  
enviar por mi padre y mis hermanas,  
y el mismo día que me vea Roma  
hecho de vil pastor, pastor de ovejas  
de la Iglesia católica, ese día  
quiero que entre mi padre venerable  
triunfando en Roma, no como sus Césares,  
sino vestido del sayal grosero  
en que nació, porque la envidia sepa  
que cuando, a su pesar, estoy más alto,  
de la humildad me precio de Montalto.  
III.vi. p.362b.

I shall return to this presently.

Another aspect of Sixto's character is his nobility. He is quick to forgive his persecutors and forget their offences:

[SIXTO:]

que si Fray Félix tuvo de vos queja,  
ya yo soy Cardenal, y no Fray Félix,  
y no es razón cuando me veis tan alto  
que a Félix venga el Cardenal Montalto.  
III.vi. p.363a.

Allied to his moral virtue is his intelligence. Sixto is highly intelligent and loves knowledge. Through knowledge he is determined to rise:

[SIXTO:]

La ciencia es mi enamorada,  
por letras he de valer.  
¡Alto! A escuelas, que he de ser,  
aunque pobre, Papa o nada.  
I.ix. p.334a.

His learning is constantly stressed in the play:

[RODULFO:]

Goce vuestra habilidad  
Fermo, aunque viviendo vos  
ha de haber dificultad  
en distinguir de los dos  
cuál es la Universidad;  
II.i. p.341a.

In short, virtue and intelligence are united in Sixto. These factors are important for the thesis of the play. For Sixto, the biological facts of birth and death are levelling factors and underline man's basic equality. Man is to be judged by those qualities which appertain to the immortal soul:

[SIXTO:]

oíd en lo que repara  
del mundo la suerte avara;

porque entre el tosco sayal  
 nace la invidia mortal  
 y me causa esta inquietud;  
 que hasta la misma virtud  
 quieren que sea principal.  
 ¿Qué diferencia el Cielo hace,  
 (decid, encinas y robles)  
 entre villanos y nobles,  
 que tanto los satisface?  
 Llorando uno y otro nace,  
 y con las mismas señales,  
 cayados y cetros reales,  
 lloran también al salir:  
 que en el nacer y morir  
 unos y otros son iguales.  
 No abate al roble la palma  
 por ser sus frutos mejores,  
 que las dotes que hay mejores  
 son sólo dotes del alma.

II.xi. pp.351b-352a.

In the play, therefore, moral virtue and intellectual ability are to be rewarded:

[RODULFO:] que yo os prometo de hacer  
 que ensalce Su Santidad  
 vuestro humilde y pobre ser  
 y honre vuestra habilidad.

II.i. p.341b.

It is thus a fundamental assumption of the play that nobility is to be determined by the merits of the individual, and is consequently something to be acquired:

[RODULFO:] que aunque la nobleza pueda  
 ilustrar a quien la hereda,  
 al que la gana de nuevo  
 ensalza el mundo y alaba;  
 pues porque más se aventaje,  
 comienza en él su linaje, (6)  
 y en otros el suyo acaba.

II.iii. p.343b.

Sixto's humble origins, therefore, in addition to being a convenient historical fact, are a thematic necessity. His humble birth provides a spur to his ambitions:

[SIXTO:] dispúseme, a pesar de la pobreza,  
 estribo vil de inclinaciones nobles,  
 a seguir del astrólogo el consejo.

I.v. p.332a.

But it is, simultaneously, the factor which serves to trigger off the hostility of society.

The criticisms in the play are directed primarily against the attitude of envious members of society who place obstacles in the way of Sixto's progress. Fray Félix is hated by the members of his Order not merely because of his severity, but because, as the Fraile says, they resent "que los gobierne / un pastor de las grutas de Montalto" (III.vi. p.362a). They also argue that his having been a peasant disqualifies him from holding exalted positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Fray Abostra puts the case to Rudolfo:

[ABOSTRA:]       ¿Para semejantes puestos  
                      como el púlpito romano  
                      es bien honrar a un villano,  
                      y dejar tales supuestos  
                      como hay en mi religión?  
RODULFO:         Fray Félix es noble y grave;  
                      Italia y el mundo sabe  
                      las letras y erudición  
                      de Fray Félix.  
ABOSTRA:         Las ovejas  
                      que ayer le vimos guardar  
                      le deben calificar.  
  II.iii. p.343b.

Sixto himself sums up the reasons for his persecution thus:

Hácese contradicción  
la envidia, por ver en mí  
humildad en el linaje,  
letras en la juventud,  
premio y honra en la virtud,  
y llaneza en el lenguaje.  
  II.ix. pp.350b-351a.

This contamination of religious by unworthy, secular values surprises the Pope:

¿Luego en la religión y su pobreza  
también miran en sangre y en nobleza?  
  III.vi. p.362a.

And he decides to proclaim openly the values which are considered vital in the Church:

Luego quiero, Fray Félix, consagraros  
públicamente, porque toda Roma

mire el premio que tienen en la Iglesia  
la Virtud y las letras.

III.vi. p.362b.

This sordid atmosphere of envy, hatred and intrigue contrasts strongly with the initial idyllic innocence and basic equality of country life. It is Pereto, the proud, even arrogant, peasant, who stresses the fact that social status is not a major consideration in the country:

Porque aquí, todos sentados,  
no hay menos ni más honrados:  
todos comemos al fin,  
sin que nos esté el ruin  
contándonos los bocados,  
como en el palacio están.

I.ii. p.326a.

In the university, also, Félix is esteemed for his intelligence, while his origin is considered of no consequence:

ESTUDIANTE 2o:           que he de decir  
                                  quién es, y sin que lo vede  
                                  su poco nombre y estima,  
                                  con todos hemos de hacer  
                                  que a Fermo le haga oponer  
                                  a la cátedra de prima.

I.xi. p.339a.

These scenes are no empty idealisation of country as opposed to court. They are intended to emphasise the contrast between what is and what ought to be.

As I have said, the obstacles which envy and class hatred put in the way of Sixto's ecclesiastical career are swept away by divine intervention. The miracles in II.iii and II.xv leave Fray Abostra and the friars in a ridiculous situation. The honours the Pope confers on Sixto mean that God's justice is also ensured on earth.

But perhaps what is interesting is the way in which Sixto reacts to persecution. Tirso, to make his thesis plain, presents Sixto as a victim of the envy and oppression of society. As a result, the situations Tirso chooses to dramatise are not really dramatic in

themselves. At times, we are left with the impression that Sixto is too passive. We are told about his severity, but we are never really shown the energetic, decisive man Pope Sixtus was to be - a man full of energy and reforming ideas, though rather precipitate and high-handed in his actions. All this is only hinted at in his ambition and his sense of grievance at being unjustly persecuted.

Tirso leaves us in no doubt, it seems, that Sixto is ambitious. He studies so that he should rise, and, from the beginning, he sets his sights on the Papal throne: "Pues qué, ¿no puedo ser Papa?" (I.ii. p.327b). And this is re-affirmed later on in even more positive terms:

SIXTO: Pontífice soy de burlas;  
pues Pedro de vuestra barca  
he de regir el timón,  
porque he de ser Papa o nada.  
I.xiii. p.341b.

Sixto, in fact, is sure that he deserves advancement, and, ultimately, the Papacy. His confidence in his fate is strengthened by omens and prophecies all through the play. It is the mathematician's prophecy, as he tells Sabina in I.v., which first stirred his ambitions. And, from that moment, Sixto sees signs and omens confirming the initial prophecy. There is the incident of the crown of St. Gregory unwittingly placed on his head in I.xiii; there is the phrase, "O Papa o nada", overheard by Sixto in I.vi; there is the apparition, in a dream, of Rome and his discovery of the tiara in II.xi; the tiara again falls into his hands in II.xvii, and so on. These signs, especially in the last two acts, occur when he is discouraged, and, in accordance with the passivity I noted earlier, tempted to give up in despair.

This is perhaps unfortunate, for it has led Vossler to suggest - quite understandably - that Sixto is vaguely superstitious: he refers to his "confianza supersticiosa en un glorioso porvenir."<sup>7</sup> While one must admit that Sixto seems to set too much store on signs,

I do not think that Tirso intended to portray the future Pope Sixtus V as a superstitious man. The treatment of Sixto is quite serious and nowhere can one perceive an ironic touch such as would rouse our suspicions. It can also be argued that, at that period, a belief in omens was not unusual. But I shall return to this presently.

Sixto's conviction that he is worthy of advancement leads to his despair when he is faced with obstacles. Though not devoid of ambition, he seems to be driven perhaps more by his sense of destiny (or even by his destiny), for he is too ready to complain instead of fight. When he is suspected of having stolen the tiara, his reaction illustrates this:

SIXTO:

¡Cielos, paciencia!  
 ¿Qué enredos, qué confusión  
 rendir mi paciencia intenta?  
 ¿Qué borrasca, qué tormenta  
 derriba así mi opinión?  
 ¿Ya me tienen por ladrón,  
 cuando me juzgo por dueño  
 de Roma? ¡Por tan pequeño  
 gusto, afrentas, cielos, tales!  
 Despierto me daís los males,  
 y los bienes cuando sueño.  
 ¡Ay de mí, cómo ha salido  
 el vil pronóstico cierto!  
 Ya experimento despierto  
 lo que me engañó dormido.  
 Las tres coronas han sido  
 aquestas que mis quimeras  
 creyó gozar verdaderas.  
 ¡Ay desdichada ambición,  
 de burlas mis dichas son,  
 y mis desdichas de veras!

II.xiii. p.353b.

Just before, he even seemed to be reproaching Heaven:

SIXTO:

¡Que el Cielo  
 cuando más honra me trata  
 en la vulgar opinión,  
 por la vil persecución  
 de la envidia así me abata!  
 Huyendo de su malicia  
 vengo al sacro tribunal  
 del juez pontifical,  
 que sólo de su justicia  
 espero lo que me niega  
 la envidia en mi religión.

II.ix. p.35Ca-b.

And when Ascanio offers to help him, Sixto's reply smacks too much of a smug self-satisfaction:

SIXTO: De mí  
 voy satisfecho, señor;  
 no he menester protector,  
 mi inocencia hable por mí.  
 II.ix. p.351a.

But the incident of the tiara seems to have taught him a lesson. When, in II.xiv, he learns of Sabina's "dishonour", (another instance of the inter-relationship of plot and sub-plot, for Sabina's dishonour is another of Sixto's burdens) he also complains bitterly of fortune. But with his concern for his father, a subtle change comes over him. He realises that he is being tested:

[SIXTO:] Pero aunque tanta venganza  
 a la invidia doy, no intento,  
 porque crezca el pensamiento,  
 que desmaye la esperanza;  
 que si el Cielo solicita  
 contra mí desdichas tales  
 y, con un tropel de males,  
 todos los bienes me quita,  
 sin ellos mi dicha pruebo,  
 que, pues por tan varios modos  
 Dios me desnuda de todos,  
 es por vestirme de nuevo.  
 II.xiv. p.354b.

And he no longer scorns help from others:

Yo voy a Roma; allí tengo  
 al Cardenal protector,  
 y de su ayuda y favor  
 mi felicidad prevengo.  
 II.xiv. p.354b.

By the end of the scene, Sixto's words even contain a gleam of optimistic humour:

Estos trabajos celebran  
 mi nueva felicidad;  
 que la virtud y verdad  
 adelgazan, mas no quiebran.  
 II.xiv. p.355a.

In the third act, the emphasis shifts to the sub-plot, and we

see less of Sixto. But he seems more mature. He answers Ascanio with dignity:

De un pastor  
nací, pero no és ultraje;  
que el más soberbio linaje,  
que a mayor nobleza aspira,  
si el principio suyo mira  
hará que el orgullo abaje.  
El río de más corriente,  
que hace ilustre su ribera,  
amansará su creciente  
si el principio considera  
que le da una humilde fuente.  
La fuente considerad  
de vuestro linaje honroso,  
y estimaréis mi humildad;  
pues sois río caudaloso,  
porque os veis en la mitad  
de vuestro curso opulento;  
que si yo conforme intento  
no os igualo y menos soy  
con ser río, es porque estoy  
cerca de mi nacimiento.

III.v. p.361a.

He seems a more positive character. He generously pardons his former enemies, as we have seen. In the final scene, the opening motifs recur:

EL PAPA: Vamos, que quiero que Roma  
vea lo que han alcanzado  
las letras de un pastor pobre.  
SIXTO: Los que a sus padres honraron,  
premia el Cielo de esta suerte.

III.xiv. p.373b.

Only his ambition remains:

[SIXTO:] Animo, inclinación dichosa y alta;  
subí, que un escalón no más os falta.

III.vi. p.362b.

However, in the final scene, it is Chamoso who takes up the motif:

[CHAMOSO:] Yo sé que habéis de ser Papa,  
que cuando érades mochaco  
de teta, todos los días  
decíades: "teta, papa".

III.xiv. p.373b.

The aspects of Sixto's character which I have just discussed, viz., his apparent pride, his ambition, his belief in signs, and his

despairing passivity stand in curious contrast to his moral virtues and his intellectual achievements.

To take his passivity first. This is part of his Christian virtue. But it produces a difficulty which has led Vossler to make the following remarks:

En la concepción de Tirso, como en la de todos los creyentes, los santos y las santas no tienen, no deben tener, mucha individualidad. El hombre santo es "vas electionis" o "medium divinum", y por eso, poco susceptible de amor propio ni de intereses mundanos, sensuales y bajos. El verdadero santo suele realizar en la comedia más bien una figura representativa y teatral que un personaje dramático; pues en lugar de él actúan fuerzas divinas . . . (p.55).

Supernatural intervention, although almost obligatory in La elección por la virtud, proves to be a technical embarrassment. Potentially, there is a strong dramatic conflict possible between Sixto's goodness and the opposition he has to face; but his very trust in God, which is supported by divine intervention, cheats the play of its conflict and we are left slightly frustrated. For example, in II.iii, Fray Abostra attempts to prevent Sixto from being elected preacher in the Vatican. We note that this provides no conflict for Sixto himself. The emphasis is thrown on Fray Abostra's selfish ambitions, his envy, contempt, hatred and irrational prejudice - which are frustrated by a miracle. As a result, the social conventions, attitudes and prejudices which stand in Sixto's way are stressed. So, too, are their ludicrous ineffectiveness. This is obviously Tirso's intention, but the way in which he carries it out does not produce in the main plot a real dramatic conflict.

I do not think that the use of the deus ex machina, if it is thematically and organically relevant (as it clearly is in la elección por la virtud) is in itself a dramatic weakness in the construction of

a plot. Tirso seems to use it quite successfully in Ventura te  
dé Dios, hijo and La prudencia en la mujer. The real weakness in  
La elección seems to me to lie in Tirso's unskilful handling of some  
of the technical elements in the main plot. This brings me to the  
discussion of Sixto's apparent pride, ambition and "superstition".

The fact that this is a biographical and historical play  
means that there is a fundamental difficulty to be overcome: there is  
no inherent structural unity in the story. The incidents in Sixto's  
life chosen for dramatisation necessarily produce an episodic plot,  
which is rendered even more so by the length of time covered by  
the action. The linking of the incidents is achieved by a variety  
of means. There is, first, the overall chronological progression.  
But this is in itself weak. It is strengthened by the fact that it  
is linked to the progress Sixto makes in his ecclesiastical career.  
The sub-plot, as I have said, also helps to produce a greater sense  
of coherence. The inevitability of Sixto's advance is stressed by  
what may be regarded as largely formal devices and it is in the  
use of these, I think, that we come upon the main weaknesses in the  
play.

What I wish to suggest is that Tirso, in this play, is  
employing a technique akin to the "direct self-explanation" which  
Schücking has analysed in Shakespeare's plays.<sup>8</sup> I have in mind  
principally those passages which seem to suggest that Sixto is an  
over-ambitious and superstitious man. I do not mean that he is not  
presented as an ambitious, proud man, too conscious, perhaps, of his  
deserts and rather resentful at the suffering he has to endure  
(until he fully accepts that they are part of his trial). But, at  
the same time, it seems licit to argue that the excessive emphasis  
placed on the attention Sixto pays to signs and omens and his

confident belief that he is to be Pope are in large part formal, cataphoric devices which suggest to, and indeed remind, the audience that the action of the play is building up to Sixto's election as Pope. They constitute some of the formal devices (like Sixto's filial piety, which he seems to parade deliberately, and his intellectual achievements) which help to strengthen the structural unity of the play. If they are seen in this light, the unlikeable aspects of Sixto's character are considerably reduced or softened.

The real question is, of course, whether these aspects of Sixto's portrayal can readily be recognised as largely formal devices and not primarily information about his moral character. From a reading of the play, it is clear that this is not so, and it is, I suggest, principally in this failure to establish a clear-cut distinction between genuine aspects of character-drawing and formal structural devices that the main weakness of the play lies. The fact that the vehicle for both of these aspects is Sixto's speeches creates a confused reaction in the mind of reader (and, I suspect, spectator). One way of avoiding this difficulty would have been to have other characters than Sixto stress the inevitability of the progress of his career (as Chamoso does, e.g., at the end of the play). Tirso seems to have realised this when he wrote Ventura te dé..... To take one example, Otón is never seriously and obsessively conscious of his ventura and his deserts; though he does refer to the former, it is generally in order modestly to play down his own achievements. It is César's concern with Otón's ventura which brings out the real importance of the latter.

The main plot, too, could have been improved by making the opposition to Sixto less diffuse. A similar problem may be discerned in La prudencia en la mujer, although here the fact that

the main focal point of the opposition to the Queen for much of the time is Don Juan helps to formulate the dramatic conflict more strongly.

To return to La elección, the principal weaknesses of the main plot seem to have been avoided in the sub-plot. This is, of course, a real sub-plot and not just a secondary action.

If the main plot deals with social prejudice in ecclesiastical circles, the sub-plot deals with the secular aspect of the same problem. Not only does it provide the indispensable love-element in the comedia, but it is technically much better constructed than the main plot. There is unity, coherence and logic in its development. The time factor does not influence the sub-plot adversely. In fact, it is even highly probable that Tirso was forced to compress the time duration of the main plot in order to adjust it to the sub-plot. This is a curious instance of a partigal subordination of a main to a sub-plot. But one senses that the dramatist in Tirso was more attracted by the way in which the social problem could be presented in the sub-plot, for it is here that we catch a glimpse of the fraile malicioso.

In the sub-plot, also, the conflict arises out of the problems created by social barriers. Conventions which specify that classes are to be kept separate are an impediment to the fulfilment of love. Or, rather, society refuses to give its consent to a marriage which is already consummated. In spite of social pressure and threats, Fereto refuses to marry Sabina to another man because he affirms that she is already César's husband. However, Prince Fabriano (the secular equivalent, so to speak, of Fray Abostra) is equally obstinate, and the two lovers are in danger of becoming sacrificial victims of irrational social prejudices.

As usual, the comedia takes the stand that love is to be set above, and can even reconcile, class differences:

SABINA: ¿Es muy noble?  
 CÉSARO: Soy Ursino.  
 SABINA: Y yo villana.  
 CÉSARO: ¿Amor no ajusta  
 desiguales muchas veces?  
 SABINA: Cuando su llama asegura.  
 CÉSARO: Luego iguales los dos somos.  
 I.x. p.336b.

Pereto confirms that the union of the nobility and the peasantry is not degrading but natural and beneficial:

aunque no perdiera nada  
 vuestro Príncipe, por cierto,  
 en juntar su sangre noble  
 con nuestra humilde, que al doble  
 es más sabroso el engerto  
 que junta la noble rama  
 al tronco áspero y grosero,  
 y amor, como es jardinero,  
 más estos engertos ama.  
 III.i. p.358b.

Pereto does not himself advocate such a union: he is content to be a peasant. But he recognises that the moral law, sanctioned by religion, is superior to social conventions, and thus he will not be bought off. Alejandro reveals the cynical attitude of the upper classes when he half-heartedly argues:

y una pobre labradora  
 pierde poco en ser gozada  
 de un Príncipe ...  
 III.i. p.357a.

Pereto is not aware of the practice at the court:

que en la corte es cosa usada,  
 por más que el vulgo lo note,  
 el remediar con un dote  
 una mujer deshonrada.  
 III.i. p.358b.

But he regards this as an insult, nor does he think that one can offer one's honour for sale.

This debate, however, offers no solution, nor is Pereto intimidated when his house is destroyed. The situation seems to be

leading to tragedy until Sabina (for Césaró is in prison) takes the matter into her hands. The actual solution is quite simple: Sabina, in disguise, succeeds in giving a rope to Césaró who uses it to escape from his prison.

But there are a few important details which need to be stressed. We see that Sabina and Césaró, are by no means passive characters.

It is largely through Sabina's determination and initiative that Césaró manages to escape and join her. A. A. Heathcote says that she is chiefly interesting for her wit, but then goes on to say that she is "strangely wooden and out of place in La elección por la virtud. Being the sister of a future Pope, we expect differently of her."<sup>9</sup>

I should rather be inclined to say that it is the pressure of society which has forced the lovers into a technically immoral situation.

Moreover, Sabina is definitely not out of place in the play. It is precisely her wit which makes her such an important character. It also seems to me that Heathcote over-emphasises the similarities

between the Sabina-Césaró situation and those in El burlador, Mari-Hernández la gallega, and Esto sí que es negociar. The resemblances are perhaps less important than the differences. The main differentiating factor is, of course, the character of Césaró.

Césaró is characterised by his tenacity of purpose, his firm resistance to pressure from his father, family and the conventions of his class. Unlike Don Martín, of Don Gil, he will not be led astray by his father, and refuses to marry Octavia, preferring to suffer imprisonment instead. So obedience to one's parents, as usual in Tirso, is to be subordinated to the moral law when the two come into conflict. Césaró is, in fact, noble, and acts accordingly. His words to Sabina stress this:

Fía de mí, que soy noble,  
y que las palabras tuyas  
por ser tan castas y honradas,  
el oro de mi fe apuran.

I.x. p.338a.

It is in Césaró and not in the majority of the other nobles that true nobility is to be found.

The contrast between the main and the sub-plot is now clear.

By remaining within a situation that is fully within a human context, Sabina and Césaró are obliged to be more active than Sixto. Since they must depend on their own resources, they are thrown into direct conflict with their environment. Divine, religious values exist, but they exist within this world in the shape of absolute values and standards against which men are tested.

The main point of the sub-plot is to demonstrate the absurdity of the Prince's stand, and, consequently, of the convention to which he and Sixto's persecutors adhere. In the main plot, the strength of the convention is broken by direct divine intervention. In the sub-plot, Sabina's initiative succeeds in providing Césaró with the means for escaping from his prison, but at the same time, Fabriano himself is ridiculed: thus the problem is treated satirically. In III.viii Fabriano is worsted in a debate by the wit of the only lately despised peasant, who proves to be too clever for him. Without realising it, he gives judgment in favour of the vencejos and thus condemns himself. His anger and exasperation at being outwitted only make him more ridiculous. Sabina, with incisive wit, drives the point home:

Pues que son vencejos todos,  
y estos dos se quieren bien,  
casaldos, que las altivas  
noblezas son espantajos,  
y todos, altos y bajos,  
nacimos de Adán y Adivas. (10)

III.viii. p.367a.

She points out to him the absurdity of his own position and his self-contradictory behaviour:

Vos el preito sentenciastes;  
 si vos mismo os condenastes  
 un asno sois, con perdón.  
 III.viii. p.367a.

In addition to the social implications of the sub-plot, the importance of love is also stressed. Sabina's subtle logic, which convinces the Prince, affirms that love is more important than the social status of the lovers. Marco Antonio's conversion also stresses this. Through love, he sees in Camila what Césaró sees in Sabina, and, so far from killing Sabina, actually decides to marry her sister.

One particular point needs stressing: this is the attitude of the nobility towards the lower classes, that is, the general problem which is illustrated in the particular cases of Sixto and Sabina. In the main plot, we are presented with envy, hatred, and even, in III.v., the threat of violence made by Ascanio, who sees Sixto as a danger to his ambitions to becoming a Cardinal.

Violence, latent in the main plot, breaks out in the sub-plot. In the play, the point of departure is the traditional theme of the opposition between country and court. The idyllic tone of the opening is meant to contrast with the sordid atmosphere later in the play, loaded with prejudice, hatred and violence. The Horatian theme thus leads to an examination of a social problem. While Césaró is noble morally as well as socially, he only serves to emphasise the black colours in which the nobility are painted and against which he stands out as a shining exception. The wilful, gratuitous violence done to Pereto and his family by Prince Fabriano and his fellow-noblemen provides a quite explicit comment on the latter which goes beyond satirical criticism to outright condemnation.



Therefore, Cotarelo's assertion, accepted by Da. Blanca, that this play was staged in the Royal Palace in 1622 has quite remarkable implications. This is not merely because Da. Blanca's date of 1612, supported by Wade, seems conclusive. That this play should have been staged in the Royal Palace some ten years after its composition is curious.

However, it appears that Cotarelo may have erred in supposing that this play was the one performed. The list of plays he refers to in the "Catálogo razonado" of his edition of Tirso's plays is that in the fourth volume of Lope's plays in Autores españoles. The title La elección por la virtud does not occur in this list. Cotarelo is more specific on page 159 of his book: Tirso de Molina. Investigaciones bio-bibliográficas, where he makes it clear that the play he has in mind is La milagrosa elección de San Pío V, which does appear in the list. It would appear that Cotarelo has confused Pius V (who does appear in Tirso's La elección) with Sixtus V. It seems, therefore, that Tirso's play was not one of those staged in the palace.

At the same time, there are some curious points which must be noted, but for which I am unable at the moment to offer an explanation. La elección was first published in Tirso's Parte tercera (Tortosa, 1634), which contains a large number of late plays.<sup>11</sup> What is more interesting for my immediate purpose is the fact that numbers 5, 6, and 7 of this parte are, respectively, La elección por la virtud, Ventura te dó Dios, hijo, and La prudencia en la mujer. All three plays, as I have pointed out, have episodic structures, and in all there is a certain amount of outside interference in the plot (divinely motivated, directly or indirectly) in order to ensure that real (divine) justice is done.

All this may be no more than coincidental, but other points suggest that there may be more to it than mere coincidence. These three plays are clearly tendentious. The view they advance is that genuine merit should be rewarded, and envy and illicit ambition thwarted. The political import of La prudencia en la mujer, pointed out by Miss Kennedy, is also to be borne in mind.

Before I develop that point further, I should like to draw attention to some textual features which suggest that Tirso may have had La elección in mind when writing Ventura te dé Dios, hijo and, also, El melancólico and Esto sí que es negociar.

There is, first, the metaphor of grafting, to which I drew attention earlier on. It is a favourite image of Tirso's.

Significantly, perhaps, it recurs in Esto sí que es negociar:

[ROGERIO:] O soy bárbaro, o ignoro  
que amor, hortelano astuto,  
en sazonado tributo,  
si la voluntad es huerto,  
estima en más el enjerto  
de dos almas, que otro fruto.  
III.ii. p.731b.

This metaphor appears again in Tirso's defence of the Lopean comedia in the Cigarrales, a passage which Miss Kennedy suggests was written in 1620-1621.

La elección seems to have some points in common with Ventura te dé ... as well. The following exchange in La elección recalls César's persecution of Otón:

ASCANIO: De perseguille vos nació su dicha.  
FRATILE 2o: Mil veces perseguido venturoso,  
que tan seguro del peligro escapa.  
DECIO: Persígale otra vez, y harále Papa.  
III.vi. p.363a-b.

In both these plays, the name "César" is used, and there occur references to the Colonna family.

More important, perhaps, is the fact that the theme of La elección is virtually the same as that of Ventura te dé .... In both virtue is rewarded. Both protagonists are obedient to their fathers, forgive their enemies, and are noble of soul. The main difference lies in the sceptical attitude towards learning present in Ventura te dé .... Tirso's handling of his material also differs in the two plays. La elección is much more serious, as is to be expected. In Ventura te dé ... a subtler form of irony can be discerned.

What all this seems to point to is that the theme of La elección and, perhaps, the play itself were in Tirso's mind around 1620-1622. If this play was indeed staged in the Royal Palace (and if Cotarelo is correct in assuming that the two titles belong to the same play - a point about which I am sceptical), the reasons are not obscure. As Wade has pointed out, La elección was probably written in 1611-162 as part of a wedding celebration. But it may have been revived in 1621-1622 for two main reasons. The first is that the year 1621 was the centenary of Sixto's birth. (The play gives the date as 14th Decémbér, 1621 [I.v. pp.331b-332a], which may mean that any revival of the play would have been towards the end of 1621.) The second is that this date may even have served as a pretext for the revival of the play for political purposes.

Da. Blanca has suggested that there may be a link between the composition of the play and Rodrigo Calderón's "discovery" that he was the bastard son of the Duke of Alba, recorded by Cabrera de Córdoba on 20th September, 1612. This would seem to suggest that plays such as this, (Lope's El villano en su rincón and, perhaps, El perro del hortelano) are connected with the event.<sup>12</sup> The exaltation of the lowly, virtuous peasant would then acquire added topical significance.

The political events of 1621 would, of course, in Tirso's eyes, provide an equally significant background for the theme of his early play. Now, there is evidence which suggests that early plays were revived later by palace factions for political reasons. An interesting example is Lope's Carlos V en Francia, which, curiously enough, is included in the list of plays performed in the palace in late 1622, to which Cotarelo referred.<sup>13</sup> Tirso's play would, if revived, be seen now, not so much as an exaltation of a lowly peasant, as an exaltation of true virtue and merit in the teeth of envious opposition. That such a revival may have been staged is not impossible, although there seems to be no convincing proof in favour of it. In any case, the implicit condemnation of the nobility and their abuse of their social position is clear. In the next chapter I shall suggest that Tirso even extends the scope of this criticism.

CHAPTER TEN

AMAR POR ARTE MAYOR:

ITS FORMAL STRUCTURE AND SATIRICAL CONTENT



Amar por arte mayor is, it seems, a late play, and a remarkable one at that.<sup>1</sup> In a number of ways it harks back to some of Tirso's earlier works. In structure, it resembles Don Gil. The background to the action resembles that of El amor médico. Lope, like Gaspar, is forced to flee, leaving behind the woman he loves, who marries another man. Both men, in love with other women, allow themselves the right to criticise the "fickleness" of their former loves - Lope in II.viii p.1186, Gaspar in II.i p.984.<sup>2</sup> Da. Blanca's machinations bear some resemblance to Jerónima's: both pretend to be the tercera of a former love; both make similar accusations of infidelity and fickleness to the man they love. Da. Blanca, too, is a typical man-hater, like so many other women in Golden Age drama; and, like Tisbea of El burlador, Serafina of El vergonzoso and Jerónima of El amor médico, she is reduced to love. The fundamental absurdity of the situation, too, in which Elvira and Lope love each other and express their mutual affection by pretending to hate each other and love Ordoño and Blanca is typically Tirsian. The abuse of power and situation which we have seen in La elección por la virtud recurs in this play. The scene in which Elvira and Ordoño wrangle over a partridge (I.vi-vii), which gives rise to Lope's jealousy, recalls a similar scene in El melancólico where Rogerio's jealousy is aroused when he sees Leonisa and Filipo struggling to obtain possession of the former's corales (II.xviii-xx).

Yet, for all these echoes of earlier plays, Amar por arte mayor is distinctively different. The tone and style are quite different from the ones we normally associate with Tirso. This play seems to be essentially a court play. The Tirso of Amar por arte mayor is, in fact, more Calderonian than Lopean. In Calderón is influenced by Tirso, which seems probable, this surely is the Tirso who influences

him. At the same time, we cannot discount the possibility that the younger playwright may also have influenced the older.

The new manner of Tirso can be noted in the studied artificiality of the structure. The parallelism and symmetry noted in earlier plays appear here perfected and employed with fine delicacy. Consider, for example, the situations in III.xii, xiv, where it is precisely the artificially contrived symmetry and parallelism of the plot-structure which allow Elvira and Lope to employ ambivalent language. The number of characters, too, is small by Tirsian standards, and almost all of them have organic rôles in the play, the only real exception being García, who in fact is merely one of the King's attendants (I.vii. p.1175). We have a further move towards dramatic economy.

But, above all, the new manner is most apparent in the style. What we recognise as a Calderonian note is struck in the long, opening speech by Tello. The long, intricate periods and the profusion of "learned" metaphor and simile, used seriously, are far removed from Tirso's earlier style. The exposition in the opening scene (which requires a silent, attentive audience from the start - there is no question here of imposing silence on a noisy audience, which suggests that this play was not conceived primarily for the public theatre) is narrated, not presented in action as it often is in the earlier Tirso (El vergonzoso, El amor médico). There is, of course, less "typically" Tirsian stage-action in this play. The conflicts are essentially internal ones, and this is reflected in the language of the play. The Calderón-like formulation of an internal dilemma is easily recognised in this play: note, e.g., Lope's soliloquy in II.xi:

## Remató

la fortuna con mi seso;  
 echó el resto a sus rigores:  
 ¿no fuera mejor, temores,  
 acabar conmigo preso?  
 Si doña Elvira me trata  
 con desprecio, he de perder  
 la vida; si llego a ver  
 amor en mi hermosa ingrata,  
 el rey ha de aborrecerme,  
 la infanta ha de perseguirme:  
 mudable, en efeto, o firme,  
 voy, desdichas, a perderme.

II.xi. p.1189a-b.

Phrases which we consider typically Calderonian abound: Lope mentions a "confusa ilusión" in III.ii.p.1196a, and says a bit later:

¿Queréis sacarme, desdichas,  
 del golfo en que desespero?

III.iii. p.1198b.

Such expressions are not, of course, confined to Lope. Elvira's soliloquy expressing her dilemma, in II.xiii p.1190, is equally "Calderonian". It may be noted here that there are considerably more soliloquies in this play than is normal in Tirso - another so-called Calderonian feature: two occur in Act I (iii, v); six in Act II - or, perhaps, five, since II.vi is not really a soliloquy (iv, vi, ix, xi, xiii, xviii); and four in Act III (i, iii, viii, x).

The artificial, courtly style is standard. Note, e.g., I.i, and Blanca's remarkable lyrical soliloquy in I.iii. This does not mean that Tirso no longer satirises the excesses of the Gongoristic style. Bermudo lets himself go in a splendid piece of burlesque in II.v:

mas usiría, muchacha  
 brillante, esplendor, armiña,  
 candor, crepúsculo, amago,  
 aroma, coturno, pira;  
 usiría que enjaulando  
 el copete que entroniza  
 solapa una ratonera,  
 de tanto moño tarima,  
 ¿ya en esa edad gruñizón?

II.v. p.1183a.

But, by this play, Tirso is clearly attracted by the dramatic possibilities

of the culto style, stripped of its excesses. (The mannered style in this play is, of course, also to be noticed in Tirso's prose.) I cannot here do more than call attention to this new, Calderonian manner in the late Tirso, which clearly requires a separate study. I shall now pass on to the examination of some other aspects of the play.

I have suggested that the formal structure of Don Gil de las calzas verdes can be best likened to a set of Chinese boxes or to a series of concentric circles of diminishing radii. A moment's reflection makes it clear that symmetry and parallelism are the inevitable concomitants of such a structure. We are, of course, familiar with the secondary intrigue in the comedia which centres around the gracioso and parodies the main action: the one in Tirso's Mari-Hernández la gallega is a striking example, in that the sub-plot is a close and systematic parody of the main plot. Tirso is also given to using symmetry and parallelism in plays of more orthodox construction, as, for example, in Marta la piadosa. Such features are indicative of a certain care in construction and would seem to go against the traditional view that Tirso was indifferent to the niceties and even basic requirements of plot-construction. However, the "telescopic" form referred to above is a distinctive one in Tirso's theatre and reappears in Amar por arte mayor.

The outer frame or circle of the plot is provided by Lope's coming into conflict with King Sancho over Isabela. Lope is obliged to flee to Asturias where he falls in love with Elvira, and this begins the action proper of the play. At the end of the comedy, the reconciliation between Lope and Sancho brings the action round full circle, thus ensuring an overall formal unity.

The struggle between two persons for the possession of a third

object or person is the basic motif on which the plot is constructed. The main action of the play, which deals with the clash between Lope and King Ordoño over Elvira, is a reflection of the situation which constitutes the outer frame of the story. The secondary action is a further reflection of the initial situation, in that it presents the struggle between the Infanta Blanca and Elvira for Lope's affections. Obliquely, Ordoño's attempt to marry his sister to the Duque de Vizcaya against her will makes the Duke an indirect rival of Lope's for the Infanta, a situation which is paralleled by the fact that the Infanta of Navarre is an indirect rival of Elvira's for Ordoño. Finally, on the symbolic level, the scene in I.vi-vii, where Ordoño and Elvira wrangle over a partridge is once more a repetition of the main motif. The central couple, Lope and Elvira, through being the common factor in all of these incidents, form, so to speak, the centre common to all the circles. Formal structural unity is thus secured by a central group on whom all the situations are hinged, and a common motif on which a number of variations are played. The opposition of morality to power ensures dramatic tension.

The central problem of the play is the presence of obstacles, in the forms of King Ordoño and his sister, to the love of Elvira and Lope. As we have seen, this love is the direct result of Lope's clash with Sancho. The structural reasons for the introduction of the earlier love and conflict will be discussed later. But the new love-affair leads to another and similar conflict between King and vassal, with the added complication that Doña Blanca has designs on Lope.

In their attempt to indulge their passions, Ordoño and Blanca abuse their power and authority. Ordoño, falling in love with Elvira, orders her to forget the man she loves:

ORDONO: Doña Elvira, despedid  
 al que, en vuestra voluntad  
 huésped, honráis satisfecha;  
 que no cabremos los dos,  
 siendo, como decís vos,  
 para más que un alma estrecha.

ELVIRA: Aun no sé si en ella cabe  
 quien su dueño intenta ser:  
 mire, ¡cómo ha de caber  
 un rey! Que tengo con llave,  
 señor, mi alma, dije yo.

ORDONO: ¿Y abrirla un rey no podría?

ELVIRA: A no ser descortesía,  
 os respondiera que no.

I.vii. p.1176b.

Later on, when he suspects that Lope loves Elvira, Ordoño practises what virtually amounts to emotional blackmail on Lope: he confers favours on the latter, which he then carefully points out, should Lope not be fully aware of his debt to his King:

[ORDONO:] A ponderaros  
 vine lo que me debéis;  
 porque cuando libre estéis,  
 deudo, vasallo y amigo,  
 de la suerte que os obligo,  
 mercedes desempeñéis;  
 por mayordomo mayor,  
 mi casa, Lope, os recibe.

II.iii. p.1182a.

Then he explains to Lope how he can repay this debt:

ORDONO: Prenda en mi corte tenéis  
 que os sacaré de deudor.  
 Baste esto, si pretendéis  
 cumplir con vuestro acreedor.

II.iii. p.1182b.

Ordoño's generosity has been, in fact, an attempt to bribe Lope.

We also note that Lope and Elvira are virtual prisoners in the palace. Act II opens with Lope in prison; he is set free physically by Ordoño, but is made a moral debtor, and cannot be really free until he has paid off his debt - with Elvira. By being made "mayordomo mayor" he is also confined to the palace, where Elvira is being held. The latter, by being appointed lady-in-waiting to Blanca, is brought to the palace so that Blanca's blandishments and Ordoño's wooing may

persuade her to love the King:

BERMUDO:            ¡Vive Dios, que lo entendí  
dese modo desde el día  
que trayéndola a palacio,  
para obligarla despacio,  
de su hermana la confía!  
Porque es la privanza tal  
con que doña Blanca la ama,  
que aunque vino a ser su dama,  
más parece que es su igual.  
II.i. p.1181a.

Blanca, however, is not only an advocate of her brother's cause,  
but has her own axe to grind. It is to her advantage that Elvira  
should marry Ordoño, since she herself is in love with Lope. Tirso's  
treatment of Blanca is, as is to be expected, interesting. When we  
first meet her, she protests against the violence done to her liberty:

[BLANCA:]                            Bien pudo  
un consentimiento mudo  
quejarse en mí de la ley  
que introdujo la costumbre  
en las de mi calidad,  
pues contra la libertad  
dan al alma pesadumbre.  
. . . . .  
¡Triste cosa que hayan dado  
las coronas inhumanas  
en desterrar sus hermanas  
por sola razón de estado!  
I.ii. pp.1169b-1170a.

Regretting that the individual freedom of a ruler is severely curtailed  
by political obligations, which may at times go against personal  
inclinations and desires, Blanca envies the absolute freedom of the  
wilds, the complete self-sufficiency of the phoenix:

[BLANCA:]                            ¿Quién imitaros pudiera  
gozando entera exención  
de ajena jurisdicción,  
por más grave, más severa?  
. . . . .  
¡Feliz Narciso en amores  
que no admitió compañía!  
¡Feliz el Fénix también  
que privilegia desvelos,  
y jubilado de celos,  
sólo a sí se quiere bien!  
I.iii. p.1170a-b.

She contrasts the liberty of the phoenix with the servitude of the princess:

[BLANCA:]        ¡Qué mucho que en dicha tanta  
                      envidie a una ave una infanta,  
                      esta esclava, aquella reina?  
  I.iii. p.1170b.

Her confessed envy of Narcissus is revealing: Blanca is self-centred. She can think only of herself. But she is soon to discover that true love is directed towards others, in other words, that man must live in society; and Blanca must then learn that gregarious living demands a measure of self-sacrifice, which increases with one's social responsibilities, which, in turn, depend on one's position in society. But, at first, Blanca moves only from her desire for absolute freedom to her love for Lope. Her egocentric attitude leads her to exploit her position and power in order to gain her own ends. She pretends to Lope that she is acting on behalf of the abandoned Isabela. But she gradually reveals her true intention. Lope is to love Isabela, but to reserve a place in his heart for another woman, i.e., herself:

[BLANCA:]        Querelda; pero advertido  
                      de que hay dama que se enoja  
                      si la amáis demasiado.  
                      Templarse en vos su amor puede  
                      con tal límite, que quede  
                      lugar desembarazado  
                      para otra que más os ama.  
  III.ii. p.1198a.

Veiled threats are not absent either. After Lope, to satisfy the King, has "pretended" to woo an angry Elvira, Blanca's parting speech makes her intentions clear:

BLANCA:            Mucho, Lope, os debe el rey  
                      si son fingidas las muestras  
                      de amor que Elvira no admite.  
                      Mucho también Isabela,  
                      y yo mucho más que todos;  
                      pero si son verdaderas  
                      (que para fingidas, Lope,  
                      vi mucho espíritu en ellas),

que os guardéis de mí os aviso,  
porque al paso que agradezca  
puntualidad en servirme,  
castigaré inobediencias.

II.xvii. p.1194b.

Few authors indeed have managed to reproduce so well those perversely ambiguous speeches (the despair of lovers) in which women manage to say yea and nay simultaneously.

A direct, open conflict between rulers and vassals is avoided because an ambiguous situation is maintained throughout. To avoid coming to grief, Lope and Elvira must circumvent the obstacles to their love with the utmost care and discretion. They hit upon an ingenious trick which allows them to express their love for each other while ostensibly expressing their affection for the King and Princess. At this point, one reason for making Lope come into conflict with Sancho over an earlier love-affair becomes apparent. Blanca has exploited this for her own purpose, although Lope is only momentarily puzzled by Blanca's news of Isabela's "arrival" in León. But he goes along with Blanca's game, for this allows him to lull the King's suspicions, and also to deceive Blanca into believing that he loves her. On the other hand, the fact that Ordoño and Blanca have promised to marry the Infanta of Navarre and her brother respectively in order to end the war between Navarre and León is a conveniently ambiguous factor which Lope and Elvira can exploit. The ambiguous speeches prepare the way for the climax which comes with the exchange of written messages: Elvira's letter to Ordoño contains within it a message for Lope, while Lope's letter actually has three different messages for three persons! (III. vii-xi).

The climax of the play is thus produced by a brilliant display of ingenuity and technical virtuosity. It will be clear that such a climax is best suited to the telescopic structure of the play, providing,

so to speak, the apex of the cone. The parallel with the "Gil cluster-point" in Don Gil is obvious.

Ordoño and Blanca are clearly the victims of an outrageous burla. King and Princess are not only frustrated in their pretensions, but ridiculed. The fact they they are deliberately deceived by Elvira and Lope also means that they have been affronted by their vassals. But ultimately, it must be admitted, they are not so much the victims of the deception practised upon them by the two lovers as they are victims of self-deception. They deceive themselves into believing that the power and authority vested in them by reason of their position in society, (and, consequently, the obedience to them required of their vassals) can be exploited for the satisfaction of their own selfish desires and passions, even at the cost of violating the rights of their subjects and negating the responsibilities of King to subject. It is only because they are blinded in this way that they can be deceived, to their ultimate discomfiture and shame, by an outward show of submission, acquiescence and obedience. The old Spanish formula of "obedezco pero no cumplo" is excellently illustrated here.

The trick played by Lope and Elvira is, of course, a potentially dangerous one. This is consonant with the ambiguous tonality of the play. There is a perceptible change in tone during the course of the play. In the first two acts, especially, there are dark and troubled undertones. As I shall suggest, this is probably due to the nature and implications of the theme. That may help to explain why the third act is emotionally low-keyed. Even so, tragedy is never far away. Towards the end, Ordoño discovers that Isabela is married in France. His previous defiance of Sancho (due not so much to his refusal to surrender Lope as to the selfish reasons underlying this

refusal) brings the two nations perilously close to war, but tragedy is avoided, thanks to the good sense of the reformed Sancho, who reveals the true state of affairs to the King and thus brings about the "reformation" of Ordoño and Blanca.

The entrance of Sancho seems, from one point of view, arbitrary. We are not prepared for the fact that Elvira has written to him, asking for his help. But, in terms of the structure of the play, Sancho's intervention here balances his intervention in the earlier affair. It was he who disrupted the social harmony at the start, and it is he, now a reformed man, who comes to restore it at the end. With his arrival on the scene, the various circles which form the plot are completed. This is the second main reason for the existence of the Sancho-Lope-Isabela intrigue. Both Kings have to learn self-control through the frustration of their selfish desires. Sancho's self-mastery makes it easier for Ordoño and Blanca to dominate themselves. The marriages between the Kings and the Infantas, which ensure international peace, reveal that they have grown aware of their duties and obligations. Blanca herself, who had erstwhile rebelled against a marriage "por razón de estado" on the ground that it violated her liberty, and who was yet prepared to ride roughshod over the liberties of her vassals, is made aware of her duties to her subjects and to the state. Her conversion, effected in two stages, is complete: she is no longer a man-hater, nor is she a wilful, irresponsible Princess.

On the other hand, there is also a point to the arbitrary ending of the play. W. Kerr, in his book, Tragedy and Comedy, discusses the arbitrary nature of the happy ending in comedy. It is deliberately arbitrary to call our attention to the pessimism inherent in the comic view of life. "Substitution, compromise, resignation - of

such stuff is our merriment made" (p.61). Compromise and resignation are necessary, because in comedy (as often in real life) they are the alternatives to despair. "Within comedy", says Kerr, "there is always despair, a despair of ever finding a right ending except by artifice and magic. ... There is something about comedy that has no future." (p.79). Thus "To be comic, the ending must forcefully call into question the issues of 'happiness' and 'forever after'. Comedy is not lyric, not rhapsodic, not reassuring; putting its last and best foot forward, it puts it squarely down in dung." (p.79). This view of the arbitrary comic ending seems to me to be very pertinent to the ending of Amar por arte mayor. There is compromise and resignation, because they are the only alternatives to violence. Tirso, in this comedy, has brought us to the edge of the tragic pit, and our final merriment is tinged with hysteria. The hint is subtle but not for that any less meaningful. The full implications of this, especially for Tirso's audience, will, I hope, be brought out by the points I now propose to make.

The abuse of regal power and authority is, of course, the theme of Amar por arte mayor. This theme is treated in a number of Golden Age plays, of which the most famous is the tragedy, La estrella de Sevilla. In Tirso's play, a tragic ending is avoided by a delicate managing of passions which, throughout the play, constantly threaten to get out of hand: Elvira, offended by the accusations of the jealous Lope in I.viii, has him arrested and imprisoned. Later, in II.xiv, Elvira's jealousy again breaks out in dangerous fashion (and the unflattering reflection on the King who is in a woman's power is not to be missed):

[ELVIRA:]           tengo a Ordoño en mi poder,  
                       y como le hice prender,  
                       le haré cortar la cabeza,  
   II.xiv. p.1191a.

Now, just as the structure of the play is reflected in the climatic device of the use of letters which contain several messages, it seems that the theme of the play can likewise be interpreted in different ways, the first interpretation being in terms of the story itself, i.e., at a purely artistic level, and the second, in terms of the historical implications, literary as well as social, of the story.

We note, first of all, that some incidents in Amar por arte mayor seem to recall similar incidents in the anonymous La Estrella de Sevilla. The main situation is similar in both: a King loves one of his subjects, who, because she loves another man, refuses to accept the King's love. In both plays, the King attempts to abuse his power: while this is largely limited to threats in Tirso's play, it leads to Busto's murder in La Estrella. In the latter, the King attempts to bribe Busto by conferring favours on him; in Amar por arte mayor, Ordoño frees Lope from prison and makes him "mayordomo mayor". In both plays the King's designs are frustrated, although the endings differ. Finally, there seem to be other echoes of La Estrella in Tirso's comedy: Tello tells of Lope's refusal to draw his sword in the King's presence:

[TELLO:]            Bien pudiera retirarse,  
                       o a no estar su rey presente  
                       vestir de nuevos esmaltes  
                       el siempre temido acero,  
                       . . . . .  
                       No lo hizo por leal,  
                       ni lo otro por turbarse.  
   I.i. p.1168a-b.

Busto, of course, attacks the King, pretending not to believe he is the King. The confrontation in the tragedy comes when Busto prevents

the King from gaining access to Estrella's room, while in the comedy, it is the King who surprises Lope in Isabela's room. Whereas Busto is murdered, we learn that Sancho's resolve to kill Lope was frustrated in the nick of time:

[TELLO:]           Aplaudióles el enojo  
                  de don Sancho y por que acaben  
                  de una vez celos y envidia,  
                  resolviéndose en matarle,  
                  lo hiciera, a no darle aviso  
                  amigos . . .           I.i. p.1168b.

Lope, in I.viii, refers to the suborning of judges by the King:

LOPE:               ¿Qué maravilla, si el juez  
                      admite reales cohechos?  
                                  I.viii. p.1179b.

At the end of the third act of La Estrella we recall that the King tried to persuade the judges to let Sancho off with only a token punishment. These similarities are pointed out, not in order to prove any deliberate borrowing by Tirso from La Estrella (although, as I shall later point out, there seems to be some connexion between the two plays), but to suggest, first, that they are recurrent situations in a certain type of play, and, secondly (and more important), that they may be references to events and situations which actually took place. In any case, it seems reasonable to assume that there are echoes of La Estrella in Tirso's comedy. (We may bear in mind that a King Sancho appears in both plays, and also that a Don Gonzalo de Ulloa appears in La Estrella de Sevilla. We meet him again, of course, in Tirso's El burlador de Sevilla.)

It has often been suggested that some of the incidents in the plot of the anonymous La Estrella seem to be references to actual historical events.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the close resemblance between the murder of Busto at the King's orders and the murder of Juan Escobedo in 1578 and, more pertinently, that of the Conde de Villamediana in

1622, supposedly at the instigation of an outraged and jealous King, the resemblance, also, between Busto's attack on the King while feigning ignorance of his identity, and the drubbing supposedly administered by the Duke of Alburquerque to Philip IV and Olivares when the former attempted to seduce the Duchess, seem to indicate that the play was intended as an attack on Philip IV's irresponsible philandering and his abuse of power.<sup>4</sup> In view of this, it is no surprise that the play is anonymous, and that even such stylistic analysis as has been attempted has been of no help in establishing its authorship.

Furthermore, a curious feature is that a number of Golden Age plays with similar or related themes seem to have been composed during the period 1623 to 1631. Anibal points out that La Estrella may have imitated Lope's Servir con mala estrella (published 1615).<sup>5</sup> This is, admittedly, an early date, but the theme of abuse of regal power seems to have become especially popular with Golden Age dramatists in the early years of Philip IV's reign. Leavitt, following Cotarelo, argues that La Estrella seems to have been composed in 1623.<sup>6</sup> Anibal, in his article mentioned above, also argues that the fiestas referred to in the play were most probably those held in honour of the visit of the Prince of Wales (7th March to 9th September, 1623). This argument is convincing, although a further detail may be pointed out. The play opens with Sancho's entrance into Seville, and much is made of the setting of the play in that city. In view of the generous praise accorded Seville and the detailed references to it, it seems highly probable that the play was written to be performed initially in Seville. (In passing, we may bear in mind two points here: first, Tirso, in various plays mentions and praises Seville; secondly, setting is often very important in Tirso: compare La celosa, Por el sótano and

El amor médico, to name three obvious ones I have analysed in this thesis. The exploitation of setting is a feature of Tirso's dramatic art.) Now, early in 1624, Philip IV made his first visit to Andalucía, and the highlight of this trip was his visit to Seville. He arrived in that city on Thursday, 28th February, 1624, and his official entrance was on the first of March. His arrival caused a great stir in Seville, the inhabitants of which were favourably impressed by the King. Philip left Seville on March 13th.<sup>7</sup> La Estrella de Sevilla, then, may have been composed in 1624, perhaps just after Philip's departure from the Andalusian city. If this is indeed the case (and circumstantial evidence lends support to it), La Estrella must clearly be seen as a vitriolic attack on the philandering of Spain's monarch, his abuse of regal power, and the connivance at this of Olivares.<sup>8</sup>

There are a number of plays by Calderón which deal with more or less the same theme. The earliest of these would appear to be Amor, honor y poder, which was first staged in the royal palace by Acacio Bernal's company in 1623.<sup>9</sup> That the King who attempts to abuse his power is Edward III of England links the play with the visit of the Prince of Wales, although the implication of the theme must have made the compliment a dubious one. The King's attempt virtually to bribe Estela and her family, his appointing them to palace posts to ensure that Estela be within the King's power, the frustration of the King's initial attempt to seduce Estela after entering her room, even the disguised Infanta's visit to Enrico in his prison clearly resemble situations found in La Estrella. The names of the heroines of the two plays are also virtually the same. The play is, of course, a comedy, and the wish that the Prince of Wales and the Spanish Princess be happily married is reflected in the ending.

The theme recurs in Saber del mal y del bien, though the King's attempt to make Hipólita buy her brother's life by surrendering to him is subordinated to the main theme of the hazards of the privado's life.<sup>10</sup> Hipólita's refusal to believe that the King could abuse his power in this way seems to be an echo of La Estrella. But in Calderón's play, the King is not painted in black colours, nor is there any intention of passing judgment on him. The Conde states explicitly in Act I (perhaps this is Calderón's anticipation of criticism):

Que es soberana justicia  
El Rey; y aunque yerre, vos  
No lo habéis de remediar;  
Porque nadie ha de juzgar  
A los Reyes, sino Dios. (11)

At the same time, the King must awaken to his obligations:

[REY:]

porque más quiere  
Quien llega a querer de veras  
El honor de lo que ama,  
Que el fin de lo que desea.  
III. p. 138b.

A little tag in Act II of Saber del mal y del bien, García's accusation of Álvaro: "¿Alcahuetico me sois?", leads us on to a third play of Calderón's, El secreto a voces.<sup>12</sup> In Act III of this latter play, also, Fabio, hidden under the table, eavesdrops on Federico and Enrique, and exclaims in an aside: "¡Oigan, oigan! / ¿Alcahuetico es mi amo?" According to Cotarelo, this play can be assigned to 1642.<sup>13</sup> This date is rather late for my immediate purpose, which is to draw attention to the fact that a number of plays, all dealing with the theme of the abuse of power, can reasonably be assigned to the period 1623 to 1631. But there are a number of points to which it would be useful to draw attention. Calderón's play, as has been pointed out, is a refundición of Tirso's Amar por arte mayor.<sup>14</sup> In typical Calderonian fashion, Tirso's double intrigue has been reduced to a

single one (the number of characters being correspondingly reduced), the Duchess Flérida is the one who tries to abuse her situation (she obviously corresponds to Blanca in Tirso's play), and the key to the lovers' code (the production of a handkerchief) is introduced quite early on in the play; such a code is promised at the end of Act I, and we know what it is to be early in Act II. This simplification is, of course, much better suited to Calderón's linear or syllogistic plot-construction, whereas the more complex intrigue is admirably suited to Tirso's "telescopic" structure. The use of a secret code by the lovers and the outrageous burla practised on Flérida are the vital features Calderón adopts from Tirso's play. Calderón's light-hearted treatment of the theme, with its tragic overtones, also recalls Tirso's play.

All the same, it is perhaps significant that Calderón was interested in this play of Tirso's to the extent that he re-cast it. Amar por arte mayor, we remember, was first published in Tirso's Quinta parte (Madrid, 1636) and is the first play in that collection. This parte is interesting in that it bears an aprobación by Calderón himself, dated 16th July, 1635. In it, he states: "hay en ellas [i.e., the comedias] mucha erudición y exemplar doctrina por la moralidad que tienen encerrada en su honesto y apacible entretenimiento". Professor E. M. Wilson has commented with his usual insight on this aprobación:

The tribute to Tirso, when Calderón was only 35, is more important. Here charmingly enough is a young man's homage to an elderly master, whom he praises for his religion and morality as well as for his art. The delicate acknowledgment of Tirso's leadership ("los que más deseamos imitarle") and the implied challenge to the ecclesiastical opponents of the popular theatre by the claim that Tirso's plays are religious, moral and exemplary are both noteworthy. In so far as he attempted to follow the older man's example, his plays would have, the readers would suspect, the same aim. (15)

My superficial comparison of Amar por arte mayor with El secreto a voces supports this view fully. Calderón's homage to Tirso was thus carried a step further in 1642 when he wrote El secreto a voces. That homage is made even more explicit in Arnesto's speech in Act III:

Los cuerdos amigos son  
el libro más entendido  
de la vida, sí, porque  
deleitan aprovechando. (16)

The technical influence of Tirso's play is obvious. Nor are the moral and exemplary aspects of the theme ignored. But, we suspect, Calderón's play is less "dangerously" presented than Tirso's. I shall return to this point presently.

But first I should like to refer briefly to three of Lope's plays. C. E. Anibal, in his article, draws attention to two of them. As he says, there is a striking resemblance between Lope's Servir con mala estrella and La Estrella de Sevilla. Furthermore, a similar situation is to be found in Lope's El poder en el discreto (8th May, 1623), which is reflected in Calderón's Amor, honor y poder (staged 29th June, 1623). Finally, there is the curious case of El castigo sin venganza (1631), which was withdrawn after its first performance. It is supposed that the Duke's association with "mujercillas viles" may have been taken as an indirect allusion to Philip's philandering.<sup>17</sup>

The above points may be helpful in dating Amar por arte mayor. Doña Blanca de los Ríos assigns the play to 1635.<sup>18</sup> In the actual text of the introduction, however, she adduces no evidence which can point to later than 1630-1631. G. E. Wade has suggested that it is unlikely that Tirso wrote any plays after 1631.<sup>19</sup> Dr. A. K. G. Paterson has also suggested that by this date Tirso's own statements indicate that he was moving away from the theatre to other literary

forms.<sup>20</sup> These, it is true, are only tentative suggestions adduced on the basis of circumstantial evidence, but they may be borne in mind as we consider some other, more suggestive points.

The tone of the first two acts of Tirso's play is comparatively sombre, especially in view of the generally light-hearted third act. It is interesting to examine the criticism contained in some of the speeches in these acts. Most of the attacking passages deal with the theme of the abuse of royal power. Tello describes Sancho's polite threat to Lope thus:

[TELLO:] y si celos son gigantes  
 en pretendientes humildes,  
 ¿qué serán en pechos reales?  
 Llamó a don Lope su primo,  
 y declarándole aparte  
 sentimientos de su ofensa,  
 más que severo amigable,  
 le pidió que desistiese  
 de deseos principiantes,  
 sin competir con coronas  
 jubiladas de rivales.  
 I.i. pp.1167b-1168a.

Lope's jealous outburst seems to hint at more than Elvira's social ambitions. (One is inclined to suspect that one of Tirso's reasons for making Lope easily jealous was that such criticism could be more natural and more extreme.)

[LOPE:] ¿No os pareció muy bizarro?  
 Pero ¿qué príncipe hay feo?  
 ¿No es su discreción notable?  
 Pero ¿cuándo un rey fue necio?  
 No hay llaves que no falseen  
 coronas; y según esto,  
 poco importó el advertirle  
 tenerle cerrado el pecho.  
 Alojébase en él yo  
 confiado y indiscreto;  
 halléle en mi compañía;  
 es rey, túvele respeto;  
 despejéle la posada,  
 porque en lugar tan estrecho,  
 no saliendo el uno, ¿cómo  
 un vasallo y rey cabremos?  
 I.viii. p.1177a.

The gracioso is more outspoken when he finds himself in prison:

BERMUDO: ¿Qué quieres? allá van leyes  
Et caetera. Estrellas son;  
naciste en oposición  
de las damas y los reyes.  
El leonés te tiene preso  
por dar gusto al navarrisco,  
y a su infanta basilisco  
cuyo amor le quita el seso.  
II.i. p.1181a.

Lope corrects Bermudo's analysis of Ordoño's motives:

[LOPE:] Celos que tiene de mí  
le abrasan el corazón,  
y ocasionan mi prisión.  
II.i. p.1181a.

Lope, too, complains that the egoism of kings leads to the violation of human rights:

[LOPE:] Hame el rey favorecido,  
amor, porque más me enciendas  
mientras con celos me ofendas;  
que ya, atropellando leyes,  
interesables los reyes,  
si fían, es sobre prendas.  
II.iv. p.1182b.

Elvira comments on the tyranny of Ordoño:

[ELVIRA:] Celos, si no tiranías  
de Ordoño, le tienen preso [a Lope]  
.....  
cuantos le temen, me avisan  
que el poder, si injusto, real,  
le intenta quitar la vida.  
II.v. p.1184a.

This is all/the result of hubris:

[ELVIRA:] No sufre la majestad  
por la lisonja aplaudida,  
inobediencias amantes;  
que es sol y fácil se eclipsa.  
II.v. p.1184a.

But if the self-conceit of kings is fattened on flattery, flattery can be deceitful, and it is by pretending to surrender to the demands of Ordoño and Blanca that Elvira and Lope can live in safety and preserve their love. The criticism of the abuse of kingly power is

clearly expressed. With this goes an equally clearly declared intention of resisting tyranny. Ordoño may think that his power and status give him illimitable rights:

ORDONO:                   Tú, que mides.  
desbaratados deseos  
con mi poder, tú que humilde  
en lo exterior, apetece  
prendas mías.  
                                  III.vii. p.1201b.

But Elvira affirms from the very beginning that the individual has certain inalienable rights, one of which is the right to love the person of one's choice: the King's jurisdiction cannot be extended to cover one's will and emotions:

[ELVIRA:]               Reine Ordoño allá, que yo  
dentro de mí misma reino  
tanto más majestuosa  
cuanto mayor considero  
la jurisdicción de un alma  
cuyas potencias gobiernan,  
mejor que él aduladores,  
ya nobles, o ya plebeyos.  
                                  I.viii. p.1178a.

She maintains this attitude to the very end, and, in her letter to Lope, encourages him to resist, for the ultimate victory will be his:

[LOPE:]               "La razón de Estado obliga;  
su poder es riguroso;  
resistilde generoso;  
que el valor vitorias gana."  
                                  III.viii. p.1203b.

It is clear why the overwhelming majority of the comedias seem to centre around apparently frivolous love-affairs. There is something more to it than the intrinsic interest they provide. Drama can be said to deal primarily with relationships: the ways in which individuals, members of society, social groups communicate or fail to communicate with one another. The couple, a man and woman, form, of course, the basic social unit. The nature of their relationship may remain on the personal and private plane. But these individuals

are also members of society, and an examination of their relationship can be a springboard for the discussion of larger problems. When C interferes with a system of communication set up by A and B, we get a "simple" case of love and jealousy. However, when C is King and A and B are his subjects, the whole question of social relationships arises, and this, as we have seen, happens in this play. The duty of the King to respect the rights of his subjects (in this case, the right to love and marriage) and his moral obligation not to abuse the power which is his for the purpose of protecting his subjects' rights by violating those very rights in order to satisfy his selfish desires are the problems treated in Tirso's play. But the tone of the play, it must be emphasised, is not wholly grave: serious ideas are adorned in pleasing garb. I shall now try to show that in this play Tirso does not seem to be stating general principles only; he is apparently criticising an existing state of affairs as well.

There is a curious passage in Bermudo's speech in which he reproaches Elvira for her apparent fickleness and ingratitude:

[BERMUDO:] Por ella olvidó a Isabela,  
 la mujer más resabida,  
 más discreta, más hermosa,  
 más gentilhombrá, más rica  
 que una abadesa en las Huelgas,  
 que una condesa en su villa,  
 y una dama de teatros,  
 que es más que todas las dichas;  
 quien tal hace, que tal pague.  
 II.v. p.1183b.

Our attention is drawn to it by the unusual comparisons Bermudo makes, which are apparently irrelevant to the context, if, indeed, not wholly pointless. However, the triple combination is too conspicuous not to arouse our suspicions, and it seems, in fact, that these references are to actual persons.

Fortunately enough, it appears reasonably easy to identify the

"abadesa en las Huelgas" as Ana de Austria (1567?-163...?). On page 206 of the first volume of the Diccionario de Historia de España (Madrid, 1952), we are given an account of her life, from which the following extracts are taken:

Doña Ana de Austria era hija natural de don Juan de Austria y doña María de Mendoza, dama de honor de la princesa doña Juana de Austria. ... desde el primer momento, se hizo cargo de la niña doña Magdalena de Ulloa, que con tanto amor había cuidado de don Juan durante su niñez. Abandonó doña Magdalena la corte y se retiró a su palacio de Villagarcía de Campos para consagrar por entero su vida a criar y educar a la niña. Cuando doña Ana cumplió siete años de edad, fué colocada en el convento de Agustinas de Madrigal, donde más tarde profesó .....

Hacia 1591, la vida sencilla y apartada de doña Ana sufrió una fugaz transformación con motivo de haber tomado parte inocente en las tramas del Sebastianismo. ... Descubierta la trama por la justicia real, ... doña Ana fué trasladada al monasterio de Avila, se la castigó a reclusión en su celda durante cuatro años y a ayunar todos los viernes a pan y agua, perdiendo además el tratamiento de "excelencia". Pero al poco tiempo se levantó el castigo; doña Ana fué llevada al monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos, donde fué elegida abadesa perpetua.

En 1615 doña Ana recibió en el monasterio a Isabel de Borbón, que llegó en visita acompañada de Felipe III y de su futuro esposo el príncipe Felipe [IV]; ... Se sabe que doña Ana aun vivía en 1625, pues Baltasar Porreño le dedicó su Vida de Juan de Austria en dicho año.

The exact date of her death has apparently not yet been established, but the unlucky lady was still alive on the 20th of June, 1627, for, in the Noticias de Madrid, we read among the entries for that day the following passage:

Este día llegó nueva de Burgos, que pasando por aquella Ciudad mi Señora la Marquesa de Charela y sus hijas, salió a recibir las el Arzobispo, con grande ostentación, y con orden secreta que tenía de su Majestad so color que visitasen a la Señora Doña Ana de Austria, Abadesa perpetua de las Huelgas. Estando dentro, mostró el Arzobispo la orden de su Majestad para que una de las hijas que tenía mi Señora la Marquesa, que tenía título de Princesa, quedase en depósito en aquel convento hasta que su Majestad mandase otra cosa y así se hizo, despidiéndose de ella su madre con muchas lágrimas. (21)

The entry is enigmatic, but perhaps not excessively so. G.

Narañón elucidates the difficulty for us:

En la Biblioteca Nacional hay copia de una carta, muy probablemente auténtica, de la Marquesa de Charela, dirigida al Conde-Duque, que da a entender el rigor con que el ministro trató a esta señora. Es interesante, por tratarse de la madre de una amante famosa de Felipe IV, madre, a su vez, de uno de los hijos bastardos de éste, Don Fernando Francisco de Austria, al que llamaban "el Charelo", que a poco murió; la que, según se dice, dió lugar a la fundación del convento de las Calatravas, cuya iglesia aun existe, con este nombre, en Madrid. ... La Marquesa madre negocia en esta carta, con poca dignidad, mercedes para su marido, en premio de que su hija "haya asegurado la sucesión del Rey con un hijo". Se queja al Conde de no ser atendida: "Acuérdese V.E. - le dice - de que pedí las Galeras y me propuso la Caballería [para su marido], que jamás me contenté con ella ni el Marqués la quiere." Asegura que no son ciertas las voces que han corrido de que ella trataba de engañar a Olivares, y las llama "chismes insubstanciales", atribuyéndolos al P. Salazar. Estos Charela eran gente alborotada. Un hermano de la Marquesa, Don Alonso Enríquez, murió en Flandes, en 1634, en un desafío con un Conde francés, cuyo criado, que era por cierto español, atravesó por la espalda, con un estoque, a Don Alonso. La infeliz amante del Rey, "que tenía título de Princesa", fué enclaustrada en las Huelgas, de Burgos. (22)

It seems probable, then, that Tirso's "condesa en su villa" is, in fact, La Charela. The juxtaposition of the "condesa" and the "abadesa en las Huelgas" is far too obvious. The affair with La Charela seems to have been the first known affair of Philip's.

Deleito y Piñuela gives the following information:

El primer amor extralegal de Felipe IV, conocido, parece que fué la hija del conde de Chirel, dama de afamada beldad, allá hacia 1625, cuando el rey frisaba en los veinte años, aunque antes comenzaran sus fugaces aventuras.

Como su familia era de ilustre prosapia, emparentada con el almirante de Castilla, para facilitar aquella relación se alejó de la corte al padre de la joven (que era casi una niña), dándole mando en las galeras de Italia. La madre sí fué sabedora del suceso. Coronamiento natural de él fué que naciese al siguiente año un vástago, el

primero de los bastardos reales, al que se llamó don Fernando Francisco de Austria, y que falleció prematuramente. (23)

Fernando Francisco, then, was born in 1626,<sup>24</sup> and, as we have seen, just a year later his mother was immured in Las Huelgas, although the Cartas de los Jesuitas seem to indicate that she was in Italy in 1634 (was she set free or exiled?). The encloistering of royal mistresses and bastards seems to have been normal procedure of the period, but there was probably an additional reason for La Charela's sudden and obviously unexpected immurement.

Perhaps the most famous of Philip's mistresses was "La Calderona". Tirso's "dama de teatros / que es más que todas las dichas" seems to be La Calderona herself. It is well known that Philip's passion for her was more than a superficial and passing attraction. When this affair with La Calderona started has not been exactly determined, but, as Amezúa has pointed out, La Calderona's son, the second Don Juan de Austria, was born on 7th April, 1629, and must thus have been conceived in July, 1628.<sup>25</sup> Deleito has stated, however, that Don Juan was born two years after the beginning of the affair,<sup>26</sup> which can thus be put back by a further year. Now, Amezúa has pointed out that La Calderona worked in the company of Andrés de la Vega along with the latter's wife, Amarilis, during the period 1627-1629. In 1626, Vega's company performed before the King and Queen in Aranjuez. Amarilis was there and Amezúa thinks La Calderona may possibly have been there too. In November of the following year, 1627, Amarilis acted in a performance of Las paredes oyen by her husband's company before the King. La Calderona probably took part in this performance. The company returned to Aranjuez in 1628 at the command of the Infante D. Carlos. Amezúa points out that Amarilis and La Calderona must have worked in the corrales in Madrid during

the summer of 1628. Andrés de la Vega's company played in Valencia from 24th September to 29th December of that same year. La Calderona went to Valencia, but seems to have returned soon afterwards to Madrid because of her pregnancy, which she revealed to the Duke of Medina de las Torres, who, according to Amezúa, "hizo volver a la cómica a Madrid, aposentándola en las casas de un tal Ferroche, sitas en la calle de Leganitos".

In the light of the preceding information it seems reasonable to suppose that the immurement of La Charela was due to Philip's incipient passion for La Calderona. It is one of those grotesque and ironical twists of fate that the natural daughter of the first Don Juan de Austria should have played a part, albeit an incidental one, in clearing the stage for Philip's new affair, which was to lead to the birth of the second Juan de Austria. To complete the ironical circle, Amezúa quotes the following entry from page 644 of the Genealogía, origen y noticias de los comediantes de España (B.N.M. Ms.):

Calderón. Esta fué (sin auerse podido averiguar el nombre con quien casó) la Madre del Señor don Juan de Austria, y luego que parió la puso en un convento de un lugar de la Alcarria el Rey Phelipe 4o, en donde murió Abadesa, y al tiempo que estaba preñada estuvo representando en Valencia.

If the above identifications are accurate, the gracioso's speech quoted earlier is an obvious reference to events during the years 1627-1628.

Before passing on to my next main point, I should like to mention, en passant, two curious details which arise from the preceding paragraphs. The first is Deleito's statement concerning the father of La Charela: "para facilitar aquella relación me alejó de la corte al padre de la joven ..., dándole mando en las galeras de Italia".<sup>27</sup>

What is obvious here is the bestowal of an honour which simultaneously paves the way for subsequent dishonour. The case of Peribáñez immediately comes to mind, but such equivocal honours are granted in the plays which I have been discussing, e.g., those given to Eusto in La Estrella and to Lope in Amar por arte mayor. Perhaps even more repulsive is the character of the Marquesa de la Charela who, as Marañón makes clear, sought to exploit her daughter's dishonour in order to obtain further honours for her husband. The second detail is an even more curious one, and provides an example of the coincidence of art and the popular imagination (although there may be more to it than this). The situation in Amar por arte mayor in which the King and Princess are deceived is not only ingeniously contrived, but also a very suggestive one. Lope and Elvira continue to love each other, but pretend to love Blanca and Ordoño respectively. Now, rumour has it that the first lover of La Calderona was Olivares' son-in-law, the Duque de Medina de las Torres, who, afraid of losing the King's favour, surrendered La Calderona to Philip. Amezúa gives Mme. D'Aulnoy's version of the story:

Un día Felipe IV - sigue relatando la fantástica Condesa - sorprende juntos a los dos amantes, y en el arrebatado de su cólera, saca un puñal para matar a su rival; pero entonces ella se interpone y se ofrece como víctima propiciatoria y salva al Duque. El Rey destierra a éste; pero los dos amantes continúan comunicándose por cartas. Entonces el Monarca obliga a la Calderona a que se encierre en un monasterio, como era costumbre con las favoritas regias cuando dejaban de serlo, recibiendo el velo de religiosa de manos del Nuncio de España.

Delcito y Piñuela agrees that this may be all pure gossip. Marañón dismisses the story out of hand as a complete fabrication:

Todo es, sin duda, invención. Baste considerar que la aventura de la Calderona ocurrió en 1627, pocos meses después de morir la hija de Don Gaspar, la dulce María, dejando a su viudo, el Duque, sumido

en un desconsuelo no muy largo, pero no tan corto que haga verosímil la sospecha de su enredo con la cómica; y a su padre el Conde-Duque, apartado para siempre de toda liviandad. (p.33). (28)

Finally, we may consider briefly Doña Blanca de los Ríos' two main arguments for assigning the play to 1630 or later. She claims that Tirso satirises Lope in this play because in 1630 Tirso

había recibido de Lope dos grandes ofensas: el indisculpable desdén con que le trata en El laurel de Apolo y la carta en que comenta pérfidamente El Chitón de las tarabillas, sangrienta sátira de Quevedo contra Téllez. Esta evidente hostilidad entre Lope y Tirso explica la lluvia de sátiras que Tirso disparó desde esta comedia contra las perfidias y agresiones del Fénix, siempre aquejado de celos estéticos contra Fray Gabriel. (29)

Now, in the first place, it is hard to see how Tirso could know what the contents of Lope's letter to Sesa were. Secondly, as Miss Kennedy has pointed out, relations between Tirso and Lope were strained as early as 1623.<sup>30</sup> Thirdly, Da. Blanca gives no examples of anti-Lopean satire in the play and such satire, in fact, seems non-existent.

Secondly, Da. Blanca takes Blanca's complaint:

Triste cosa es que hayan dado  
las coronas sobernas  
en desterrar sus hermanas  
por sola razón de estado  
I.ii. p.1170a.

as an "evidente alusión al casamiento de la infanta Doña María, hermana de Felipe IV, con el rey de Hungría" (p.1164). As Da. Blanca points out, the Hungarian ambassador arrived in Madrid on 3rd October, 1629, and the new Queen left at the beginning of 1630. On the other hand, the marriage contract was signed in September, 1628, and the marriage was effected by proxy on 25th April, 1629. The ambassador arrived with presents in October, 1629.<sup>31</sup> Thus any public protest could have been made as early as the latter part of 1628. But

there is little evidence that public feeling against this marriage was great.

We may recall, however, that there was violent opposition to the earlier attempt to marry the same Princess to the Prince of Wales in 1623. Such a marriage would have been regarded as a real destierro, because of the difference of religion, whereas the King of Hungary was Catholic and belonged to the House of Austria. It is possible, then, that the passage refers to the negotiations of 1623. (If this play was a particular or intended for performance at court, this hypothesis would be considerably strengthened.) One other detail would seem to indicate that the reference is to the earlier courtship of 1623. Da. Blanca, taking 1630 as the terminus a quo for the date of composition, supposed, from the mention of Oviedo and León, that Tirso had visited those places at some time during the period 25th July, 1630 to 18th November, 1631. This, of course, is quite possible, but there is another detail which merits consideration. In I.iv, Bermudo advises Lope to flee:

Gijón es fin de la tierra  
de Europa, y de Inglaterra  
huele el puerto y besa el mar  
una nave de Flenúa  
aguarda, las vergas altas;  
si su plaza de armas saltas,  
y calles de golfos rúa;  
trocando españolas cortes,  
sus soplones desmentimos;  
y si aquí príncipes fuimos,  
seremos allá milortes.  
I.iv. p.1171a.

Now, Tirso's love of the exotic is obvious. (In Esto sí que es negociar, e.g., we are introduced to a Scottish Duchess). But this reference to England would seem gratuitous, especially as Lope and Bermudo are in prison at the beginning of Act II. It seems probable, then, that there is an allusion to the events of 1623 in the play.

There are two possibilities here. The earlier speech of Bermudo may have been inserted into the play during a revision in 1627-1629. That is, the play may have been written c.1623 and revised some five years later. There is a reference to the secret preparations made for Blanca's marriage to the Duke:

[SANCHA:] y en León nos alegramos  
de que a pesar del secreto  
que amor hasta aquí ha tenido  
(si es posible que en él le haya)  
viene el duque de Vizcaya.  
I.ii. p.1169b.

This may be an allusion to the secrecy which attended the Prince of Wales' visit to Madrid to court María. Alternatively, the play may have been written after the failure of the negotiations in 1623. A small point seems to support this. Blanca, we note, does not marry the Duque de Vizcaya, who is too busy fighting the French, but King Sancho of Navarre. (This may be an allusion to her marriage to the King of Hungary.) And, as I have suggested, there seem to be echoes of La Estrella (1624?) in this play.

To end, I shall sum up a few of the points made above. Internal evidence seems to suggest that the play was perhaps written (or revised) not later than 1630, and possibly some time during the period 1627-1629. If it was intended to be performed at court and the allusions are to the Infanta, the play must have been written and staged before her departure from Madrid early in 1630. But the next point raises difficulties. The play seems to be an attack on Philip IV, or, at least, could have been so interpreted at the time. (Is the opening scene in which the King is shown hunting an indirect reference to Philip, whose skill with the gun was notorious?) By virtue of its theme, it seems to belong to a group of plays, almost all apparently written between 1623 and 1631, which are bound together

by the theme of the abuse of royal power for the satisfaction of passion. From this, two points arise. In 1625, Tirso was censured by the Junta de Reformación for writing immoral plays and ordered to be exiled. The real motive behind the decree of the Junta, Olivares' brainchild, has been a matter for conjecture. The theory that Tirso came into conflict with the authorities because of his outspoken political criticism seems to find support in this analysis of Amar por arte mayor, which indicates that the events of 1625 had not muzzled Tirso. (If the play was written before 1625, it would, of course, contribute towards these events.) In the second place, the sequence of events during the years 1620 to 1625 appears to offer an intriguing pattern. Miss Kennedy has recently shown that Lope's friendship for Tirso began in late 1621 and lasted for only about two years. In 1623, Tirso's complaints against Lope's attitude begin to appear, as, e.g., in Antona García. Tirso's embarrassing defence of Lope in La fingida Arcadia (1622) must have hastened their estrangement. At this time Lope was courting Olivares and resentful of the fact that the Conde-Duque favoured Vélez de Guevara. In 1623, the surprise visit of the Prince of Wales caused a great stir in Spain. The fiestas in his honour, Aníbal argues, found an echo in La Estrella de Sevilla, written in late 1623, or, as I have suggested, early 1624. In 1625 we meet the edict of the Junta de Reformación. Now, Leavitt has suggested that some of the scenes in La Estrella may have been influenced by some of Tirso's plays. Miss Kennedy has also pointed out other details which La Estrella and some of Tirso's plays have in common.<sup>32</sup> Lope's wooing of Olivares would add further weight to the evidence against his being the author of La Estrella. Vélez's favour with the Conde-Duque would seem to weigh against Aníbal's suggestion that he may have had a hand in its composition. Tirso,

around this time, was attacking Lope, Vélez and the Conde-Duque.<sup>33</sup>

Amar por arte mayor bears, as we have seen, a thematic similarity to la Estrella, and other probable echoes of the latter in Tirso's comedy have also been mentioned. Tirso's play furthermore seems to contain additional criticism of Philip. Could Tirso have had a hand in the writing or planning of La Estrella? And could this have any connexion with the Junta de Reformación's edict in 1625?

This is a question which I cannot pursue here. To end, I can only repeat that, in the two plays examined in this section, Tirso's disapproval of the high-handed attitudes and actions of the upper nobility and even the King is clearly indicated. This point leads on to the last two plays I shall examine in this thesis.

SECTION SIX

THE RE-STRUCTURING OF SOCIETY.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

MARI-HERNÁNDEZ LA GALLEGA

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the plane was the cold, crisp air. It felt like a fresh blanket after a long, hot journey. The ground below was a mix of green fields and small towns, each with its own unique charm. I had heard so much about this place, and now I was finally here. The excitement was palpable, but I also felt a sense of responsibility. This was my chance to make a difference, to help these people who had been struggling for so long. I took a deep breath and smiled, ready to embrace whatever came my way.

As I walked through the streets, I saw the faces of the people. Some were curious, some were wary, but all of them had a certain resilience. They had survived through the toughest of times, and they were still standing. I felt a deep respect for their strength and courage. I knew that my work here would be challenging, but I was determined to do it. I had come here for a reason, and I was not going to let anything stop me. I would work hard, I would listen, and I would do whatever it took to make a positive impact. The road ahead was long, but I was ready for it.

Over the next few weeks, I got to know the community better. I saw the struggles they faced every day, from the lack of basic necessities to the constant threat of violence. But I also saw their hope, their dreams, and their determination to build a better future for themselves and their children. I was inspired by their spirit and their faith. I knew that I had to be patient, that I had to listen to their stories and their needs. I had to learn from them, to understand their culture and their way of life. It was a humbling experience, but it was also one of the most rewarding of my life. I was starting to see the light at the end of the tunnel, and I was determined to keep pushing forward.

With the two plays in this section, Mari-Hernández la gallega and Antona García, we come full circle back to the mujer varonil. There are, however, some significant differences between the treatment of this figure here and that in the plays examined in the first section of this thesis. The stress here is rather on the masculinity of the protagonists (which, however, does not detract from their basic femininity - if the paradox is not too violent) than on male disguise, although disguise does play some part in Mari-Hernández la gallega. More important, however, is the conspicuous social element in these two plays. They thus contain a fusion of the principal elements of the plays analysed in the two parts of this thesis. In other words, to the element of the disfrazada de hombre and its accompanying theme of personal relationships is united ~~is united~~ the theme of inter-class relationships.

The story of Mari-Hernández is simple enough.<sup>1</sup> Don Álvaro is forced to flee from Portugal for political reasons. Moved by jealousy, he falls in love with the peasant-girl, María, on the rebound, so to speak, and woos her in an idyllic Galician pastoral valley. When Doña Beatriz, his first love, reappears with adequate explanations (which are really unnecessary), he abandons María, who, offended, swears revenge. She succeeds in persuading the King to force Álvaro to marry her and not Beatriz.

This story, simple though it is, contains a number of interesting features. The marriage between Álvaro and María is an inter-class union, the partners coming from virtually opposite ends of the social scale: he is a count, she a peasant-girl.

Secondly, the marriage raises an elementary question of justice. It may be argued with some justification that Beatriz, whose claims are just as strong as María's - perhaps even more so, since Álvaro loved

her first and she is his social equal -, is unfairly treated. But it is clear that, on the other hand, the marriage ensures justice for María. As I shall argue, this marriage is important for Tirso's basic thesis.

Álvaro must marry María, not only because the King orders him to do so, but because his treatment of María was irresponsible (as was his treatment of Beatriz). It is this theme of personal and social responsibility which underlies the play. A lack of a sense of responsibility among the members of one class towards those of another produces social disharmony, which it is the aim of the action of the play to resolve.

But social harmony is clearly only one aspect of an overall, larger context of disharmony in which the action of the play is situated. This is, on the international level, the state of hostility between Castile and Portugal.<sup>2</sup> Curiously enough, in this opposition between Castile and Portugal, Portugal is presented in an unfavourable light. It is Castile and the Castilians, the Reyes Católicos and the Conde de Monterrey who are the repositories of justice, legal and social, and true nobility. Persecuted Portuguese nobles seek refuge in Castile:

[ÁLVARO] Dos hermanos y tres hijos  
van a Castilla a ampararse  
de Fernando e Isabel.  
I.i. p.66a.

Álvaro and Beatriz, too, flee to Galicia. And in II.iii-vii, the generosity, nobility, courtesy, and affability of the Conde de Monterrey are emphasised. Consider, for example, the comments of the peasants:

[MARÍA:] ¡Qué apacible!  
GARCÍA: ¡Qué llano!  
MARÍA: Es conde.  
GARCÍA: Es Acebedo.  
DOMINGA: Es castellano.  
II.iv. p.83a.

The international disharmony of the Castilian-Portuguese opposition is reflected in the national, internal ~~conflict~~ conflict in Portugal between the King and the nobles. John II's policy of crushing the power of the nobles is, of course, a historical fact. So the bloody events narrated by Álvaro in I.i have some justification in history. But there are gruesome details in Álvaro's speech (also historically true) which suggest wilful, gratuitous, and vindictive cruelty on the part of the King. Compare, for example, this detail:

[ÁLVARO:] Al Conde de Montemor,  
 su hermano, y gran condestable  
 de Portugal, aunque ausente,  
 ha mandado el Rey sacarle  
 su estatua, y en la villa  
 y plaza mayor de Abrantes  
 la espada y banda le quita  
 cuadrada, que es degradarle  
 de condestable y marqués,  
 y luego degollar hace  
 el simulacro funesto,  
 saliendo (irigor notable!)  
 sangre fingida del cuello  
 de la inanimada imagen.  
 I.i. p.66a.

Obviously the King is not merely excessively severe. However, what make his actions more culpable are his lack of judgment, his willingness to listen to traitors, and his readiness to act on the information they give him.

These are, of course, evil advisers, which lifts a little of the blame from the King's shoulders. He, as Álvaro says:

dando a traidores orejas  
 que persiguiendo leales,  
 quieren de bajos principios  
 subir a cargos gigantes,  
 ha cortado la cabeza  
 a don Fernando Alencastre  
 . . . .  
 I.i. p.65a.

At the head of this band of traitors to the state, who, devoid of civic responsibility, seek only their own advancement, is Don Egas,

the evil genius of the play. He remains in the background for most of the time, but he is not any less culpable. Since he, in a sense, is the person who is ultimately responsible for the disharmony of the play, it is he who is punished by death towards the end. His presence is convenient for two main reasons: he, rather than the King, is overtly punished; and since he is the one who wrongly advised the King, the latter can be presented in a more favourable light towards the end.

The presence of these traitors symbolised by Don Egas, does not, however, absolve the King of all blame. The picture Álvaro paints of him in I.i is none too flattering (although we must bear in mind that Álvaro is an interested party and also that he himself is not a model of responsibility). The King is precipitate in his actions, and his judgment is blinded by his passions: he is all too ready to jump to conclusions:

[ÁLVARO:] Verosímiles indicios  
no admiten en pechos reales,  
cuando la pasión los ciega,  
argumentos disculpables.  
I.i. p.65b.

(It is this tendency in the King to be convinced by a superficially plausible case which allows him to be taken in by María's lie in III.ii - and so execute justice). All this implies that the King's attitude towards the nobles, his subjects, is unfair and unjust.

A specific example of this injustice is his treatment of Álvaro. The latter, being a noble, is also threatened by the King's wrath:

[ÁLVARO:] Yo que, como primo suyo,  
soy también participante,  
si no en la culpa, en la pena,  
para que también alcance,  
estoy dado por traidor  
.....  
I.i. p.66a

But there is more to his persecution of Álvaro.

The King is Álvaro's rival for Beatriz's affection. What makes his persecution of Álvaro more than an abuse of royal power is the fact that he is already married. Beatriz does not accept the King's courtship:

Noroña soy, si él es rey;  
esposa tiene a quien ame,  
y ilegítimos empleos  
no han de ofender mi linaje.  
I.i. p.67b.

In I.iii, the King makes a surprise visit to Beatriz at night - to inform her that he intends to marry her to Egas. He seems to have realised his folly:

[REY:]            constante habéis resistido  
mi poder y voluntad,  
porque mienta la experiencia  
que afirma no hay resistencia  
contra un gusto majestad;  
y yo también, vuelto en mí,  
cuerdo he juzgado a vergüenza  
que una mujer reyes venza,  
y un rey no se venza a sí.  
I.iii. p.68b.

At the same time, it is clear that the King has not ceased to love Beatriz. One is led to suspect that his attempt to marry her to his privado, Egas, is simply a convenient way of making her his mistress, apart from preventing her from marrying Álvaro, which he could not allow from the point of view of honour. Álvaro manages to escape to Galicia, but she is imprisoned on the King's orders.

It is this interference by the King in the relationship between Beatriz and Álvaro which leads to the latter's flight to Galicia and his wooing of Mari-Hernández. Galicia is presented as a haven, where innocence and simplicity dwell:

ÁLVARO:            Caldeira, esta es Galicia.  
No vive en estas sierras la malicia  
de envidias y traiciones,

de lisonjas, engaños y ambiciones.  
 Los que en mi busca vienen,  
 aquí jurisdicción ni ayuda tienen.  
 I.vii. p.73b.

Here dwells, too, the pastoral shepherdess, María, whose beauty Álvaro finds so striking. The pastoral context is emphasised:

ÁLVARO: Bien haya aquesta aspereza,  
 que os puede ver cada día,  
 este arroyo y fuente fría,  
 cristal de vuestra belleza.  
 Las aves que os lisonjean,  
 el prado que os rinde flores,  
 el pastor que os dice amores,  
 las almas que en vos se emplean,  
 el gusto que en vos se hechiza,  
 la libertad presa en vos,  
 y yo que os he visto ...  
 I.x. p.77b.

The pastoral aspect of María is also evident from the start. When she first appears (I.ix), she is culling flowers with her companion, Dominga, for her birthday party. Her concern for her beauty reveals the coquette, but also has Neo-Platonic overtones:

MARÍA: ¿Hay más aborrecible cosa  
 que una vieja que fue hermosa,  
 la cara llena de pliegues  
 y arojando con la vista?  
 Dominga, morir me agrada  
 moza, y de todos llorada,  
 mejor que vieja y malquista.  
 I.ix. p.75a.

It is this rustic beauty whom Álvaro regards as an antidote for his love for Beatriz, a love which he mistakenly thinks no longer exists:

[ÁLVARO:] Beatriz, si de mis desvelos  
 fuiste causa y te has mudado,  
 ya en estas sierras he hallado  
 contrayerba de tus celos.  
 I.x. p.79a.

María, too, falls in love with Álvaro at first sight. But she is not entirely sure of his love for her. In an intensely lyrical scene, she voices her fears:

[MARÍA:] Dejaréis en vuesa tierra  
 la memoria y voluntá;

trairéis las sobras acá  
 para que a mí me hagan guerra.  
 Pues también los de la sierra  
 son personas, lisonjero.  
 II.xi. p.88b.

These words are, of course, a part of María's coquetry: she wants Álvaro to affirm his love and thus reassure her. But they are, ironically, much nearer the truth than she thinks. She is afraid he will abandon her:

MARÍA:                Ni en mí el dudar  
                          que quien se olvida y ausenta,  
                          haciendo de su amor venta,  
                          querrá comer y picar.  
                          II.xii. pp.88b-89a.

Álvaro reassures her:

Tú sola eres mi querida.  
 II.xii. p.89a.

He even goes further:

MARÍA:                Pues jurad, si sentís eso,  
                          sobre esta cruz.  
 ÁLVARO:                Juro y beso.  
                          II.xii. p.89a.

It is precisely at this point that, ironically, Beatriz enters. The bitter puns and sarcasm of her words reveal her anger and jealousy:

BEATRIZ:                Marquesa soy,  
                          que a marcar agravios vengo,  
                          en vez de marcos de amor.  
                          Quien tan bien penas divierte,  
                          y con tanta prevención  
                          a enfermedades de ausencia  
                          tan presto antídoto halló,  
                          no morirá malogrado.  
                          ¡Qué cortesano que sois!  
                          Besamanos dais cumplidos;  
                          que hasta aquí pensaba yo  
                          que se daban de palabra,  
                          mas puestos por obra no;  
                          si no es que le dais el pulso  
                          vos enfermo, ella doctor.  
                          ¡Bien pagáis obligaciones  
                          de quien desprecia por vos  
                          créditos que, ya fallidos,  
                          pone el vulgo en opinión!  
                          II.xiii. p.89b.

Explanations follow in II.xvi, and Álvaro apologises:

disculpen esa mudanza  
celos, ocasión y ausencia.  
II.xvi. p.92a.

With this reconciliation, María's earlier fears are realised. Álvaro, in an off-hand way, tells María that their romance is over, and, adding insult to injury, gives her a ring as a souvenir:

ÁLVARO: De la voluntad que os debo,  
y es imposible pagaros,  
servirá de desempeño,  
serrana, aquesta sortija.  
MARÍA: Si es señal de matrimonio,  
y conmigo heis de casaros,  
espetádmela en el dedo.  
ÁLVARO: Yo, María, soy el conde  
de Silveira, y es mi dueño  
Beatriz, marquesa de Chaves.  
MARÍA: Pues echalda con mal huego.  
ÁLVARO: Adiós, graciosa serrana.  
II.xviii. pp.92b-93a.

So Álvaro's wooing and promises were little more than irresponsible trifling with María's affections. His moral irresponsibility is clearly linked to social arrogance. For Álvaro, María is not a "persona" (compare her words in II.xi: "Fues también los de la sierra / son personas, lisonjero"), but a mere instrument of pleasure and amusement, to be taken up or cast away at will. María is furious at such treatment and determines to seek vengeance.

First, by means of a lie (technically), she gets the King to promise to compel Álvaro to marry her. This suits the King perfectly. Anything is acceptable, so long as Álvaro and Beatriz do not marry:

REY: No goce él a la Marquesa  
y pídemela a Portugal.  
III.ii. p.96a.

Dominga has scruples of conscience over María's lie, but María basing herself (unconsciously perhaps) on Biblical and religious arguments, defends her actions. The Biblical overtones of this passage are obvious:

DOMINGA: ¿No es pecado levantar  
testimonios y mentiras  
a don Álvaro?

MARÍA: ¿Yo en qué?

DOMINGA: En que al Rey Don Juan le digas  
que te gozó.

MARÍA: La mujer  
que de un hombre fue querida,  
ya es gozada en el deseo,  
y la afrenta si la olvida.  
III.vii. p.98a-b.

Now, this is a witty justification on María's part. As such, it is comic. But it is simultaneously a very serious point: the Biblical overtones not only ensure the comic effect, but also underline how serious María is. Her attitude, one may object, is much too serious, when one considers that Álvaro was merely flirting with her. But that is precisely the point. Álvaro's casual attitude, which is fully within the literary conventions of the time, is morally wrong.<sup>3</sup> That is why there is a criticism in the play both of this literary, conventional attitude and Álvaro's behaviour.

But before I discuss that more fully, I must refer to María's second step in securing her vengeance. This is concerned with the social problem of class. Álvaro has treated María badly because she is only a peasant-girl, and, as such, hardly a person to be taken seriously. The undermining of the attitude of those nobles who pride themselves on their blue blood and look down on the lower classes is effected humorously.

To be sure, the King in III.ii promises to make María a Marchioness (i.e., make her the equal of Beatriz):

MARÍA: Es caballero, y dirá  
que no soy yo caballera.

REY: Aunque mi sangre tuviera,  
el Rey calidades da.  
Noble y Marquesa os haré,  
antes de ir a Portugal.  
III.ii. p.95b.

This is what happens at the end of the play, of course. But Tirso has a point to prove before that.

As so often in Tirso, the point is proved with rigorous logic in a comic scene.<sup>4</sup> In III.v, María, dressed as a man, presents herself before the Conde de Monterrey, claiming to be a blood relation. Juan García de Morrazos' father was cook to the Count's father. Therefore they ate the same food. So, María continues:

MARÍA: Das comidas énon se faz  
o sangue con que se crían  
os corpos?

CONDE: ¿Quién duda deso?

MARÍA: Pois si a comer ambos viñan  
día e noite d'hum manjar,  
craro está que ambos dois tiñan  
hum sangue mesmo em dois corpos,  
sendo así, bem se averigua  
que descendemos d'hum sangue  
eu, e vossa señoira,  
e que sendo seu parente  
me ha de facer cortesia.

CONDE: No puedo negar el deudo;  
que es la prueba peregrina  
bastante a ejecutoriarse  
en cualquier chancillería.  
III.v. p.97a-b.

Alvaro is immensely tickled:

ÁLVARO: Que, ocasionando la risa,  
viene un cocinero a ser  
el más noble de Castilla.  
III.v. p.97b.

But the point has been made.

Morrazos, having proved his nobility, is now content to enjoy the rights accruing to him:

MARÍA: Os pes  
me dai, nom porque vos sirva  
(que non sirven os Morrazos),  
mas porque desde hoje viva  
a vossa custa em descanso.  
III.v. p.97b.

On the comic level of the thesis of the play, this parasitic attitude has not a little in common with that of nobles such as Alvaro who

consider that their status confers nobility on them which exonerates them from responsibility. But on the level of the plot, María is thus enabled to live in the Count's palace, where she can thwart Álvaro's plans.

This she does easily in III.xv. Álvaro has just promised to marry Beatriz and is explaining that she has no grounds for fear or jealousy of María:

[ALVARO:]      ¿Cómo os puede a vos dar celos  
 una pastora grosera,  
 ignorante en facultades  
 de amor, que estima agudezas?  
 ¿Qué hermosura ha de tener  
 una tosca montañesa,  
 que adornan sayales pobres,  
 y soles y aires afeitan?  
 ¿Tan mal gusto tengo yo,  
 que permita competencias  
 de una villana, vos noble?  
 ¿De una simple, vos discreta?  
 III.xv. p.104a.

María's challenge underlines Álvaro's unworthy behaviour:

[MARÍA:]      Vos sí que el villano sois,  
 pues que por no pagar deudas  
 de quien de esposa os dio mano,  
 ponéis en su honor la lengua.  
 III.xv. p.104a.

Beatriz withdraws, offended. In the duel scene (III.xix), María, on seeing Álvaro threatened, attacks his attackers and wounds Egas mortally.

There are two important points to be noted here. Álvaro now owes his life to María's noble action. Secondly, there is the obvious justice of Egas' death at María's hands. The implications of the noble peasant-woman killing the ignoble nobleman are not to be missed. María, morally noble, is elevated to the ranks of the nobility by the King.

The movement towards reconciliation, set in motion from the beginning of the play, is now completed. Egas' confession of his crimes

and sins and his death lead to reconciliation. On the international level, Castile and Portugal are now at peace: war is brought to a halt by the exercise of generosity. On the civil level, Egas' death implies the end of the persecution of the nobles and their reconciliation with the King. The marriage of María to Álvaro is symbolic of moral and social harmony.

I should now like to take up the point made earlier that Álvaro's behaviour can be seen in terms of a literary convention and that both are criticised in the play. The overall theme of the play is that of responsibility in social and personal relationships. This is connected with various aspects of the play's structure.

I have already mentioned the lyricism of II.xi-xii, but it actually begins in II.x. I cannot here undertake a close analysis of the style of this section. A few brief remarks must suffice. The verse-forms are the romance and, later, the redondilla. There is a slightly archaic flavour to the ballad which opens this cuadro:

DOMINGA: Mal segura zagaleja,  
 la de los lindos ojuelos,  
 grave honor de los azules,  
 dulce afrenta de los negros.  
 ¿Qué tienes de ayer acá,  
 que a lo(s) que colijo dellos,  
 desveladas inquietudes  
 les tiranizan el sueño?  
 II.x. p.86a.

The setting is, appropriately, the woods. But note how the words are chosen for effect: "mal segura", the archaising "mal" rather than "no" or "poco", and the litotes, produced by the negating of the positive "segura". The diminutives "zagaleja" (instead of "zagala") and "ojuelos". This romance, as Da. Blanca points out in her introduction, and as I have mentioned in note 1, is "culto" and not traditional. Tirso's decision to use it to open this scene was certainly an acierto. The wistful, bitter-sweet flavour pervades the scene:

sweet because there is love; bitter because there is deceit. But perhaps what contributes most to the lyrical effect is the rhythm of these lines and their soft, feminine cadences. That is why the irruption of Beatriz into this idyllic scene is so violent and brutal. The octo-syllables are preserved, but how jarring is the sudden switch from redondillas to Beatriz's romances with their masculine endings and harsh assonance in "o", their bitter punning and sarcasm! This is not to say that this brutal irruption is not foreshadowed. It is in the wistful air pervading the love-scene and in the flashes of burlesque in the midst of the most intense lyricism. Consider the effect in these lines:

[DOMINGA:] Aojado te han, mi serrana:  
 mucho lloras; mal te han hecho.  
 ¡Pregue a Dios que no te opilen  
 pensamientos indigestos!  
 II.x. p.86a-b.

The last two lines effectively prevent sentiment from degenerating into sentimentality. A similar effect is produced with Dominga's words:

¿Hásete antojado algo?  
 Que diz que en aquestos tiempos  
 hay doncellas con antojos.  
 ¿Has comido barro o yeso?  
 II.x. p.86b.

The pastoral setting and mood coincide. But it is important to remember that this is literary and artificial. The style is culto. This is quite evident in Alvaro's opening speech in II.xi p.88a. Secondly, this idyllic episode is an interlude, clearly framed by the tone and the incidents of the enclosing scenes. The change in tone with Beatriz's entrance is no less definite than the change in tone from the romances with assonance in "i - a" in II.ix to the softer assonance in "e-o" in II.x. But the whole episode which starts with

II.x and ends with the reconciliation of Alvaro and Beatriz form a larger unit which is framed by the Conde's departure to see the bear (II.vii) and his return (II.xvii).

In the interval between these two points in the action, Alvaro has moved, I suggest, from play-acting (his wooing of María) to real-life actions (his reconciliation with Beatriz). María was only a dream-like episode in his life. When he awakes, he is re-integrated into life and society, and bids his dream farewell: "Adiós, graciosa serrana" (II.xviii. p.93).

My interpretation of this episode as a pseudo-dream and a literary device seems to be supported by an earlier scene in the play where the hint is more explicit. Our first view of María is as a pastoral shepherdess, as I have already remarked. But this is unreal. Real shepherds and mountain-dwellers have appeared earlier in I.v-vi. Their preoccupations are not with death and beauty, as are María's, but with more worldly things:

OTERO: No hay son matar y comer.  
I.v. p.70b.

They are concerned with hunting animals - and Jews. Their love for the beautiful María is neither Platonic nor courtly:

OTERO: Par Dios, que cuando la veo  
de manera me emberrincho,  
que como rocín relincho.

CARRASCO: ¡Mas arre allá!

MARTÍN: Yo babeo  
siempre que la llevo a habrar.  
I.vi. p.72b.

This bit of pastoral realism has, of course, burlesque overtones. Its factual realism is anti-pastoral. But these serranos are also clearly burlesque knights-errant. Benito, "Yo que só / gala desta serranía" (I.vi. p.72b), will not allow Otero to aspire to María's hand any more than the King will tolerate Alvaro as a rival in love. So the two

shepherds decide to have a duel. But, uncourtly as they are, instead of arming themselves to do battle, they undress to have a tussle. The winner's reward is not to be a love-token, but a goat.

María's initial appearance in I.ix, therefore, is, in part, unreal. And this is so, I suggest, because, from one point of view, she can be regarded as a literary creation of Álvaro's dream. Note that Álvaro has just arrived in Galicia, to him a refuge, a place of safety, and falls asleep in I.viii. He is assimilated into the rustic setting when he dons, along with Caldeira, the garb of the shepherds. But this assimilation is only partial. As is the case with all pastoral shepherds, his courtly dress can be discerned beneath his rustic clothes:

[MARÍA:] Desde la cintura arriba  
es pastor, y lo que queda  
está vestido de seda.  
I.x. p.75b.

The symbolic significance of this is clear enough. What one must remember is that this dress is only a temporary disguise, which is abandoned when Beatriz re-appears.

But, to return to the scene under discussion, soon flashes of burlesque appear. There is an inter-play between dream and reality as María the shepherdess is transformed suddenly into María, the mujer varonil, a real-life serrana who is not averse to killing Jews for the good of her soul and the Church (the thematic link with the earlier scene with the shepherds is obvious):

[MARÍA:] Este será algún judío  
de los que andan a prender  
porque no quieren comer  
tocino, ¡qué desvario!  
Yo quiero dar hoy venganzas  
a la iglesia y sus denuestos;  
que quien mata alguno destes  
diz que gana perdonanzas.  
Esta media lancha tomo.  
I.x. p.75b.

Like María Sarmiento, in Antona García, she is about to hurl this boulder on to Álvaro, "y a nuestro jodio ahorro / de doctor, cura y entierro" (I.x p.75b), but is smitten by a sudden love for him. Don Álvaro awakes, and, as if in a dream, begins to court María. His dream ends, as we have seen, with his reconciliation with Beatriz.

The fact that some of the crucial scenes in the play are thus framed-in appears significant. They can be said to represent one view of life (idealistic and literary) which contrasts with the view of life present in the framing-scenes (a realistic one). The idealistic, literary view, the play argues, when transposed into real life produces irresponsible actions. The resultant chaos is in no way different from that which ensues when man attempts to act out his dreams in real life.<sup>5</sup> Álvaro, in wooing María, is playing a game, acting out a dream. For him, this courtship is a sort of therapeutic psychiatric treatment: María is an instrument, not a person. That he is insensitive to the consequences of his actions is due to his particular way of viewing the members of the lower classes.

For María, however, all this is not a dream.<sup>6</sup> That is why we get glimpses of the grotesque in the midst of the idealisation of the country. María is transformed from a shepherdess into a mujer varonil and then into a normal peasant-girl who falls in love with the handsome stranger. At the end, it is the varonil aspect of María which is exploited in order to restore harmony and order to a disturbed world.

It is clear now why Álvaro is made to marry María and not Beatriz. It is vital for the thesis of the play. But Beatriz, too, contributes to the ending. Her behaviour in II.xiii is anything but dignified. Under the stress of jealousy and anger (intensified by

her recent experiences), she loses her self-control. The duel between her and María is an inversion of the motif of the earlier fight between Otero and Benito. The burlesque of the chivalresque convention is carried a step further: we see two women fighting over a man.<sup>7</sup> What makes the scene more grotesque is the fact that one of them is actually a Marchioness. The idea that love is a leveller of ranks is given a new twist here. The weapons used in this duel are not heroic either: they are a dagger and a sling. (Is this intended to be an echo of David fighting Goliath?)

The burlesque of conventions is continued in the sub-plot, which contains the parallel love-affair between Caldeira and Dominga. In the true tradition of the gracioso, Caldeira satirises Álvaro's behaviour by imitation and amplification. The love of Caldeira and Dominga for each other also provides a cynical comment on the tradition of pastoral love.

In II.i, Dominga proposes a sound, business-like attitude as the basis for their marriage:

[DOMINGA:] . . . cinco ducados gano.  
 Siete da a cada vaquero;  
 si él os recibe y conoce,  
 siete y cinco serán doce.  
 Juntaremos el dinero;  
 . . . . .  
 y los diez años pasados,  
 podrá envidiarnos, casados,  
 el conde de Monterrey.

II.i. p.80a-b.

The basis of this marriage is clearly interés. Nor does Caldeira seem unduly worried over Dominga's supposed promiscuity. The financial and social benefits which would accrue from their marriage would be an adequate compensation.

In II.xviii, Caldeira reflects and amplifies Álvaro's treatment of María in his own treatment of Dominga. The cynicism is further

amplified later:

con la mondonga, me avisa  
el sábado mondongar,  
y con Domingo, mudar  
cada domingo camisa.  
III.viii. p.100a.

But even here, as in II.xviii, Caldeira still affirms his determination to marry Dominga; in this he shows a shadow of the decency which Álvaro lacks. Here we have satire by contrast and parody. The parallelism between the sub-plot and main plot is systematically maintained, but the point I wish to make is, I think, clear enough.<sup>8</sup>

To sum up, the play can be said to contain a criticism of an irresponsible attitude towards life. Such irresponsibility is associated with and illustrated through certain literary conventions, which are also shown to be false. Literary and social satire, then, are united in this play, as they are in the next.

CHAPTER TWELVE

ANTONA GARCÍA.

Que vos paráis  
los hijos y yo las hijas.

(Antona García III.viii)

Antona García, a "historical" play, first published in Tirso's Parte cuarta (1635), is episodic in structure.<sup>1</sup> The story itself deals with incidents in the "Guerra de la Beltraneja". Two factors give a sense of direction to the incidents. The first is that they centre around the capture of Toro. The second, and perhaps more interesting and important, is the progress of the love-affair between Antona and the Conde de Penamacor. Other formal aspects help to ensure structural unity. The most obvious is the insertion of one conflict into a larger one, which in turn is inserted into an even larger one, forming a structural pattern similar to the ones already noted in Mari-Hernández la gallega, Amar por arte mayor, and Don Gil. The Castilian-Portuguese conflict is reflected in the more local conflict between the peasants and nobility of Toro, and this, in turn, is reflected on the individual level in the conflict, on the one hand, between Antona and María, and, on the other, the much more attenuated initial tension between Antona and Penamacor which finally resolves into an implied union, which echoes the larger reconciliation and forgiveness with which the play ends. Other, smaller factors also contribute towards structural unity. Such are the deliberate and frequent use of parallelisms and contrasts (the behaviour of Antona and that of the Conde; that of Antona and María; the resemblances between Antona and Isabel; and so on), the use of connecting thematic motifs within the body of the play (e.g., Bartolo's grotesque courting of Gila, narrated in I.iii, foreshadows the Conde's flirtation with Antona in I.vi), and the recurrence of the opening motifs at the end: Toro is captured; the Reyes Católicos are on stage with Antona, etc. But what is perhaps the central feature of the play is the presence of three mujeres varoniles, the most important of them being, as the title implies, Antona García. It is in the comparison and contrast of

these women that the central interest of the play lies.

While, as I shall argue, the presence of Isabel and Maria in the play serves to draw attention to Antona through her being compared and contrasted with them, the portrayal of Antona herself has been regarded as a problem. Miss McClelland, in her sensitive analysis of the dramatic realism of the mob-scene in the play, has some interesting remarks to make about the heroine. She draws attention to Antona's femininity, her maternal instinct, drawn out by the Ventura, the strength of her personality, the skilful way in which she can handle the mob, and, of course, her masculinity: "The disconcerting fact about Antona", says Miss McClelland, "is that sometimes she has a man's might and a woman's mind, and sometimes a man's might and a man's mind too."<sup>2</sup> This constitutes a dramatic weakness, according to Miss McClelland: "... the dramatist ... failed in this instance to portray Antona compositely." (p.70). The specific weaknesses in portrayal are pointed out: "... instead of showing combined, or even convincingly at variance, in her peasant nature the masculine qualities of leadership and a feminine intuitiveness - or possibly a strong maternal instinct - she is disintegrated; and not all the dramatist's amendments nor all the spectator's goodwill can put her tidily together." (p.70). Miss McClelland suggests that the imperfection may be attributed to Tirso's carelessness, and that there is no unified picture of the heroine: as a result, she has to be seen in bits and pieces: "... Tirso never stopped to imagine her as a whole and therefore never supplied all the clues to her hypothetical completeness. She is best appreciated in part - that is, in each of her characteristics separately; and, had she existed for the "mob" scene alone, she would still have been among the most promising of Tirso's creations." (p.73). As will be realised, this is a serious criticism of Tirso's dramatic technique. It cannot be

denied that there are contradictory and conflicting sides to Antona's character. But these, perhaps, do not necessarily need to be attributed to a faulty dramatic technique.

Miss Wilson offers a different interpretation of Antona's character. Antona is "desmesurada, larger than life .... She is alive, just as Don Juan is alive; but in both cases it is the exaggerated, quintessential life of the artistic creation, rather than a convincing verisimilitude. It is easier to believe in Laurencia [of Fuenteovejuna] as a real woman, but Antona is a more compelling work of art" (p. xxi). As is evident, Miss Wilson concentrates on the artistry of the portrayal and the exaggeration which is an inherent part of it. These are, I think, important factors in any just assessment of Antona.

The element of artistic exaggeration which Miss Wilson points to is stressed even more strongly by A. Soons.<sup>3</sup> He sees Tirso as a mannerist dramatist: "By a process familiar from our knowledge of the plastic arts of the triumphant period of manierismo he has allowed his emulation of previous works to stop at an ingenious "disposition of materials"; Lope's skilful "invention" of a theme is ignored. In Antona García Tirso has recurred to what has been assented to by the spectators of his age, and dramatic means have become confused with ends." As a result of this approach, Soons argues, Tirso seems to create a drama which one may describe as parasitic: "This adherence to proven practice rather than to what his predecessors have venerated allows the dramatist to create plays out of his own and others' 'stock'." But, adds Soons, "He also needs to convey his impression of life poetically, if only to reject other authors' efforts as absurd - or even to reject as absurd human efforts in general - and for this reason Tirso floods his play with unserious and parodistic features.

His own series of "strong" women-characters are travestied in Antona García; peasants are stage-peasants; a Portuguese will have to be a stage Portuguese; a stirring fable of heroism, once the source of local patriotic pride, will be converted into burlesque by a succession of facetious situations. Tirso is apparently repudiating previous drama on serious subjects ...". Soons, I think, is right in calling attention to the absurdity of some aspects of the play and the burlesque nature of the characters, but, for reasons which I shall make clear, I think that he perhaps overstates his case, especially in the conclusions he draws. I am not sure that I properly grasp the point Soons is making, but insofar as his argument implies that Tirso is more questioning than Lope, it is a suggestive one.<sup>4</sup>

What I shall try to do in this analysis is bring together and develop points which have been made by these critics. I shall suggest that the apparent inconsistency in Antona's portrayal, noted by Miss McClelland, is deliberate, part of the "desmesurada" Antona who is a creation of Tirso's artistic vision. The exaggeration, however, is part idealisation (as Miss Wilson implies) and part burlesque (as Soons suggests). Again, as Soons seems to imply (if I understand him correctly), this technique can be related to Tirso's questioning attitude. But I should also suggest (and here my view differs somewhat from Soons') that this attitude is not wholly negative. It is not, it seems to me, primarily in the "conflict of legalities" (to use Soons' phrase) that Tirso is interested in this play. He is interested in Antona. And the appeal is not to legality, justice, or philosophy, but to morality (and, therefore, religion). In other words, I shall argue that Antona's grotesque portrayal is an aspect of the literary satire of the play, and that this is linked to a social thesis which is, at bottom, the same as is present in Mari-Hernández

la gallegra and, in general, in the plays examined in the second part of this thesis.

The exaltation of Antona is central to the play. It is about her, above all else. There are two basic reasons for this. The first is historical and extra-literary. The play is probably connected with the lawsuit conducted by Antona Garcia's descendants, as Miss Kennedy has pointed out. It was therefore of topical interest. But the exaltation of a worthy peasant is a theme dear to Tirso's heart, as we have seen, although it appears frequently enough in other authors. Thus, as in the case of Sixtus V, history provides poetry with its material. This is certainly the second reason for the writing of this play.

Comparison and contrast, i.e., the exploitation of the harmonic structure, are the fundamental technical features in Tirso's portrayal of Antona. Parallelisms are established between Antona, on the one hand, and Isabel and Maria on the other. Secondly, there are parallelisms between the actions of Antona and those of the Conde de Penamacor. These are especially important in view of the implications of the love-intrigue.

First, I shall discuss the three mujeres varoniles who form the central core of the play. Isabel and Maria are connected directly with the basic, historical story of the play, while Penamacor, whom I shall discuss subsequently, is more important for the love-intrigue, and, consequently, although a Portuguese nobleman, is not wholly identified with the side represented by Maria. Antona is compared and contrasted with the two women, and the portrait which thus emerges is all the more striking. The fact that three mujeres varoniles are presented (Maria indirectly) right at the beginning of this play is itself grotesque. It is an embarrassment of riches, and it is significant.

The grotesque is often a sign of the satirical, and grotesque details are evident in Antona García. An excellent instance is the method, invented by the eighth Castilian, of dying eyes black (III.iii), which is a reductio ad absurdum of a well-established joke, and a satirical comment on the fashion of the day, which would even defy nature. There is an obvious connexion between this joke and one of the central problems in the play, which hinges on the urge to social conformity. If we examine the portrayal of Antona García, too, we can easily see that she is a grotesque creature. One way in which Tirso hints at this is by contrasting Antona with an authentic mujer varonil, Isabel. In Antona, we get, to a certain extent, a disfiguration of Isabel.

The Queen may be regarded as the authentic warlike woman. That she is in military garb is made clear from Antona's words: "tan apuesta y guerreadora" (I.ii. p.411a). By appearing at the very opening of the play, she fixes herself in our minds as the standard by which Antona and María may be measured. Her harangue to the troops opens the play and reveals her as warlike, imperious, and not lacking in valour. As Miss Wilson says, she shows a "spirited resistance even when the outlook is black" (p.xvii). It is not her femininity with which we are primarily impressed: the Almirante refers to "esa virtud atractiva" (I.i. p.409b) with an awesome admiration. Her military ambitions make her in a way the rival of Fernando, her husband. We see her half hoping that Fernando will delay long enough to enable her to have the glory of taking Zamora, as Miss Wilson points out:

y si se tarda, gozaré la gloria  
yo sola desta hazaña.  
II.iv. p.427b.

In the same scene, she reveals that she even aspires to the Portuguese crown:

Antes espero que podré en la silla  
suceder portuguesa.

II.iv. p.427a.

It is no surprise that the Almirante's admiration finds expression in the words: "Valor de la Semíramis de España!" (II.iv. p.427b).

But her ardour for war is not all: she is a well-balanced character:

Lícito es en los trabajos  
buscar honestos alivios,  
que un pecho real es tan ancho  
que pueden caber en él  
aprietos y desenfados.  
Gocemos la villanesca.

I.i. p.410a.

She is a gracious Queen, and her conduct towards her followers and her subjects reveals this. She is also generous to her defeated enemies, and issues a general pardon at the end. But the most human side of her character is revealed in her affection for Antona.

Isabel is, too, an embodiment of decorum. She advises Antona to renounce her warlike nature:

No hagáis de hazañas alarde  
porque el mismo inconveniente  
hallo en la mujer valiente  
que en el marido cobarde.

I.ii. p.412a.

This is the decorum of the sexes. A woman should be womanly, and be subordinate to man (and here we can guess how hard Isabel must strive to subordinate herself to Fernando):

No os preciéis de pelear,  
que el honor de la mujer  
consiste en obedecer,  
como en el hombre el mandar,  
y vedme cuando entre en Toro.

I.ii. p.412b.

And not even Isabel is spared Tirso's irony, as the last line reveals.

This irony is underlined: Isabel condemns María in her opening speech:

Doña María Sarmiento,  
su mujer, vituperando  
su misma naturaleza,

en el acero templado  
 trueca galas mujeriles;  
 plaza de armas es su estrado,  
 sus visitas, centinelas,  
 y sus doncellas, soldados.  
 I.i. p.408b.

But Isabel is conscious of what is proper, and in the antepenultimate scene of the play (III.ix), she constrains herself to follow Fernando's lead, suppressing her own desire to punish the rebels.

Finally, it is important to note the parallel that Tirso establishes between Isabel and Antona. Miss Wilson has referred to this: "Isabel advises Antona at her wedding to settle down and become a submissive housewife; but she does not practise what she preaches, and nor can Antona resign herself to domesticity." Both Isabel and Antona are described as "Semiramis". "This reflection of the Queen in the local heroine", says Miss Wilson, "is obviously meant as a measure of the latter's importance" (p.xviii).

The relationship between the two women is reinforced. Antona and Isabel are both beautiful and warlike. Miss Wilson notes that Antona "describes the Queen's beauty unashamedly to her face in such rustic terms of comparison as parsley, wheat, milk, onions and garlic!" (p.xv). This point can be taken further. Just as the Queen is described in rustic terms, Antona is praised by the villagers thus:

Más valéis vos, Antona,  
 que la corte toda.  
 I.ii. p.410b.

And the parallelism is carried to details. Antona is praised in more or less culto terms:

OTRO: Sois ojiesmeralda,  
 sois carirredonda,  
 y, en fin, sois de cuerpo  
 la más gentilhombra.  
 No hay quien vos semeje,  
 reinas ni señoras,  
 porque sois más linda.  
 I.ii. pp.410b-411a.

But in Antona's praise of Isabel, the latter, also, we learn, has green eyes - "vuesos dos ojos parecen / dos matas de perejil" (I.ii. p.411a.) - and she, too, is "cariharta". That this parallel is deliberate and symbolic is perhaps suggested by the fact that the Conde refers to Antona's "dulces ojos morenos" - which we may safely regard as a more accurate and factual description. It is obvious, then, that we are invited to compare and contrast Antona and Isabel. The importance of this will become obvious when I discuss the social thesis of the play. On a purely literary level, it will be clear that the grotesque aspect of the heroine's portrayal is stressed in this way.

Doña María Sarmiento, "vituperando / su misma naturaleza", constitutes our second mujer varonil. In Miss Wilson's words, she is the "hard, vicious villainess he [Tirso] needs as a worthy antagonist for Antona." (p.xvii). Bartolo's judgment only confirms this:

un dimuño de moger,  
 llamada Doña María  
 Sarmiento, de una ventana  
 medio tabique arrojó  
 con que en la cholla la dio  
 ¡hazaña, pardiez, villana!  
 II.v. p.428b.

It will be noted that, just as Antona is referred to in courtly terms and compared with the Queen, María is here likened to a "villana" - her action was a base one. She was the only one to have recourse to the most primitive of weapons, a stone, or, rather, a rock (which was more in keeping with her Titanic character - even the peasants used agricultural implements: "¿No hay palas, bieldos, / trancas, arados?" asks Antona, (II.iii. p.425a) -, and her attack was a treacherous one. This is significant, for María, of all the characters, is the most contemptuous of the peasants: her speech in II.ii expresses her scorn for the lower classes, whom she regards as inferior in every respect and whom she is prepared to bring to heel by the use

of force if necessary, if bribes cannot tempt them. She berates the Conde for loving Antona:

Eclipsa su sangre clara  
 quien como vos se enamora  
 de una rústica villana.  
 II.ix. p.432b.

I shall discuss this point again later, but it is clear that María is an interesting study in her own right, since she serves as a contrast to two other variants of the mujer varonil type. She, unlike Isabel, is a one-sided character, driven, as Isabel puts it, by "la pasión y el interés" (I.i. p.408b), and this is more a pathological than an artistic defect.

María is more of a demagogue than her husband. Her speech, though insulting to the peasants, almost cows them into surrender. Arguments, proofs, abuse follow in torrential flow; a bribe is bolstered with a sinister threat of force. But her judgment is prejudiced: in fact, her speech and her actions verge on the hysterical. She acts on prejudice: the villanos are inferior because they are villanos; the nobles are superior, therefore the nobles are right; in addition, the letrados support the nobles. Therefore, when she comes up against Antona, her fury does not allow her to think clearly, for Antona's arguments are as subtle as any letrado can produce. María is moved by envy to the verge of madness: "mi envidia vos tiene loca", says Antona to her, and this is revealed in her relentless pursuit of the wounded peasant woman. She is obsessed by one thought - the need to kill Antona, who is an obstacle in her way, and, after her treacherous attack, urges the soldiers to finish her off: "Acabalda de matar" (II.iii. p.426a). Face to face with Antona at the end of Act II, María panics: all she can do is shout for help and flee when the Conde opposes Antona, although only a moment before she was urging him to

kill the peasant woman.

So the last we see of María is a clean pair of heels - most unbecoming in a mujer heroica-guerrera. Her influence does not end here, however, since Antona's desire to be revenged on her is a further and delightful motive behind Antona's actions; the latter's hatred of María reveals a very feminine aspect of her character. To see a feud existing between two Amazons is not unamusing.

To sum up, María is an anti-mujer varonil. As a psychological study, she borders on the pathological: she is ruled by prejudice, hate and envy; her obsession with the need for Antona's death - prophetic, as she herself declares - reveals her unsettled mental state. Her hysterical outpourings can cow a mob, even though Antona can sway and lead them better. For María is, in short, a deformed character: her lack of virtues and feelings makes her almost inhuman.

Antona, our third mujer varonil, is a "prodigio". She is not deformed in the way María is: she is not dominated by one obsession. She is a more fully drawn character than Isabel. Miss Wilson has accurately described her as "desmesurada". On the other hand, she does not conform to the ideal type of the mujer heroica-guerrera, notwithstanding the parallel established between her and Isabel: "la sarta que al/cuello llevo / mos encadena a los dos" (I.ii. p.412b). She is very much larger than life, but is also exaggerated to the point of caricature.

The first thing we notice is a tension between Antona as a woman and Antona as a mujer varonil. She is an extremely beautiful woman with a woman's feelings and sensitivities. Miss McClelland, though unhappy over what she regards as Tirso's artistic inconsistency, rightly sees at the bottom of Antona's portrayal "an idealistic peasant woman with a dominating personality, strong as a man, sometimes both mentally

and physically so; a woman with insight and something of a sense of humour". (p.69). This is quite accurate. The Conde is witness to her strength and beauty. Her sense of humour is evident when she offers to make Penamacor "Conde del rastrillo" (I.vi. p.418b). Her woman's feelings are revealed when the Ventura gets her to confess her love for her daughter. At other times, too, we catch glimpses of a sensitive nature. Miss Wilson has observed how Antona's sorrow for her dead husband expresses itself as a sudden outburst of hatred for the Conde. The fact that she immediately turns her mind to thoughts of vengeance does not prevent her from expressing in surprisingly restrained and effective language the nature of the relationship between her dead husband and herself: "De que era, en fin, dueño mío, / no le imagino llorar" (II.vii. p.431a).

But Antona is of a practical nature, and she is, says Pero Alonso, a "mujer de digo y hago" (III.viii. p.448b). She is not devoid of feelings, although her practical nature leads her to suppress them, or rather channel their energies into action:

lágrimas trueque el pesar  
 en venganzas, que yo fío  
 que mi mudo sentimiento  
 por su muerte, ha de encender  
 a Toro, aunque soy mujer.  
 II.vii. p.431a,

This is one aspect of her varonil character. She explains to the Count that she is "a la guerra inclinada" (I.vi. p.417a). She therefore consciously and deliberately plays a part for which she is fitted by nature; but because this aspect of her nature conflicts with the truly feminine one (and this dual aspect is surely characteristic of any well-developed human being), she exaggerates the masculine aspect of her nature, of which she is too conscious. Therefore, while she parallels the prototype of the mujer heroico-guerrera, Isabel, she at

the same time tries to out-Semiramis Semiramis. Thus, when Tirso, as Miss McClelland says, "obstinately recalls her at every turn to a strong-man exhibition" (p.69), he is not guilty of an inconsistency, but rather faithfully representing the inner tension of an exceptional character.

The integrity of Antona's character is evident. She is not to be suborned. In her counter-speech to the mob, she combats María's arguments, subtly countering each reason with a counter-reason - even though she insists she is no more than an ordinary peasant woman. The three speeches of Isabel, María and Antona help to bring out the resemblances and differences of the three women.

Her sense of decorum equals ~~that~~ her Queen's. She realises her duties as a married woman: "que yo hago lo que debo" (I.iv. p.414b). She recognises the need for social decorum:

que como al reye la lanza  
honra a la mujer el huso.  
I.iv. p.414b.

And she reminds the Conde of the social difference between them. She observes the rules of marital decorum: she rejects the advances of the Count and forbids amorous conversation; she will not enter into any irregular liaison:

Porque pretender de mí  
lo que el bien querer procura,  
si no es por mano del cura,  
es, ya lo veis, frenesí.  
II.vii. p.431a.

Her self-control reflects Isabel's, although only up to a point: she regrets the death of her comrades, but "... aunque en el alma los lloro, / los disimulo en la cara" (III.i. p.434a). She makes an effort to restrain herself when the Portuguese chaff her in the inn. But the parallel with Isabel inevitably breaks down, as it must if Antona is to be other than a mere reproduction of Isabel. She must go beyond the

conventional ideal type - and thus enter the realm of the grotesque.

David Worcester, discussing grotesque satire, observes that often the grotesque enters into character-drawing of the most delicate order. The tendency of burlesque satire is to particularize, and the detail chosen is unusual and eccentric. Worcester refers to its "pursuit of the odd, macabre and eccentric", in which it is fantastic rather than realistic. It is satire by description. "A clash of ideas is implicit in the process of creating a scale of values at variance with the common standards of mankind."<sup>5</sup>

This is surely the point behind Tirso's unusual portrayal of Antona. She is a burlesque mujer varonil, and the details Tirso chooses to exaggerate reveal this. In the portrayal of Antona we note the consistent use of exaggeration and violent contrast. Antona differs from the traditional line of mujeres heroico-guerreras in being a peasant woman rather than a queen or noblewoman. The anecdotes which introduce her indirectly strike a grotesque note. She is not only strong but incredibly so:

[ANTONIO:] Tira a la barra y al canto  
con el labrador más diestro.  
I.i. p.410a.

She is, in fact, something of a champion athlete. She apparently does not always agree with the law, as she shows when she rescues her cousin from its clutches:

[ANTONIO:] cogió al jumento y al hombre,  
y llevándole en los brazos,  
como si de paja fueran,  
los metió en la iglesia a entrambos.  
I.i. p.410b.

She does not hesitate to shut up troublesome soldiers in the corral.

Yet, when we first meet her, she enters as a bride, and later on carries on what almost amounts to a mild flirtation with the Conde. But we are not allowed to forget the mujer varonil. Her conversation

is punctuated with a violent war-cry: "Reine Isabel" and ends with her crushing the Conde's hand. The behaviour is, to say the least, highly eccentric, more so in a woman occupied with domestic tasks. These she executes with a characteristic brío and seems to enjoy her position as a housewife. Far from trying to escape her femininity, she marries, becomes a widow, and, before promising to marry for the second time, she has twins almost on the stage - in an almost heroic manner; not quite, however, for she finds her labour pains hard to bear, and realises that she is, after all, only a woman in some respects. Nevertheless, in the famous scene at the inn, where we see her tired and hungry - human, to say the least, and a woman (now a viuda varonil) - and witness her discomfort, she continues her strong-man act. She beats up four Portuguese with a bench, though having confessed to being tired and hungry; announces a secas to the Ventera: "Sabed que preñada estó" (III.iv. p.441b) - and few things can be more grotesque in a mujer varonil, especially under the circumstances; is delivered of a child, delivers the Conde from his captors, forcibly ejecting them from the inn; reluctantly tears herself away from the Conde's interesting account of the war in order to be delivered of another child, and straightway returns to hear the rest of the story, only to see that she must sling her twins over her shoulders and set off. The mujer varonil is obviously reduced to absurdity. This grotesque alternation is constant throughout the play. Antona turns from a fervent admiration of the Queen to an enthusiastic application to her household duties, from which she hurls herself into battle for the Queen:

[BARTOLO:]      sin estorbarle la ropa,  
                  diez mata y tantos heridos

.....

II.v. p.428b.

For this is the one duty which overrides all other considerations.

The above remarks make it plain that Antona is an obvious caricature of the mujer heroico-guerrera, ideally represented in the play by Isabel. In the first place, we note that Isabel and Antona are both opposed to María. The Queen and Antona are on the same side politically, and, being of similar natures, feel a mutual admiration and friendship. María, by her base actions, shows up the nobility of the peasant woman and also emphasises the true nobility of the Queen. The parallelism between the Queen's opening speech and María's in II.ii emphasises the contrast between them. María is thus an important character foil to these two and drives them closer together.

But this very affinity, carefully eked out by stylistic parallels, leads us to compare and contrast Isabel and Antona. It will be noticed that the aspects of Antona's character which are grossly exaggerated are precisely those which are not consonant with our idea of a mujer varonil. This tends to emphasise the grotesque aspect of her portrayal. Antona is subject to love from the very beginning. Unlike Isabel, she is a housewife full of zest. She lacks Isabel's absolute self-control. She is impetuous. She agrees to submit to her husband's authority, but will fight for Isabel if the need arises.

On the other hand, her warlike nature makes continual irruptions into her emotional life: she speaks of war to the Conde when he would court her; beats up the Portuguese and frees the Count during her confinement; and her woman's hatred for María is one of the reasons for her eagerness to lead the surprise attack on Toro. Antona's is a grotesque portrayal: she is a woman who wants to be both man and woman. Tirso is obviously stretching this figure as far as it can go: a basic and realistic psychological tension is exaggerated out of all proportion, for he is satirising a literary type.

This, of course, can be linked with the definitive appearance of

a realistic literary trend at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup> The female warrior was essentially a creation of idealistic literature. While the existence of the mujer varonil in real life is not to be doubted, she is the exception rather than the rule. If Antona is ridiculed in this play, one reason for it is that she is trying to act like an essentially literary type. The tensions between her artificial persona as a mujer varonil and her "real" feminine nature produces a grotesque character. In this rejection of a "literary" approach to life, Antona García and Mari-Hernández possess a factor in common.

If, in the figure of Antona García, Tirso has compared a literary convention with reality and found it absurd, on the social level he compares an aspect of seventeenth-century reality with an ideal and finds it equally absurd. Antona García is an absurd character because she is unnatural; a petrified social structure is absurd because it, too, is unnatural. And María is the representative of such a structure.

I have already drawn attention to the parallel established between Antona and Isabel - a parallel in character, supported by parallels in imagery and situations. Tirso's intention is obviously to point out the affinity between these two characters. In opposition to them stands María, who is presented, morally, as the real villana. Antona, the peasant woman, acts nobly. María's real dramatic function (apart from being a political and personal enemy to Antona and, consequently, one of the motivating elements of the action) is to serve as a character foil to Antona. But these two details are only part of a larger pattern. María represents the attitude of the nobles who are hostile to Isabel and Fernando and who support the Portuguese. Her attitude towards the Castilian lower classes is one of contempt and this is why she is the enemy of Antona and berates the Conde for loving her.

The love-affair between Antona and Penamacor, a conventional element of the comedia, is an integral part of the theme. The love turns from a mild flirtation in I.vi to a promise of marriage in III.viii. The unusual nature of this proposed marriage is evident, as Miss Wilson observes: "... great emphasis is laid on Antona's social status" (p.xv); she "repeatedly tells the Count she can never marry him because of the difference in rank between them" (p.xv). "Yet", continues Miss Wilson, "at the end this barrier is disregarded and there is a hint of possible union between the peasant woman and the noble. Here too we have a typically Tirsian trait, a 'desenlace' which unites 'cayados con cetros', 'seda con sayal'." (p.xv). Miss Wilson goes on to comment: "His relative indifference to social distinctions clearly divides Tirso from his master Lope de Vega, who always retained a strictly hierarchical view of society .... Tirso's nobles are often genuinely in love with women of lower rank and end by making them their wives. This is virtually the case in Antona García; to be sure, Antona jokingly imposes an impossible condition to her acceptance of the Count, and Tirso thus cleverly safeguards historical truth, for of course, no such marriage ever took place; but to all intents and purposes the play may be said to lead up to it, and thus the class struggle is resolved." (pp.xv-xvi).

In fact, right through the play there is a stress on social decorum. Isabel advises Antona to subordinate herself to her husband in I.ii and Antona comments:

Mande y rija mi marido,  
pues Dios su yugo me ha puesto.  
I.ii. p.412b.

Isabel herself does the same:

El rey, mi señor, podrá  
hacer lo que sea servido.  
III.ix. p.449b.

she thus forgoes her desire for vengeance. Antona stresses in I.iv, when she sends Bartolo off to guard the flock, that social duties must be conscientiously fulfilled. Ulloa's speech to the peasants affirms that the duty and function of the nobles are to guide the lower classes. Let them submit to their rulers:

Hombres buenos, reducidos;  
y lo que no os pertenece  
dejad a quien tiene el cargo.  
II.i. p.423a.

Antona repeatedly points out to the Conde that social barriers are an obstacle to their marriage:

la seda junto al sayal,  
fuerza es que parezca mal,  
porque ni pega, ni cuaja.  
II.vii. p.431a.

Now, the theoretical arguments advanced are fundamentally right, because they ensure the smooth working of society. But there are other arguments put forward in the play which, though they may seem to develop logically from the above, are really instruments of social injustice and oppression. In I.vii, Don Basco gives his opinion of the villanos:

pero pecheros villanos  
de poca importancia son.  
I.vii. p.422a.

Their only use is to pay taxes; their opinion regarding government is not wanted. María's speech in II.ii is full of abuse for the peasants. They are "bárbaros", blind and unlettered; she believes that they can be suborned or, if they prove recalcitrant, intimidated. Again, the Conde's love for Antona is, from María's point of view, degrading. The two points that emerge from all this are, first, the assumption of the innate inferiority of the villanos because of their social status, and, secondly, the insistence on keeping the different social classes rigidly separate (to ensure, of course, that the economic burden of the country should fall on the villanos, and that the nobility

maintain their privileged position.)

Against this unjust attitude stands Antona. As a representative of the people she is set on par with the nobility: "Más valéis vos, Antona, / que la corte toda". She is in no way an inferior person, but treated as a friend by the Queen. Her speech is a vigorous defence and even an exaltation of the villanos. She opposes her rustic, honest common-sense, clear and unprejudiced, to the "arguciones" of suborned "letrados". She sees facts and is not interested in legalistic niceties; she prefers certainty ("una hermana con certeza") to doubt ("una hija ... en duda") (II.iii. p.424b). Moreover, "voz del pueblo es voz de Dios" (p.424b), and no judge can argue against that. It is therefore no surprise that the definitive triumph of the Reyes Católicos is associated with a popular movement, or that María, D. Basco and the Portuguese are eventually defeated.

The point Tirso is making is clear enough. If the existing social conventions produce a state of affairs in which the socially noble are morally unworthy, then those conventions must be modified so that society can be re-structured. This re-structuring of society is what is implied in the love and courtship of Antona and the Conde.

The progress of their courtship is parallel with the various stages in the taking of Toro. There are various obstacles in the way of their love. At the beginning of the play Antona is presented as being near the top of her class. She is rich, and of unadulterated blood, proud of her status. Her marriage to Juan brings her fulfilment, and thus we can see her as the perfect, contented housewife in I.vi. But she is worthy of a higher status. This is symbolised by Fenamacor, and she must show herself worthy of being his wife. There are two main aspects concerning her rise, and it will be helpful to discuss them separately.

Antona rises above her social status by surpassing herself. She models herself on Isabel, and being exceptional herself, easily proves her moral superiority to María. (That Antona is never really allowed to demonstrate her physical superiority over María, although this is clearly suggested, while María's treacherous act causes Antona severe physical injury may be significant: it is morality, nobility of soul Tirso is interested in, not brute force.) At the same time, she is the natural leader of the peasants (i.e., she is at the top of her social class), and fights on behalf of the Reyes Católicos. By this action she at once goes beyond her social as well as sexual sphere of action, i.e., she acts as a member of the noble or fighting class, and as a man. As she proves her worth, the obstacles to her union with Penamacor are removed. Thus Monroy's death can be seen as symbolical. Having fulfilled the duties of her class and exceeded them, Antona can now rise. She, like Penamacor, (but for different reasons) can be regarded as an exception to her class.

The Conde, we must remember, is himself an important character in the play and much more than the conventional, love-sick Portuguese Soons sees. Since he is a Portuguese, he is Antona's political enemy. But he is also truly noble; his actions are worthy of his status; he is just - impartially so, for he saves Antona from María and María from Antona; he has a strong sense of duty and his political loyalty is firm; he is compassionate. In short, he is the true nobleman, as opposed to the María Sarmiento type. He sees in Antona qualities which fit her to be his wife, and, instead of choosing a wife of the María type, he subordinates political and social differences to love.

The extent to which Antona has risen is underlined by the parallelism of the scenes in which she and Penamacor appear. At first (I.vi), their basic equality as human beings is evident. Antona is a

match for Penamacor: she can discourse on war, keep Penamacor under control. But the social inequality is still there. This is also stressed when in II.iii Penamacor protects her and saves her from the vindictive hatred of María and the Portuguese soldiers. Penamacor's nobility of soul is evident. But Antona cannot long be his captive: she breaks loose. In her ascent upwards, it is emphasised that her masculinity is not a negation of her femininity (hence the birth-scene). In the midst of her labour, literally and symbolically, she rescues Penamacor from his Castilian captors, the parallel with the earlier scene being reinforced verbally:

ANTONA:           ¿Acordáis os cuando herida  
me defendisteis en Toro  
de aquella Doña María  
y de todos sus parientes?  
PENAMACOR:       Pendiendo de vos mi vida,  
no hice mucho, si era fuerza  
morir yo sin vos.  
ANTONA:                       No olvidan  
deudas de tanta importancia  
las que son agradecidas.  
Soldados, o lo que son,  
vuélvanse a Zamora y digan  
al Don Álvaro que lleva  
al conde Antona García,  
que ella dará cuenta dél.  
                                  III.vi. p.444b.

Antona stresses that she is repaying a debt to the Count (which implies their social equality):

ANTONA:                       Si los avisan  
que es Antona quien lo manda,  
y que así se desobriga  
de otro tanto que hizo el conde  
por ella y que queda viva  
y a su servicio como antes,  
daráles buenas albricias.  
                                  III.vi. p.445a.

It is at this point that Penamacor repeats his offer of marriage which, as Miss Wilson says, is accepted by Antona, but with an impossible condition attached to her acceptance:

PENAMACOR: En fin, ¿prometéis ser mía?  
 ANTONA: Sí, con una condición.  
 PENAMACOR: ¿Y es?  
 ANTONA: ¿Juráis vos de cumplirla?  
 PENAMACOR: Claro está.  
 ANTONA: Que vos paráis  
 los hijos y yo las hijas.  
 III.viii. p.449b.

Antona is thus, at the end, raised up to be the Conde's wife and so her elevation to the top of Toro's battlements is clearly symbolical.

For when the hereditary nobility have become degenerate, the only true regeneration can be effected by introducing fresh, healthy blood from the lower classes where it runs red but true. Considered within this context, Antona's parting joke to the Count opens to reveal a sublimely beautiful symbolism for all its outward grotesqueness: "Que vos paráis / los hijos y yo las hijas". This, surely, is the theme of the play. That is why I am inclined to offer a different interpretation to Soons'; for if this process (by which the civilised elements receive and sublimate the tremendous powers of nature, which, though noble are uncontrolled - hence the dichotomy of Antona's character) is not archetypal, one would be at a loss to say what is.

The second point concerning the elevation of Antona is the grotesque nature of her portrayal. I have already suggested above one reason for the dichotomy in her character. But there are others, which become clearer if we consider the conventions of the literary context in which Golden Age plays were written.

In the play, two peasants, Antona and Bartolo, rise socially. Both are treated grotesquely in the course of the play, but both are "redeemed" at the end.<sup>7</sup> Now, if we hark back to the three women in the play, we shall see that their simultaneous presence is one of its key features. They represent three different social classes and are treated in three different ways. Isabel, despite the ironical touches

we notice, is treated nobly. María is condemned, but we feel sorry for her: the essence of her plight is that her values are the wrong ones: she is concerned only with the accidents of her social status, and consequently, of life. Antona is ultimately to marry a Count, and she gains the glory of the capture of Toro (whereas Isabel had to be content with entering Zamora with Fernando) and she wins our hearts, for she is simpática and her character is truly noble. But, like Bartolo, she is treated grotesquely.

Here we have, of course, the threefold division of styles - high, mixed, and low - in Isabel, María, and Antona.<sup>8</sup> This, as Auerbach has made clear, was a stylistic convention based on literary and, ultimately, social prejudices. From this point of view, Antona is treated grotesquely because, first, she is a member of the lower classes; secondly, she is "wrong" in being a mujer varonil (Isabel - not even María - can be varonil, for she is Queen and ruler, and that only when Fernando is absent) and thus "wrong" in usurping the social functions of men: she fights, leads the villagers, carries the standard; and thirdly, she is "wrong" in usurping the political duties of the upper classes, the nobility.

But, at times, two wrongs can make a right. The real nobility have forgotten their social functions and duties: this is what María's attitude signifies. They are, in fact, degenerate. The "mixed" style is a debasement here, for it looks downwards instead of upwards.

To whom, then, is one to turn to effect a regeneration of the nobility but the peasantry? Antona symbolises all that is noble in human nature: she saves the Conde, for example, from his Castilian captors as he had saved her from her Portuguese enemies. Her nobility shines out through all the grotesque trappings.

Tirso points to Antona's redemption from her grotesqueness by her coming marriage to Penamacor, and this welds together the literary and

social aspects of the play, strengthening its organic unity. The final vision we have of Penamacor and Antona walking hand in hand into marriage, this symbolic union of the highest and lowest rungs of society, reveals, in one brilliant flash, Tirso the idealist behind Tirso the satirist. Thus the fact that the play is unfinished can be considered a positive virtue, since we are left with the feeling that the achievement is within grasp. (But do we, at the same time, see the pessimistic scepticism of the practical idealist? Despite the optimistic ending of the play, we know that historically the ending was otherwise.) Yet, it is this vision of Tirso's which enables us to see a bit more clearly Tirso the man: the vision of the nobility producing worthy sons of the country (and, on this symbolic level, there is no absurdity in Antona's condition to the Count) who will turn to the daughters of the earth and, by lifting them up and not despising them, will themselves be renewed and reinvigorated, supported and enriched in a full and active social harmony.

CONCLUSIONS

The first conclusion is that the results of the present study are in agreement with those of other workers in the field. The second conclusion is that the results of the present study are in agreement with those of other workers in the field. The third conclusion is that the results of the present study are in agreement with those of other workers in the field. The fourth conclusion is that the results of the present study are in agreement with those of other workers in the field. The fifth conclusion is that the results of the present study are in agreement with those of other workers in the field. The sixth conclusion is that the results of the present study are in agreement with those of other workers in the field. The seventh conclusion is that the results of the present study are in agreement with those of other workers in the field. The eighth conclusion is that the results of the present study are in agreement with those of other workers in the field. The ninth conclusion is that the results of the present study are in agreement with those of other workers in the field. The tenth conclusion is that the results of the present study are in agreement with those of other workers in the field.

The main points which have emerged from my analyses of Tirso's plays have been summarised at the end of each section in the body of the thesis. Here, I shall only attempt to bring together some of the more important conclusions. I shall consider, first, Tirso's view of society; next, some features of his art-form; and, finally, I shall make some suggestions concerning his place in the historical development of the comedia.

In my introduction, I stated that critics, with some exceptions, have traditionally argued that the morality of Tirso's comedies is suspect and his technique primitive, if not carelessly incompetent.

In this thesis, I set out to examine the validity of these judgments by analysing closely a number of his comedies. The hypothesis I simultaneously put forward was this: that if the comedies are seen as satirically conceived, the traditional view must be modified. In my attempt to test this hypothesis, I examined plays in which the satire of social and/or literary conventions plays a crucial rôle.

This general hypothesis seems to have been confirmed. I have shown that, if we see Tirso's comedy as satiric comedy, our response to it must differ from the traditional one. The two main points established are these: first, that the plays are concerned with exploring moral and social problems; and secondly, that they are by no means technically unsatisfactory.

As regards the morality of Tirso's comedies, I have tried to show that there is a fundamental concern with personal and social relationships and, especially, the attitudes and values on which these are based. For Tirso, the ultimate foundation on which these relationships are to be built is the morality which is grounded in religion.

This means that, within the context of seventeenth-century society in particular, and human life in general, the assertion of moral values as the touchstone of valid and genuine actions and attitudes leads to a challenging of the conventions and assumptions which often in practice govern personal as well as social relationships. Quite often Tirso supports a violation of existing conventions and what may appear at first glance to be a violation of morality in order to affirm deeper, genuine moral values.

This makes it clear that Tirso is not suggesting that the existing social structure should be bodily inverted or destroyed. If people were guided by moral values, Tirso would, we feel, have no quarrel with the traditional social structure. But, in that case, we should also have to grant, the structure would be different, and similar to the one proposed by Tirso. What he advocates is a more radical re-structuring of society on the basis of criteria moral and religious, and not secular and worldly. Within this proposed structure, each individual would be accorded the position he truly deserved. This is probably the basic reason why the figure of the illegitimate son or the segundón occurs so often in Tirso's plays: they are individuals who have to prove their worth, since they do not automatically inherit a safe niche in society. By showing how they attain their positions in the social structure, Tirso puts forward his own views on society.

Ultimately, Tirso is advocating a flexible approach to life. That is why he concentrates on the nature of a particular situation and the appropriate response of the individual to it. This, perhaps, is the explanation for his use of extreme or highly ambiguous situations, where the automatic, conventional response proves to be

invalid. Thus any petrification in social conventions or in the personal response to life is the butt of his satire.

The implications of this view of Tirso's comedies for the theories of comedy which I have considered in relation to the plays analysed will be evident. I am not convinced that the application of the theory of the comic catharsis to Tirso's plays is wholly valid. There would seem to be a socially subversive element in Tirsian (and Golden Age) comedy mainly because the Christian way of life is socially subversive. The analyses of plays in which Tirso suggests that social barriers are not inviolable seem to imply that Lope's El perro del hortelano makes the same point. Tirsian comedy (and therefore Golden Age literature in so far as Tirso's comedy is representative of it) is problematic and, ultimately, serious.

Perhaps the most serious point Tirso's comedy makes concerns the absurdity of life. This pervades Tirso's drama and is the view to which all the merriment leads. This, in a way, is a pessimistic view of life. In this, Tirso's comedy supports Kerr's theory.

But it would be wrong to conclude that Tirso makes his point with puritanical righteousness and severity. Tirso's view of life is more balanced and humane, and takes into account human weakness and needs. It has been argued that satire and comedy are irreconcilable, and that one crucial difference between the two is the entirely subjective viewpoint of the satirist. That, I suggested, is taking too narrow a view of the term "satire".

In so far as Tirso's comedies criticise certain aspects of life and art by ridiculing them, they can be regarded as satirical. But Tirso is not a didactic, moralising playwright, burning with righteous indignation against the crimes and sins of mankind, and with a

message for humanity which they must heed if they would not perish. He is, first of all, a superb writer of comedy. His satire can, if we so wish, be seen simply as basic material out of which he builds his comedies. But I think that we can go further than this and see his own view of life reflected in his work. His comedies aim to show how absurd man and his follies can be. Thus, Tirso has a standpoint outside himself. This is seen most clearly in his ironical attitude, which produces an extremely subtle form of comedy.

Tirso's sense of the absurd, reinforced by his ironic attitude towards his creations and his audience, seems to me to be the real distinguishing feature of his comedy. It is this which tempts one to regard his plays as examples of comedy of the absurd, using this term, however, without its modern, existentialist overtones. I shall return to this presently, but first I should like to discuss some more specific aspects of Tirso's comedies.

As regards Tirso's dramatic art, it is clear that a central aspect is the satire of literary conventions, which parallels the satire of social conventions. Here, again, it is the petrification of dramatic devices into automatic dramatic conventions which is ridiculed. But it is precisely this ridicule which re-invests these conventions with new life.

The conventions Tirso satirises are varied: they include conventional literary and dramatic types and figures, the conventional use of figures and situations, and the burlesque of the causal dramatic structure.

This seems to point to the following conclusion: that Tirso's plays can, on the one hand, be regarded as conscious experiments in dramatic structure. This explains the use of unusual structural forms,

which hitherto had been regarded as haphazard, make-shift constructions. Such experimentation means that some brilliant solutions are found, but, also, that some experiments do not progress beyond mere explorations of possibilities.

Tirso's experimentation means that he uses a looser dramatic structure than does Calderón. On the one hand, this looseness is part of the Lopean heritage: Lope has fixed the form of the comedia, but the structure is not yet fixed. The theatrical conventions of the time, whereby plays were written with specific companies in mind, also contribute to this looseness in structure. On the other hand, Tirso turns this fault into a virtue. The interplay of ideas, characteristic of wit, needs ample room, and the structuring element in Tirso's plays is predominantly wit. It is this which links causally unrelated scenes, incidents and episodes. The harmonic structure, therefore, is of crucial importance in Tirso. It is used, of course, by Calderón, but in conjunction with a causal structure. Tirso's main contribution in the historical evolution of the structure of the comedia is the perfecting of the dramatic structure of wit.

Another characteristic of Tirso's comic art is his sense of the absurd. The experimenting, questioning, critical approach noted implies a highly intellectual form of drama. Here it may be convenient to recall Dr. Paterson's observation that Tirso's characters often seem to be arguing a case. The proliferation of miniature debates (conducted according to formal rules and using formal terminology, although in a burlesque manner) is adequate proof of this. (quite often, it has been noted, the point is couched in a humorous, if not absurd, form and is intended to expose an absurdity. A clear feature of the later Tirso is the complex use of irony which points the absurdity of a situation.

The shift from a simple to a more complex use of irony reflects what is a characteristic feature of Tirso's art, namely, his developing technique. By this, I mean his tendency to develop in what appear to be later plays situations which occur in embryonic form in earlier ones, i.e., a kind of refundición, though of his own plays, not those of other writers. This developing technique covers not only situations and figures but also structures, themes and styles. This aspect of Tirso's technique, of which his so-called "self-plagiarism" is one manifestation, is of some help in establishing a relationship between various plays of Tirso's, and also a rough chronological order of certain plays. But much more work needs to be done on the way in which Tirso's technique develops before definite conclusions can be drawn.

One aspect of Tirso's art in which this development can be traced is his style. From any point of view, the question of style is a crucial one in the study of Tirso's theatre. Attention has already been drawn to his argumentative style, used constantly in establishing a point.

But there is also the more properly "poetic" use of style: the structural function of images; the use of imagery to embody implicit comments on characters, etc. There is, finally, the development from an early freer style to a more Calderonian style in Tirso's late manner.

This point brings us to Tirso's position in the historical development of the comedia. He, of course, always acknowledged his debt to the great master, Lope. The latter, however, did not regard Tirso's successes graciously. This is perhaps indicative of the fact that Lope recognised Tirso's genius and realised that he was no

mere second-rate imitator of himself.

This is indeed true. Tirso is already striking out in various new directions. Several of them lead to Calderón. At various places in my thesis, I have pointed out features of Tirso's art which anticipate Calderón. Some of the problems Tirso examines are later explored by the younger writer - the father-child relationship, the question of authority and obedience, etc. More striking are some of the basic concepts central to Calderón's dramatic world which we surprise in Tirso, such as that of "diffused responsibility", shown by Professor Parker to be at the heart of Calderonian tragedy.

What is particularly interesting, however, is the extent to which Tirso foreshadows various formal and structural aspects of Calderonian drama. There is, above all, the artificiality of Tirso's plays; in tone, the ironical, self-conscious attitude towards conventional dramatic situations; in structure, the systematic use of parallelisms and symmetry; in style, the structural use of imagery (already present to some extent in Lope), and the development of a more artificial, courtly style.

In Tirso, in short, we can discern a movement away from Lope towards Calderón. Tirso's experiments allow Calderón to perfect one of the possible forms into which the structure of the comedia could have crystallised. There are other potential forms, however, which are not developed. It is perhaps the rigour of logic, anticipating the more rigid conventions of the latter part of the seventeenth century, which imposes itself on the comedia with Calderón. After him, it leads into that petrification against which Tirso constantly fought. Tirso belonged to a freer age: his was a freer mind; his a freer art-form. It is in this freedom, reflected in his flexible, happy approach to life and art (even in their most

serious aspects), that the source of his essential originality lies. It was the loss of this freedom for Tirso and, ultimately for Spain, which the Junta de Reформación's decree of 1625 symbolised.

APPENDIX A

LA MUJER POR FUERZA.

The following is a list of the names of the women who were forced into prostitution during the period of the occupation of the Philippines by the Japanese. The names are listed in alphabetical order of their surnames.

1. Abad, Maria

2. Abad, Rosa

3. Abad, Trinidad

4. Abad, Victoria

5. Abad, Yolanda

6. Abad, Zulema

7. Abad, Antonia

8. Abad, Concepcion

9. Abad, Dolores

10. Abad, Encarnacion

11. Abad, Esperanza

12. Abad, Felisa

13. Abad, Gertrudis

14. Abad, Inocencia

15. Abad, Juana

16. Abad, Mercedes

17. Abad, Natividad

18. Abad, Olimpia

19. Abad, Remedios

20. Abad, Soledad

21. Abad, Teodora

22. Abad, Virginia

23. Abad, Zenaida

24. Abad, Alicia

25. Abad, Amalia

26. Abad, Benita

27. Abad, Carlota

28. Abad, Ernestina

29. Abad, Francisca

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32. Abad, Isabella

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La mujer por fuerza exemplifies the conventional use of the dramatic device of the female page. A very brief look at it, therefore, will enable us to see how far Tirso, in the three plays analysed in the first section of this thesis, moved away from a well-known dramatic formula. Secondly, although it is not my purpose, in this thesis, to examine the question of the authorship of doubtful plays, it is interesting to note that, while this play may not be wholly by Tirso, certain features in it echo situations found in some of his authentic plays, a fact which suggests that he may at least have had a hand in the planning and writing of it.

The fact that La mujer por fuerza appears in the enigmatic Segunda parte raises doubts as to its authorship. Of the four plays in this parte which Tirso claims to be his, only the two which bear his name can be identified with any certainty. The fact that Esto sí que es negociar is an obvious refundición of El melancólico suggests that the former is the third of these four plays. Dr. A. K. G. Paterson has shown that El condenado por desconfiado is almost certainly by Tirso.<sup>1</sup>

While no documentary proof of the authorship of La mujer por fuerza has been discovered, many critics have argued on behalf of Tirso's authorship of this play, and, in the absence of a conclusive refutation of this hypothesis, it is at least possible that Tirso collaborated with another author. Hartzenbusch was inclined to suspect that the play was Lope's rather than Tirso's, but admitted Tirso as the author on the grounds that "Lope no necesitaba imitar á Tirso ni á nadie".<sup>2</sup> Cotarelo decided that the play was by Tirso,<sup>3</sup> while Fernández y Pelayo thought that it was written by an imitator and disciple of Tirso's, since it slavishly imitated other plays of Tirso's in which a disguised woman appears.<sup>4</sup> Da. Blanca, on the other hand,

sees this resemblance not as imitation, but as one of Tirso's early treatments of a dramatic formula he found attractive.<sup>5</sup> Holding that all the plays in the Segunda parte are wholly or partly by Tirso, Da. Blanca has no doubts about attributing La mujer por fuerza to Tirso. The discovery that La reina de los reyes is not Tirso's rather weakens her argument, but does not necessarily invalidate her statements as regards this particular play.<sup>6</sup> More recently, E. Calderà implicitly assumes that the play is Tirso's, seeing it as an initial version of plays such as Don Gil.<sup>7</sup> In this, of course, he agrees with Da. Blanca. This view is worthy of consideration, if only because of the fact that it fits in with what we know of one aspect of Tirso's dramatic procedure, namely his tendency to re-write plays or, rather, re-work and develop situations found in embryonic states in other plays. This is a process akin to the self-plagiarism noted by some critics. Morley's views on the authorship, on the basis of an examination of the verse-forms used in the play, are that the versification is "enteramente normal", but that no firm conclusions can be drawn.<sup>8</sup>

A stylistic analysis of the play could conceivably produce more positive conclusions, but that cannot be undertaken here. Superficial stylistic features, of course, cannot be considered as valid evidence of authorship. Attention can only be drawn to some other features of the play which seem to point to Tirso's handiwork.

The most obvious is perhaps the basic absurdity of the situation which is presented in the play and which is reflected in the title. Federico "promises" to marry a woman whom he has not seen, and is therefore forced to marry her in order to see her.

This situation is obviously a skit on the conventional one we get in comedy (compare, e.g., La celosa de sí misma) in which a man does

not or cannot see the woman to whom he is engaged until just before he actually marries her.<sup>9</sup> Federico says he will marry Finea if he sees her, and that starts off the action. The ensuing complication can only be resolved when the Count discovers who Finea is, i.e., sees her. But to see her, he must fulfil his earlier "promise" and marry her. In other words, Federico, by his rash, initial act, sets in motion a conventional situation which must unfold to its inevitable end. What is absurd is that the Count sees her all the time - she is Celio, which means that his denials are "lies" - but he does not realise that Celio is Finea, a situation again akin to the one in la celosa.

The successful clothing of this skeletal frame with dramatic form depends on this: that certain characters in the play deliberately interpret literally and seriously words which are not intended to be taken at face value.<sup>10</sup> It is on this that the plot and much of the comic effect depend. The two basic instances of this are, first, the Conde's initial offer to Alberto to marry Finea (I.iii), and, secondly, Florela's teasing invitation to the Count to bring Finea into her presence (II.v). Both Federico and Florela are made to regret their words. The first action provides the moral "justification" for the success of Finea's schemes, the second partly justifies the frustration of Federico's marriage to Florela.

These two actions are crucial moments in the plot, and, because they raise an interesting point, permit a slight digression here. The point I have in mind is what is known as the "context of situation".<sup>11</sup> Although Malinowski's idea has been broadened and modified by later linguists, his original statement concerning it is, in broad terms, valuable: "... the situation in which words are uttered can never be passed over as irrelevant to the linguistic

expression".<sup>12</sup> The "context of situation", as it is now understood, comprises many things; but for the present purpose, the most pertinent aspects are the following: the social class or classes to which the speaker and the person spoken to belong; the social conventions of their community and class; the linguistic conventions proper to these; and, finally, the intention underlying the words uttered and the interpretation given to those words by the hearer.

To return to the play, the point to which I would draw attention is this. What starts off the action is Federico's offer to marry Finea:

[CONDE:] Hoy he sabido que tenéis hermana;  
sólo el favor de verla me ha faltado,  
que a haberla visto, fuera cosa llana  
volver, Alberto, a Nápoles casado.

ALBERTO: Finea ha dado en retirada y vana:  
por esta causa no le habéis hablado;  
y por lo que decís del casamiento  
bésos las manos.

CONDE: Digo lo que siento.

ALBERTO: Gran honra para mí serviros fuera.

CONDE: Escribiré en llegando.

I.iii. p.506a.

Taken in isolation, the Count's words are an unambiguous offer of marriage, and this is reinforced by his affirmation: "Digo lo que siento". But the context of situation must be taken into account if we would see the ambiguity of intention conveyed by the speech. One can interpret Federico's words literally; but, at first, it is only the servants who do so. That is only to be expected: the lower classes are not a sophisticated lot. This point is made twice. First, Alberto has to correct his servant gently:

CRIADO: Mi señora estuviera bien casada  
con tal valor y términos tan buenos  
en Nápoles.

ALBERTO: No quise que la viese,  
que fuera obligación que la sirviese,  
que para dalle joyas competentes  
a su valor y al de Finea, mi hermana,

se pudieran seguir inconvenientes:  
la nobleza sé yo napolitana.  
I.iv. p.506b.

As the servant is inclined to press the point, Alberto makes it clear that he realises Federico's words were a mere formality:

ALBERTO: Si el Conde  
me escribe, y a su intento corresponde:  
(que si palabras son de cumplimento,  
porque en mi casa al Conde he regalado,  
no es justo que le obligue a casamiento,  
ni todo huésped a volver casado),  
las cartas nos dirán su pensamiento;  
tan noble soy como él.  
I.iv. p.506b.

This is confirmed almost immediately, when Clarín, like Alberto's servant, reveals his ignorance of the finer points of social etiquette:

CLARÍN: En lugar de lo que suele  
entretener los caminos,  
reprehenderte quisiera,  
generoso señor mío.  
¿Tienes a Florela amor?  
¿Sirves a Florela?

CONDE: Sirvo,  
y tengo amor a Florela.

CLARÍN: ¿Pues no es cruel desatino  
el decir a la partida,  
sin haber de Alberto visto  
la hermana, que te casaras  
con ella?

CONDE: Pues ¿qué hay perdido?

CLARÍN: Si el otro te respondiera  
tan necio y no tan amigo,  
¿como volvieras?

CONDE: Casado.

CLARÍN: ¿Eso dices?

CONDE: Eso he dicho.

CLARÍN: ¿Burlaste?

CONDE: De ti me burlo,  
que aquella palabra ha sido  
sólo por honrar al huésped;  
que aunque él es tan bien nacido  
y debe de ser su hermana  
un ángel, el excesivo  
amor que a Florela tengo  
no me hubiera permitido  
casarme si el Rey de Hungría  
me diera a su hija.  
I.v. p.507a.

Here, Federico makes it plain that what he really meant was to express his gratitude and thanks to Alberto for his hospitality. As we have

seen, Alberto, a cultured nobleman himself, understood this. There has been no insincerity on Federico's part, of course. But the ambiguity still remains. Clarín rams this home:

[CLARÍN:] Decir puede un hombre a otro a cuenta de los servicios que ha recibido en su casa: "Señor, mi hacienda, mis hijos, mis caballos, mis criados, mis pájaros y mis libros a vuestro servicio están; siempre tengo de serviros." Pero "yo me casaré, y con mujer que no he visto", no lo ha dicho caballero; caballero no lo ha dicho, aunque fuera Lanzarote cuando de Bretaña vino.  
I.v. p.507a-b.

The point here is that Federico's words, as an expression of thanks to his host, are unusual. But a difference in the conventions of two nations appears to be the explanation for this. Alberto has already drawn attention to the unusual nature of Neapolitan customs among the upper classes: "la nobleza sé yo napolitana" (I.iv. p.5P6b).

Thus Federico can laugh at Clarín's naïveté because he reasonably (as he thinks) assumes that the context in which his words were uttered and the person to whom they were addressed would make it impossible for them to be interpreted literally: he has never seen Finea (and one would suspect that he realised that Alberto had deliberately hidden her from him), nor did he learn of her existence until the day of his departure.

But that is taking too much for granted. If the basic situation were to remain unchanged, there would be no difficulty. But no man can count on external circumstances remaining immutable. When Finea disappears from home, the ambiguous balance hitherto maintained between the literal and the non-literal interpretations of Federico's words is disturbed: they can now be interpreted literally even by the

noble Alberto. Words, so to speak, are enabled to assert their right to mean what they do mean.

A similar feature is to be noticed at the second crucial moment in the play. This is when Federico is first accused of having enticed Finea away from home. Florela is quite naturally angry, jealous and insecure. But she expresses her need for reassurance in a perversely oblique manner:

CONDE: ¡Vive Dios, que mi inocencia  
dé voces a tu razón!  
Juzga si quieres de mí,  
como es justo.

FLORELA: Ya he juzgado  
que te ausentaste y he hallado  
que duró el amor en ti  
hasta que viste esa dama.  
¿Dónde la tienes? Bien creo  
que puedes de mi deseo  
fiar lo que el tuyo ama.  
¿Por qué no la traes aquí?

CONDE: ¡Oh pesar de mi desdicha!

FINEA (aparte): Por aquí ha de entrar mi dicha.

CONDE: ¡Que tú <sup>me</sup> trates así!  
¿Pues satisfácese el Rey  
y el mundo de mi inocencia,  
y tú en mi propia presencia  
contra toda justa ley  
de amor y de obligación,  
por culpado ya me nombras  
por imaginadas sombras?

FLORELA: Muy justas sospechas son,  
que el Rey no te ha de querer  
ni tener celos de ti,  
y yo, Federico, sí,  
que pienso ser tu mujer.

II.v. pp.524b-525a.

Again, the context in which the speech is uttered would help us to understand its ambiguity. On the literal level, Florela is inviting the Count to produce Finea. But this is a scene of jealousy. Consequently, the real, ulterior meaning of Florela's remarks is that she wants to be reassured of the Conde's love. The last person she would like to see, surely, is her presumed rival. Federico, however, does not respond on the psychological level; instead, interpreting her words literally, he flares up and complains bitterly of the injustice

of her accusations. The two are talking at cross purposes.<sup>13</sup> As in the previous instance, there is an ambiguity of intention in this speech of Florela's.

Here, again, if the circumstances were such as would make it clear that Finea could not be produced (because the Count had not enticed her away), this would be a "simple" case of pedir celos. But Finea can be produced: Florela's words, not intended to be taken literally, are taken literally. In both cases, then, the comedy arises out of the fact that, in the play, it is deliberately assumed that the utterance of certain words corresponds exactly to the speaker's intention, in other words, that people mean what they say. Whereas, in "real" life, this is not always the case. Federico does not seriously wish to marry Finea, nor does Florela really want to see her. They say they do, but they mean something else. The play ironically insists that what they say is what they mean, or that, if that is not so, they are insincere and must, consequently, be "punished".

One must beware of reading such a light-hearted comedy as this too seriously, but, even on the comic level, Federico has clearly acted imprudently. He himself recognises this:

CONDE:            ¡Ay Florela! Si fue agravio  
del amor que te he debido  
y del que debo tenerte,  
perdona mi desvarío.  
Cumplimiento y necio fue;  
pero por disculpa ha sido  
el no haber visto a Finea;  
no me des mayor castigo,  
ni allá te rebele el alma  
por deslealtad, por olvido,  
obligar a un caballero  
que con generoso indicio  
de su valor me ha obligado.  
                  I.v. p.507b.

Furthermore, he tends to use language in a curious way. His love-letter to Florela expresses his love by saying he is jealous, afraid, and suspicious:

[FLORELA:] "No sé cómo declarar  
 lo que siento, porque sientas  
 a lo que obligan temores  
 y a lo que sospechas llegan.  
 Celos que allá no sabía,  
 aquí, mi bien, me atormentan,  
 que los sustituye amor  
 a falta de la presencia:"  
 I.viii. p.511a.

We can see this as an expression of the Conde's love only if we realise that it is written by a man who is confident of his love for the woman he loves and of hers for him.

This naïve confidence of Federico's in the immutability of external reality and circumstances is set against the psychological insecurity of Florela. She is unsure of Federico's love and seeks reassurance by playfully accusing the Count of flirting with the ladies at the Hungarian court (and the irony of the last four lines is not to be missed):

FLORELA: Mejor pudieran pasarse [los días]  
 entre las húngaras damas,  
 que vuestra persona y talle  
 y esto del embajador  
 obligan a muchos lances.  
 ¿Con quién tuvisteis lugar?  
 ¿Qué os dijeron? No se calle  
 ninguna cosa conmigo.  
 CONDE: Hoy quieres desesperarme;  
 esto sí que fue querer  
 templarme el gusto.

FLORELA: Dejádme  
 pensar en que tuve celos.  
 CONDE: Tuvisteis celos de balde,  
 que yo no sabía la lengua;  
 y en llegando dama a hablarme,  
 ella se entendía a sí  
 en el húngaro lenguaje,  
 y yo, ni a ella ni a mí,  
 respondiéndolo disparates.

FLORELA: ¿Dieron os algún favor?  
 Por vida mía, mostrádme  
 banda, flor, papel o cinta;  
 que aunque en palacio excusase  
 la novedad estas cosas,  
 no pudieron excusarse  
 en casa de vuestro huésped.

CONDE: Florela, un rayo me abrase  
 si vi la hermana de Alberto.  
 Y aquí llegan mis dos pajes,  
 de quien podréis informaros.  
 I.xiv. pp.516b-517a.

Federico, curiously enough, who himself practises the art of saying one thing and meaning another, apparently fails to realise that Florela is here doing the same thing. He takes her literally and in exasperation declares his innocence. The full irony of this statement becomes clear when this lovers' game is turned into something more sinister by the formal charge brought against Federico of having abducted or enticed away Finea from her home. Florela's accusation can now be taken, and is meant, literally, while Federico's denials are considered lies.

Now, the starting-point of Finea's intrigues can, in one sense, be seen as Federico's initial offer to marry her. But her intrigues cannot succeed solely by her attempting to force a literal interpretation on to Federico's words. Finea's real chance, as she sees it, comes when Florela's insecurity turns into distrust and fear. Fearing that Federico has indeed brought Finea with him, she perversely expresses a desire to see Finea - a desire which she soon regrets, since Celio is quick to oblige her.

A final aspect of Florela's character is brought out by her flirtation with Celio, in which she encourages an ambiguous relationship: Celio is to love her and simultaneously not to love her, i.e., not to declare his love. The discrepancy noted in Federico and Florela herself between speech and intention is deliberately perpetuated here. We wonder whether Florela's declaration that she loves Federico, not Celio, is to be taken at face value. Our suspicions that they are not are confirmed at the end of the play when we learn that Florela wishes to marry the Aragonese prince, Celio, whom she considers

a better "catch" than Federico. While her decision may in part be motivated by a desire to avenge herself on Federico, social honour surely also plays a part in it. Her love for Federico could hardly have been genuine, and we feel that Federico is better off without her for his wife. At the same time, Florela's attempt to subordinate emotional values to social and material ones is frustrated when Celio's real identity is revealed, and she has to be content with Alberto. The marriage of two profoundly distrustful persons does not offend us.

The preceding remarks, although concerned primarily with drawing attention to the satirical treatment of certain aspects of the play, also indirectly indicate some of the subtle touches in the characterisation of Florela. The lightly ironical treatment of some of the more absurd female weaknesses is characteristic of Tirso: witness, e.g., his portrayal of Magdalena in La celosa de sí misma. The subtlety in female portraiture is also to be seen in Finea in this play.

The conventional use of the device of the female page characterises this comedy. Finea dresses as a man in order to pursue the man she loves. She enters his service as a page, and, exploiting her role as an intermediary, successfully prevents the planned marriage of Florela to the Count. This betrayal of confidence because of love is a stock comic situation, and is parodically paralleled by Celio's "betrayal" of Clarín in the vestigial sub-plot.

Finea's success depends on her ability to exploit the weaknesses in the relationship between Florela and Federico. She is quick to perceive that their relationship is a shaky one. Federico's tendency to take too many things for granted and Florela's emotional insecurity (to which can be set down even her flirtation with Celio and her being attracted by his superior social position) are a dangerous combination.

These weak points are systematically attacked. Federico regrets ever having mentioned marriage with Finea and Florela similarly regrets having expressed a perverse desire to see her.

There are some interesting features in the portrayal of Finea. One of these is the consequences of her having to act the part of a man. This leads to a conflict between her own feminine personality and her male persona. A good example of this is to be found in I.xiii, where Celio, to assert "his" manliness, asks Clarín to introduce him to a girl. But Clarín's rather crude language offends Celio, a woman herself:

[CLARÍN:] Ven y verás dos infames  
que pueden prestar contento  
al diablo.  
FINEA: ¡Que atrevimiento!  
No quiero que así las llames.  
CLARÍN: ¿Pues qué quieres que te diga?  
¿Que son reinas?  
FINEA: Que honres quiero  
las mujeres.

I.xiii. p.515b.

Disguise also produces ironic situations such as that in II.viii, where Federico invites Celio to join him in calling curses down on Finca's head. Here the irony springs not from the consequences of the sexual opposition of person to persona, i.e., of the female Finea to the male Celio, but from the identity of Celio with Finea. Celio's gallant defence of women is only a humorous attempt at wound-licking.

The irony in these situations is an integral part of the overall comic effect of the play. Although rather lacking in subtlety in some respects, they call attention to the absurdity they contain, an effect which is often found in Tirso. There are other situation, also, where closer parallels with situations in the three plays of Tirso's examined in the first section are noticeable.

There is first the obvious similarity with the initial situation

in El amor médico: a brother prevents his sister from coming into contact with their house-guest, who is nevertheless observed and then pursued by the sister.<sup>14</sup> In both plays, the sister's success depends on the frustration of another love-affair. In both plays the heroine's love initially seems hopeless and is recognised by her as such. In El amor médico, however, there is a complexity of motivation in the heroine which leads to a witty play of concepts but which is absent from La mujer por fuerza.

The number of rôles played by Finea has been noted by Da. Carmen Bravo-Villasante, who finds that this echoes the situations in Don Gil (and, one may add, El amor médico). However, here again, La mujer por fuerza does not have the complexity of these latter plays. Finea's only other rôle on stage is that of Celio. The latter's claim to be Don Alonso of Aragon is only contained in the yarn he spins to Florela, while Fenisa is used when Celio wishes to show Finea to Florela. The latter fact is especially significant when compared with parallel situations in the other two plays. The use of Fenisa can be seen as a concern with verisimilitude on the part of the author(s). On the other hand, the way in which the Don Gil-Elvira and the Barbosa-Marta pairs are impudently introduced reveals an ironic attitude in the author's handling of his material which is absent from La mujer por fuerza. In the two Tirsian plays, there is a deliberate, almost insolent stress on a lack of verisimilitude which contrasts with the "serious" handling of the situation in La mujer. In other words, situations and devices are treated seriously in order to produce comic effect in La mujer, whereas in the other two plays, part, at least, of the comic effect - and an important part, at that - arises from the ironical, deliberately non-serious use of these situations and devices as dramatic material. The impression we get of Tirso as

a self-conscious, detached, ironical playwright, amused with the situations he produces and contrives is a curious one (which is inherited to a certain extent by Calderón). Paradoxically, we also feel that the problems around which Tirso's plays centre are more serious than the one treated in La mujer por fuerza.

An example of an unorthodox handling of conventional dramatic situations is found at the end of the play when Celio, whose real identity is suspected by no one, asks the King for permission to marry Federico. There are implications of sexual perversion here, which echo similar situations in El amor médico and Don Gil.

II.iv is interesting for two reasons. First, there is the yarn Celio spins to Florela: the intention is to divert Florela's attentions and affections from Federico to Celio himself. A similar use of an invented story is to be found in Elvira's story to Inés in Tirso's Don Gil and also in Barbosa's reference to his sister, Marta, in El amor médico. Secondly, the actual content of the story is an embryonic version of a plot-situation which recurs in Tirso and is evident in, e.g., El vergonzoso en palacio and El melancólico. Celio-Alonso's actions are also a repetition of his father's, even to the detail of having an illegitimate child by one woman and wanting to marry another, i.e., Florela. The latter's subsequent resolve to marry the disguised Alonso does not say much for her moral standards, especially when we recall that a similar situation in Escarmientos para el cuerdo leads to a terrible punishment.

Finally, the persecution of the Conde by the "invisible" Finea recalls Don Gil's persecution of Martín. Just as in Don Gil, the ghost-like Gil is, in a sense, Martín's conscience, so in La mujer por fuerza the invisible Finea is a haunting reminder to Federico of his thoughtless "promise". Again, Finea's harrying of Federico almost drives him insane, just as Martín is almost driven mad in Don Gil. The

final step in this systematic persecution is the accusation brought against Federico of having murdered Finea (III.xvi), an incident which is also paralleled in Don Gil.

To sum up, then, while it is hard to make any definite statements about the play's authorship, there are certain features which are typical of Tirso's approach: such as the basic absurdity which serves as the skeleton for the plot, a number of situations which recall similar ones in Tirso's plays, and the portrayal of the female characters. The serious use of the female page device is not typical of Tirso, but it could occur in a very early play. In any case, a comparison of this play with those in which Tirso used the female page figure illustrates clearly the unconventional manner in which Tirso handled this device.

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Satire and Symbolism in the Structure of Tirso De Molina's  
*Por El Sótano y El Torno*

by

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SATIRE AND SYMBOLISM IN THE STRUCTURE OF  
TIRSO DE MOLINA'S *POR EL SÓTANO Y EL TORNO*

There is no doubt that some of the most brilliant Golden Age comedies have been written by Tirso de Molina. *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, *La celosa de sí misma*, *El amor médico*, and *Marta la piadosa* are cases in point. Many of Tirso's dramatic virtues are to be found in *Por el sótano y el torno*: masterly use of language, convincing characterisation (especially of the principal female characters—as is usually the case with him), realistic atmosphere, perfect symmetry of construction, and logical development of the plot up to and even beyond the climax. Yet faulty structure, often seen as a basic weakness in Tirso's art, seems to mar the essential economy of dramatic means and, more important, the self-contained unity of the action. In the first place, the economy is violated by the insertion of Luis and Felchora into the action to enable Tirso to get over two awkward moments, a sign, all too common in Tirso, of a carefree attitude to technique. Since these two characters do not affect the main plot structure of the comedy, they need not concern us in this article. In the second place, the solution to the conflict is brought about by what, on the level of the action, seems a rather crude *deus ex machina*—the discovery that the clash of wills and interests which constitutes the conflict can, after all, easily be resolved by breaching the wall. The purpose of this paper is to show that the play, notwithstanding its asyndetic structure, possesses a perfectly coherent unity if the *torno* and the *sótano* which motivate the action are seen as symbols.<sup>1</sup>

The aim of the play is to satirise and partially frustrate cupidity. Bernarda's love of money, by leading her into a number of absurd situations, produces the complications of the plots. Everything turns on Bernarda's plan to marry her younger sister to an old man; since he is rich, her motive is cupidity:

POLONIA : Vala a casar a Madrid  
con setenta años, dorados  
de más de cien mil ducados,  
de un viejo, hermano del Cid,  
que en más de treinta la dota ;  
y a la viuda ha prometido,  
porque la tercera ha sido,  
para la primera flota  
(que es el novio perulero)  
diez mil pesos ensayados,  
con que olvidando cuidados

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor A. A. Parker for having clarified for me the relation of these symbols to the theme of the play, and also for numerous helpful suggestions in the writing of this paper with respect not only to the argument but also to its presentation.

del matrimonio primero,  
busque nueva compañía.<sup>2</sup>

Polonia's long speech in this scene furnishes us with further details regarding Bernarda's character. The widow is searching not only for money but for love as well. However, she thinks she can only find love through money, and prospective husbands expect to be presented with dowries. The basic conflict in the play arises out of the fact that Bernarda's pursuit of money entails depriving her sister (who is also her ward) of her liberty. Naturally enough, Jusepa is far from keen to marry an old man, but is too young and immature, too well-trained by the conventions of her upbringing, to do anything but submit passively :

POLONIA : En fe de la cual promesa,  
aunque a la niña le pesa  
mezclar con su sangre fría  
la de edad tan floreciente,  
calla y sigue el parecer  
de su hermana, por no ser  
a su gusto inobediente.

(I. iii. 92-98).

As in so many other Spanish comedies, the authority-obedience structure of contemporary society leads not only to Bernarda's complacently violating her sister's liberty, but also to her taking it for granted that she is acting in her sister's interest ; as a result, she pays no attention to Jusepa's protests. It does not occur to Bernarda that what she considers to be in her own interest may not be in her sister's. In fact, her cupidity is only one manifestation of her self-centred attitude towards life. Duarte refers to "competencias narcisias" (I. xv. 953) as being the obstacles Bernarda places in the way of Fernando's love for her.

A second element contributes to the development of the plot : this is the binary symmetry of the play. The grouping of the characters is symmetrical : there are two pairs of lovers ; the servants pair off to assist them : Santillana and Mari-Ramírez try to influence Bernarda, while Santarén and Polonia are on Jusepa's side. Looked at from another angle, the characters can be grouped in a different way : those inside the house, and those outside ; the action of the play aims at the assimilation of these groups into a larger unity, an assimilation which is completed with the marriage of Polonia to Santarén. This, however, is not all. More important, from the point of view of the development of the action, is the system of parallel, counterbalancing forces set up in the play : Bernarda and Jusepa are sisters, while Fernando and Duarte are bosom friends. The latter meet the former under similar circumstances :

<sup>2</sup> Act I, scene iii, lines 79-91. The lines refer to A. Zamora Vicente's edition of the play (Buenos Aires, 1949). Act and scene will help the reader to find the context in the edition of Da. Blanca de los Ríos (*Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas*, II, Madrid, 1958). The practice of marrying a young girl to a rich old man is, of course, frequently treated in Golden Age literature. Similar situations to the one in this play are to be found in, e.g., Rojas' *Entre bobos anda el juego*, Cervantes' *El celoso extremeño* and *El viejo celoso*, and Tirso's *Marta la piadosa*.

DUARTE : Éste, amigo, es mi suceso ;  
 de dos hermanas los dos  
 a un tiempo somos amantes,  
 uno de otro imitación.  
 Una caída fue causa  
 de vuestra enajenación ;  
 de la mía un estropiezo ;  
 ¿Qué semejanza mayor ?

(II. xiii. 1677-84)

Fernando agrees :

No fuérades vos mi amigo  
 con tanto extremo, si el dios  
 de amistades y de amores  
 no enlazara así esta unión.

(II. xiii. 1689-92)

In other words, there is a mutual correspondence between the actions of the two sisters and those of the two friends. Fernando's falling in love is followed by Duarte's; Bernarda's is followed by Jusepa's, while Jusepa imitates Bernarda's "fall" with the same result. A sort of moral causality, not depending on the linking of incidents, is thus established in the play, making Duarte and Jusepa imitate the actions of Fernando and Bernarda respectively. The effect on the plot of these two elements—Bernarda's character and the symmetrical demands of the play's structure—can be traced in this way.

In pursuance of her plan, Bernarda brings Jusepa to Madrid where the *viejo* has provided a house for them. This house, as the sisters discover at once, is virtually a prison. It clearly symbolises Jusepa's loss of liberty—the result of her sister's tyranny as well as of the impotent *viejo*'s use of force to retain a wife who will not be able to love him. Jusepa goes to church and there sees Duarte, with whom she falls in love. The house and her sister's authority are the obstacles to the fulfilment of their love. This constitutes the main strand in the action.

The second strand, though less important from the point of view of the mechanics of the plot, is nevertheless central from the psychological point of view, in that it involves Bernarda. The discovery that the house destined for them is virtually a prison comes as a surprise to both sisters. It is to be a prison for Bernarda no less than for Jusepa, since, in order to earn her *diez mil pesos*, Bernarda must be not only Jusepa's guard, but *ipso facto*, her co-prisoner. The absurdity of the situation is obvious: Bernarda, in her attempt to deprive her sister of her liberty, finds herself deprived of liberty as well. At first, Bernarda can accept the situation with a shrug of the shoulders, for there is money to be had :

No hay prebenda sin pensión.

(I. vi. 326)

But hardly has she settled in the house when she falls in love with the false barber and her situation becomes even more ridiculous. Bernarda is a self-constituted prisoner of her cupidity, the satisfaction of which she hopes

ill bring her a husband. She now finds love wooing her but is unable to accept it because she is the prisoner of another passion : her love for the *sejo's diez mil pesos*. The house therefore also represents Bernarda's self-ustration. The second strand in the action is the obstacle that Bernarda's cupidity places in the way of her own marriage to Fernando.

The third, and final, strand in the action consists of the love-affair between Polonia and Santarén. A convention of the *comedia* does not allow them to marry before their master and mistress, so that even here Bernarda's cupidity controls the plot. Their love-affair parodies in its frankly physical nature the timidity of Jusepa's love for Duarte and the dissimulated love of Bernarda for Fernando. Even more important, as will be seen later, is the part these servants play in the *dénouement*.

The climax of the play comes in Act III, scene ii, where Bernarda comments on the conflict between love and money which is taking place within her breast :

La codicia y la afición  
pelean dentro en mi pecho,  
y cada cual el derecho  
alega de su opinión.

(2189-92)

She understands why the fifteen-year-old Jusepa should be reluctant to marry a seventy-year-old man. Bernarda, however, decides in favour of the marriage, because she argues that it is a better deal for Jusepa :

El viejo la está mejor  
que es una boba mi hermana,  
pues cien mil ducados gana  
al primer lance de amor.

(2209-12)

But this is only a rationalisation of Bernarda's own cupidity, for she admits :

pues perdiendo diez mil pesos  
no tengo con qué casarme.

(2207-08)

The falseness of her argument is evident. She does not need the old man's money to marry Fernando (who is himself rich enough), but automatically assumes that she does, forgetting that Fernando had, in his letter, offered her his "seis mil ducados de renta", asking her only to be "agradecida" and love him in return. More crucial is her failure to realise that it is the obstinate pursuit of her golden quarry which is leading her away from love. Bernarda is thus frustrating herself by the very means by which she seeks to attain happiness. So long as she insists on selling her sister, she must remain within the prison, inaccessible to Fernando. Bernarda, moreover, is unfair not only to herself but to Jusepa, since she now has absolutely no reason—apart from her own cupidity—for wanting to sell her sister. She is using Jusepa as a mere instrument and depriving her of her right to freedom, while at the same time she is also attempting to deprive Jusepa of what she herself wants (and mistakenly hopes to get by selling Jusepa)—marriage

to a rich, young man. Her attitude may conform to society's rules, but it is immoral and, because it frustrates nature, anti-vital.

The first stage in the *dénouement* takes place in the very next scene when Bernarda is informed that she has a rival for Fernando's love. The introduction of jealousy tips the scales in favour of love, and Bernarda's main concern now is not to lose Fernando and his *seis mil ducados*. Jealous, confused, insecure, and desperate, Bernarda pays two surprise visits to Fernando. The parallelism of the play's structure requires Jusepa to visit her wooer. She is locked in, but the servants intervene and, with their help, Jusepa parallels Bernarda's exit through the *torno* by going through the *sótano*. Jusepa is compromised, Bernarda's monetary expectations are frustrated, and all ends happily.

The introduction of the *sótano* as the complement to the *torno* does not come as a complete surprise, since it occurs in the title, but the audience have been kept guessing till near the end how it will intervene in the action. The ending reinforces the play's symmetry and the trick devised unravels the three strands in the action. The "discovery" of the secret passage (which is in fact created by the servants, since an opening must be made in the intervening wall) is, as has been already stated, a *deus ex machina*, because it does not grow out of anything that has gone before. This, however, is a fault in the action, not in the theme, and an analysis of the symbolism employed in the play will establish that the comedy has a sound structural unity. Character and parallelism have produced the plot-structure of the play; the symbols provide the logic which establishes the unity of that structure.

The house can be regarded as a prison because it symbolises, first, Bernarda's and Jusepa's loss of liberty, and, secondly, the amorous and sexual frustration of the sisters. It is thus the concrete representation of the effects of Bernarda's cupidity on her sister as well as on herself. The house, however, is clearly a special kind of prison: its walls are white, there are no balconies, the windows that do exist are protected by a *red*, and a *torno* stands at the entrance. Now, a *torno* is the revolving dumbwaiter for passing objects into and out of a convent with *enclosed* nuns, i.e., those whose rules keep them immured for life, as distinct from the nuns who can come and go from and into the streets. The house is thus a convent. Therefore Bernarda announces to Jusepa her fate in these words:

que entre tanto que no venga  
el capitán que te adora  
has de ser monja.

(I. vi. 379-381)

Jusepa rebels, with this deliciously ironical remark, against the kind of life offered to her:

¿ Yo monja del matrimonio ?

(II. vii. 1231)

Fernando describes the situation in similar terms:

Prevenido desta suerte  
este humano monasterio,  
donde en años primerizos  
vive el amor recoleto<sup>3</sup>

(I. xv. 743-746)

Bernarda's speech later on confirms this view :

y esta casa es un convento  
que los trae de dos en dos

(III. i. 2151-52)

The house and a convent both curtail individual liberty. But much more important is the fact that celibacy reigns in each. In a convent this is willingly self-imposed for the love of God ; in "este humano monasterio", on the other hand, it is enforced on unwilling subjects for the sake of social "honour", and the deity Bernarda worships is the golden calf. The irony of the comparison introduces into the dialogue an important element of religious imagery. Not only is its ambivalence consistently exploited, but it is given a structural function.

Much of the wit and brilliance of the dialogue springs from the religious imagery. Some of it is of the kind frequently found in Tirso and does not follow necessarily and directly from the house = convent equation. Thus Polonia describes her reluctance to act as go-between :

En aquesto del terciar,  
tengo cartujo el humor.  
No soy tercera persona.<sup>4</sup>

(I. iii. 177-179)

And Santillana gives a grotesque twist to his description of the barber :

más almas tiene en el cielo  
que un Herodes y un Nerón ;  
conócenle en cada casa :  
por donde quiera que pasa  
le llaman la Extrema-Unción.

(I. xiii. 606-610)

Gold has a rejuvenating power which likens it to the baptismal waters of the River Jordan :

<sup>3</sup> "recoleta" : not only does this mean "recollected", i.e., secluded, but it also is the name of a religious Order. Cf. "Adj. que se aplica al Religioso que guarda y observa recolección : y también al Convento o Casa de la misma Recolección" (*Diccionario de Autoridades*). There is an ironic contradiction implied in the phrase "amor recoleto" (as also in the immediately preceding "humano monasterio"—as opposed to a religious monastery of celibates). The insulation of love is absurd, since this implies the negation of its very essence.

<sup>4</sup> "cartujo" : the Carthusian monk lived in an isolated, individual cell and was committed to a vow of silence for the greater part of his life. A person of his temperament would, consequently, be unfitted to serve as a means of communication between two parties—the joke, of course, being that a *tercero* is the intermediary between lovers, and is also a "Tertiary", i.e., "el que professa la Regla de la Tercera Orden de N. P. S. Francisco, Santo Domingo y N. Señora del Carmen" (*Diccionario de Autoridades*).

FERNANDO : . . . un viejo  
remozado en el Jordán  
de un pedazo de aquel cerro  
genovés, puesto que indiano.

(I. xv. 722-725)

Much of the tone of Tirso's comedy depends on reverential things being touched on light-heartedly in this way. But the organic function of this kind of imagery becomes subtly apparent in Act III, scene i, which is surely one of the finest scenes in the play. Here, the sisters, by pretending not to understand each other, and by speaking in an esoteric language, make their meanings very clear: Bernarda, herself guilty of being in love with Fernando, cannot openly accuse her sister. Jusepa has matured enough to stand up to Bernarda, and her naïve words are most eloquent. The religious imagery is all-pervading:

BERNARDA : que eres un alma de Dios,  
y esta casa es un convento  
que los trae de dos en dos,  
si no son de ciento en ciento.  
JUSEPA : ¿ Qué es lo que trae ?  
BERNARDA : Los devotos  
de quien es el andadera  
la esclava . . . <sup>5</sup>  
JUSEPA : ¿ Conmigo ? ¿ Jesús ! ¿ Conmigo ?  
Yo, ¿ cuándo al torno llegué ?  
BERNARDA : ¡ Bonita eres ! ¿ Tú ? Jamás.  
Estás ya beatificada.

(2150 ff.)

In the midst of all this delicate, amorous sophistication, the physical love of Santarén and Polonia has a healthily pagan ring:

SANTARÉN : . . . " Hermana perrenga,  
duélete de Santarén  
que en ti desde ayer desea  
dar dos nietos a Mahoma,  
que vayan después a Meca.  
—¿ Quién te echó por estas partes  
si no eres ánima en pena ?—"<sup>6</sup>

(III. vii. 2698-704)

The activities of Mari-Ramírez would also seem to qualify her for a mitre of sorts:

<sup>5</sup> "andadera": "La muger que en los Conventos de Monjas vá à los recados" (*Dicc. de Autoridades*). Hence, in this context, a go-between.

<sup>6</sup> Though the humour of this passage is obvious, its precise meaning is rather obscure. The reference seems to be to an infidel religion (i.e., Islam). In the context of the play, if the "true religion" is the Platonic, non-sexual love enforced upon the sisters, the physical love of the servants would appear to be a "false religion"—hence "ánima en pena" (2704). This interpretation of the passage may be open to question, but it fits into the overall tone of the play. The fact that Tirso is laughing at a non-sexual married love (a Neo-Platonic concept) does not necessarily vitiate the interpretation, this "religion", of course, being "false" from the point of view of the *galanes de monjas*. The fact that the servants' offspring will, in due course, go on pilgrimages to Mecca means that they, too, will not hold to the celibate view of human love. We may also note the equivocal use of "hermana" (2698).

SANTARÉN : Di parte a Mari-Ramírez,  
y como obispo desea  
si vaca Corozain,

(III. vii. 2735-37)

Since the celibacy of convent life has, by the irony of comic inversion, become the sexual frustration of the two enclosed "nuns", Fernando and Duarte are *galanes de monjas*, and the whole situation of the play is turned into a witty, ironical comment on the unreality of the spiritual idealisation of love that has run through literature, and which Tirso never plays up to—human love should never be celibate, i.e., Platonic. The play demonstrates the triumph of a natural (because sexual) marriage over an unnatural (because unwillingly celibate) one, and the conflict between the two is indicated by the fact that a superstructure of ambivalent, religious images is built upon the incidents of the plot. The stages in the development of this imagery are these. The house is first transformed into a convent, and Fernando and Duarte are *galanes de monjas* :

BERNARDA : y esta casa es un convento  
que los trae de dos en dos

(III. i)

Then, from the climax of the play onwards, the humour of this beginning is converted into irony (note the clash of the sisters in III. i) and the emphasis shifts to the real, erotic meaning of the religious terminology ; thus the love of Santarén and Polonia, by being referred to in terms of an "infidel" religion, is revealed as sexual rather than Platonic or spiritual love ; instead of Polonia's wry humour : "tengo cartujo el humor" (I. iii), we get Santarén's reference to the pretensions of Mari-Ramírez to a "bishopric" : "y como obispo desea / si vaca Corozain" (III. vii). The final step in this process comes now in the *dénouement* where erotic terms are not just replaced by religious ones but religious situations are made to symbolise erotic ones.

The substitution of religious for erotic terms is begun so cleverly and progresses so imperceptibly that, at the climax of the play, we are agreeably surprised to discover that Bernarda is an immured "nun" because of her cupidity. The entry of jealousy into her emotional struggle gives the advantage to love. If the erotic-religious system of imagery is coherent, we should expect to see a new "religious" development in Bernarda, and this, in fact, takes place. On being told that Fernando is dallying with another woman, Bernarda not only grows jealous, but is fired with an evangelical desire to save Fernando's soul from hell-fire ; she hastily throws her *manto* over her shoulders and bursts into his room :

Lastimada de que en vos  
tan gallarda edad se pierda  
en contagiosos peligros  
donde el cuerpo y alma enferman,  
olvidé mi propia causa

por la de Dios, cuya ofensa  
siento tanto, que a los ojos  
salen compasivas muestras.

(III. v. 2575-82)

However, there is a further reason for Bernarda's increased "religiosity", and to understand this we must examine the final and most important aspect of the house—the underground *sótano* that parallels the above-ground *torno*.

That the *torno* is a symbol and not an actual barrier sealing the house off from the outside world is shown by the fact that the sisters can leave the house. But they leave it, in fact, only to go to church, which is, of course, consonant with the celibacy that the *torno* symbolises. At the end, this becomes a pretext, but it is kept up. Bernarda, tormented by jealousy, leaves her convent to preach a "sermon" to Fernando. Later that night, she repeats the trick: her thoughts torture her; she must see Fernando again. In *beata* fashion, she tells Jusepa she must go to church:

Yo prometí una novena  
y la quiero comenzar  
desde hoy en el Buen-Suceso.

(III. ix. 2793-95)

Now, a *novena* is a petition of prayer lasting for nine days. But the ambivalence of this religious language is exposed when Jusepa, who is not duped by it, comments cynically on her sister's sudden religious fervour, and reveals why Tirso chose a devotion of nine days rather than any of the numerous other devotions that Catholic practice could offer:

Estas novenas de hogaño  
suelen volver intereses  
novenas de nueve meses  
cuando las hace el engaño.  
Vislumbres muestra de amor  
esto que la inquieta el seso.  
¡ Plega a Dios que al Buen-Suceso  
no vaya del sangrador!  
Que en Madrid alivia penas  
si fe a fábulas dar quiero,  
en las damas el acero,  
y en las viudas las novenas.

(III. x. 2827-38)

Jusepa, for her part, does not need the subterfuge of going to church in order to attain her parallel end. The wall dividing the cellars of the houses in which she and the man she loves live is broken down from the man's side. The fact that Duarte becomes united in marriage with Jusepa by passing through this secret tunnel makes the *sótano* a clear sexual symbol.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Professor A. A. Parker has pointed out to me the similar sexual symbol in Calderón's *Apolo y Climene*. The priestesses of the temple of Diana are vowed to chastity, Climene being one of them. Yet all the others carry on secret love-affairs, their lovers entering the temple through a *mina*, or underground tunnel. Apollo, when exiled from his divinity and succumbing to sensual love with Climene, does so by falling into the *mina* and finding his way into the garden. The theme of Calderón's play is, of course, different, and is given a serious, philosophical treatment, for which see A. A. Parker: "Metáfora y símbolo en la interpretación de Calderón", in *Actas del primer congreso internacional de hispanistas* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 141-160.

The creation of the secret passage by piercing the wall which separates the cellars is effected by Polonia and Santarén, with the help of the *tercera*, Mari-Ramírez. Polonia and Santarén, as we have seen, represent the sexual aspect of love, and Polonia is Jusepa's guard. It was Polonia who allowed Santarén and Mari-Ramírez, disguised as a hawker and a *toquera*, to enter the house. Again, it was Santarén's love for Polonia which led him to recognise her voice in the cellar, and they, in collaboration with Mari-Ramírez, arrange for Jusepa to meet Duarte. Thanks, then, to the efforts of nature (represented by Polonia and Santarén), the inmates of the house merge with the outside world, and not only do Bernarda and Jusepa get their men, but Polonia gets Santarén as well as her freedom, for nature is no longer fettered. The struggle of love to attain fulfilment, in the face of the obstacles presented by Bernarda's cupidity and the fact that society condoned the "celibate" marriage of a young woman to an old man, is the central problem of the play and ends in the triumph of nature and love. Love and marriage, for Tirso, must be frankly based on the physical. Celibacy is an ideal only for real nuns, leading a real spiritual life; it should have no place in the love of man for woman, and sexual frustration, outside real convents, should not be falsely endowed with spiritual value and dignified by the language of religion.

Tirso does not, of course, make the point solemnly like this. He makes it with a delightfully humorous zest. The satire is witty from first to last. One amusing aspect is the "logic" of Bernarda's progression from cupidity to love. Bernarda's cupidity is obviously anti-vital: it leads her into the symbolic prison, which represents not only her loss of liberty in the attempt to deprive her sister of it, but also her own amorous frustration. Bernarda's actions thus boomerang upon herself. To escape from this prison—as she must, if she would find love—, Bernarda's cupidity must be frustrated, and it is made to frustrate itself: Bernarda loves Fernando not only for himself, but in large measure for his *seis mil de renta*:

BERNARDA : Alto, viudez, esto es hecho.  
 Perdone Dios al difunto.  
 ¡ Seis mil ducados ! Hoy junto  
 a mi amor honra y provecho.  
 Su talle me ha satisfecho ;  
 Aragón es su apellido,  
 ¿ quién duda que es bien nacido ?  
 ¡ Seis mil ducados de renta !  
 Mejor me sale la cuenta  
 de lo que yo había entendido.

(II. xii. 1501-10)

It is precisely as a result of Bernarda's eager pursuit of Fernando's *seis mil ducados* that she is frustrated in her attempt to sell her sister in order to get the old man's *diez mil pesos* and finds love instead. Money thus proves to be for Bernarda by turns an obstacle to her love, a bait, and thereby her ultimate salvation. Since this is comedy, she is saved in the long run by her own foible.



quiproquos. . . . Remercions M. Zamora Vicente d'avoir donné sous une forme agréable cet amusant et espiègle produit de la folle imagination du mercédaire comédiographe."<sup>9</sup> There is a strong possibility, however, that there is a point to Tirso's express "warning"—"no por que haya estas malicias"—, and that there were other sources of inspiration for the play besides Plautus' *Miles gloriosus*, which is mentioned in Act III, scene vii.

In one of the amusing "Cartas de jesuitas", written from Salamanca by Andrés Mendo and dated 4th February, 1634, we find an incident, some details of which remind us vividly of the action of the comedy :

Aquí ha sucedido un caso escandaloso : en el convento de monjas de Santa Ana estaban dos señoras seglares, y un coadjutor del arcediano de Alba de esta iglesia y un colegial del arzobispo don José Pantoja, cuyo padre está en esa ciudad ; hicieron un agujero por una casa pegada al convento, y entraban los dos ó salian ellas, durando algun tiempo este trato. Descubrióse el caso ; prendieron al eclesiástico (que no está aun ordenado) en la cárcel del Obispo, y al colegial le dió el maestreescuela por cárcel la casa del corregidor con cuatro guardas. El Pantoja se huyó antes de anoche, temeroso de la vida, porque el Consejo llevó sangrientamente este caso y ha de venir juez pesquisidor, y uno que está ahora en Zamora sobre otro semejante de un caballero que entró á una monja, le tiene ya para cortar la cabeza. Las guardas tambien huyeron, y el corregidor se partió al punto a dar cuenta al Consejo.<sup>10</sup>

This story lends further support to the theory that there is a fairly close correspondence between the *comedia* and life in Golden Age Spain. Some details, such as, for example, the presence of "dos señoras seglares" in a convent, tempt one to try to seek a closer correspondence between the play and the incident than a mere similarity of situation. This, however, seems impossible. Miss R. L. Kennedy has made a strong case for supposing the play to have been written after late January, 1623.<sup>11</sup> The fact that it was produced by Prado seems to lend support to this argument.<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, a curious coincidence must be noted. The *Segunda parte* was published in Madrid in 1635, with an *aprobación* dated 10th November, 1634.<sup>13</sup> It is not impossible that Tirso knew of the incident related in the letter and, when preparing the play for publication, altered the ending, so that he could refer *maliciosamente* to the scandal, which may have been common knowledge. A small detail may possibly lend further support to this theory. Besides this play, there are only two others which

<sup>9</sup> In his review of A. Zamora Vicente's edition of the play, in *BH* LI (1949), 452.

<sup>10</sup> *Memorial histórico español* XIII (1861), 15.

<sup>11</sup> R. L. Kennedy : " On the Date of Five Plays by Tirso de Molina ", *HR* X (1942), 183-214, and " Studies for the Chronology of Tirso's Theatre ", *HR* XI (1943), 17-46.

<sup>12</sup> E. Cotarelo y Mori gives this information in his book, *Tirso de Molina. Investigaciones bio-bibliográficas* (Madrid, 1893), p. 83. On p. 214 he suggests that Prado produced the play during his stay in Madrid between 1621 and 1623. This seems quite likely. We learn from Rennert (*The Spanish Stage*, New York, 1909, pp. 560-562) that Prado was in Madrid in the first half of 1623, and again in 1635, spending most of the intervening years in Seville. Shergold supports this in his *A History of the Spanish Stage* (Oxford, 1967). It is obvious that the play was originally intended for a Madrid audience.

<sup>13</sup> See Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, p. 84, note 1.

are described as "written", viz., *Antona García* ("y el poeta que lo ha escrito") and *El melancólico* ("... Tirso la ha escrito"). Miss Wilson has convincingly argued that *Antona García* may have been revised as late as 1625.<sup>14</sup> The date of *El melancólico*, published in the *Primera parte* (1627) is more of a puzzle. Doña Blanca de los Ríos, in her introduction to the play,<sup>15</sup> suggests that internal evidence points to the year 1611 as the date of composition. Miss Kennedy, on the other hand, also basing her arguments on internal evidence, argues that the play was written between 11th November, 1622, and 11th February, 1623, and thus suggests, not very convincingly, however, that *El melancólico* may be a *refundición* of *Esto sí que es negociar*.<sup>16</sup> The bulk of the evidence would point the other way, but there is a possibility that *El melancólico* was retouched some time before publication. Thus it is possible that *Por el sótano y el torno*, which also is a "written" play ("Tirso escribe, mas no afirma"), was retouched before publication so as to allow Tirso to make a sly reference to the incident alluded to in the letter, and thus bring the play "up to date".

That such behaviour as is described in the play and the letter was not, in any case, untypical of the period is further confirmed by an account of one of Felipe IV's adventures with a nun in the convent of San Plácido. This, according to Hume,<sup>17</sup> took place about 1638, three years after the publication of Tirso's *Segunda parte* and four years after the incident described in the letter. Marañón describes how access was gained to the nun's cell: "Vivía, en efecto, el protonotario en unas casas que se había hecho construir en la calle de la Madera, pegadas al convento, y le fué fácil abrir una comunicación, que daba a la bóveda donde guardaban el carbón las religiosas, dentro ya de la clausura. Por esta vía sacrílega se proyectó el asalto a la monjita."<sup>18</sup> Marañón refers to other similar incidents, which provide further proof of the frequency with which such adventures took place. It is clear, therefore, that the plot of *Por el sótano y el torno* was very likely based on an incident in real life and was not entirely the product of Tirso's overheated and "folle imagination".<sup>19</sup>

P. HALKHOREE

London

<sup>14</sup> In the introduction to her ed. of the play (Manchester, 1957), p. ix. Miss Kennedy, of course, suggests that the play was written in February or early March, 1623, in "On the Date of Five Plays by Tirso de Molina", *HR X* (1942), 183-214.

<sup>15</sup> In *Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas I* (Madrid, 1946).

<sup>16</sup> R. L. Kennedy: "Studies for the Chronology of Tirso's Theatre", *HR XI* (1943), 17-46.

<sup>17</sup> M. Hume: *The Court of Philip IV* (London, 1907).

<sup>18</sup> G. Marañón: *El Conde-Duque de Olivares* (Madrid, 1952), p. 207. Marañón seems to be sceptical of the authenticity of some of the details in the story.

<sup>19</sup> It may be argued, on the other hand, that Tirso's play served as an incentive to such adventures, and, in fact, Tirso was censured by the Junta de Reformación in 1625 on precisely such grounds. It is hoped, however, that it has been shown that Tirso's play is satirical and is meant to ridicule such behaviour and, above all, the social conventions which led to such absurd situations. The very definite "warning" at the end of the play obviously seems to be intended to reinforce the audience's awareness of a parallel situation (or situations) in real life.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. "Comedy has received comparatively little attention from critics, perhaps because its ingredients are more varied and its lines of development less obvious than those of the well-marked forms of tragedy and history. Yet comedies out-number tragedies on the Elizabethan stage by nearly three to one."

M. C. Bradbrook: The Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy (Peregrine Books, 1963. 1st published 1955), Chap. 1, p.13.

Professor K. Whinnom, in his inaugural lecture: Spanish Literary Historiography (Univ. of Exeter, 1967), stresses that neglect of the comedies has "distorted" the picture of the Golden Age drama.

2. B. de los Ríos de Lampérez: Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas. Vol.I (Madrid, 1946), Vol. II (2nd ed., Madrid, 1962), Vol. III (Madrid, 1958).
3. In the introduction to Tirso's Parte tercera, it is stated that he had written some 400 plays. Cotarelo draws attention to this on p.79 of his book: Tirso de Molina. Investigaciones bio-bibliográficas (Madrid, 1893).
4. In his thesis: Tirso de Molina. An Edition of 'La venganza de Tamar' with Bibliographical, Textual and Literary Criticism. Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1965. His findings have also been published in his article: 'Tirso de Molina: Two Bibliographical Studies', HR, XXXV (1967), 43-68.
5. B. Montoto: 'Una comedia de Tirso que no es de Tirso', Archivo Hispalense, 2a época, VII (1946), 99-167.
6. Cotarelo believes that La mujer por fuerza is Tirso's. See his introduction to his ed. of Comedias de Tirso de Molina, vol. I



- 10. See, e.g., the power of attorney granted by Tirso to a lawyer to defend him against charges and the punishment following upon the visit of Fr. Marcos de Salmerón to the monastery in Madrid, reproduced in Vol.III of Da. Blanca's ed. (pp. 32 A/B). The relationship between the two men is discussed by Fr. G. Placer López in his article: 'Biografía del Ilmo. Fr. Marcos Salmerón', Estudios, IV (1948), 554-60.
- 11. See, e.g., her article: 'A Re-appraisal of Tirso's Relations to Lope and His Theatre', EC, XVII (1965), no.2, 23-34 and XVIII (1966), no.1, 1-13.
- 12. Cotarelo notes this on p.59 of Investigaciones.
- 13. 'Epistolario de Lope de Vega, ed. de Agustín G. de Amezúa, III, página 206. Habla de una pelea: "... con tantos donaires, voces y desatinos, que se llegaba más auditorio que ahora tienen con Don Gil de las calzas verdes, desatinada comedia del Mercedario". No cabe duda de que lo que le picaba era el éxito del fraile.'  
D. Alonso: Poesía española, (5th ed., Madrid, 1966), p.214.
- 14. D. Alonso remarks: "Saltamos ahora al siglo XVII. Hojeemos el epistolario de Lope. Encontramos allí muy curiosos juicios. Por ejemplo, a Don Gil de las calzas verdes, la regocijada farsa de Tirso, la califica de "desatinada comedia". ¿Es posible que Lope - el gran concedor de teatro - no se diera cuenta de que la técnica de la comedia por él introducida, Tirso la llevaba a sus últimas consecuencias al apurar hasta el límite la intriga, prodigioso hilo que en la mañana nunca se quebró? ¿Podía no ver, en fin, que la técnica de Tirso era en algunas comedias una superación de la suya propia?" In Poesía española (5th ed., Madrid, 1966), p.214.

15. For a still valuable summary of some of the pros and cons of this controversy, see. E. Cotarelo: Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España. (Madrid, 1904).
16. N. L. Kennedy: 'Attacks on Lope and his Theatre, 1617-1621', in Hispanic Studies in Honor of N. B. Adams, eds. J. E. Keller and K.-L. Selig, Univ. of North Carolina. Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures, no.59, (Chapel Hill, 1966). See also: A. González Palencia: 'Quevedo, Tirso y las comedias ante la Junta de Reформación', BRAE, XXV (1946), 43-84. Cuadernos CXVII-CXVIII.
17. This valuable defence has been reprinted in A. Castro's ed. of El vergonzoso en palacio, in Clásicos Castellanos (7th ed., Madrid, 1963). My refs. will be to this ed. A survey of the main points of this defence has been made by J. H. Parker: in his article: 'Tirso de Molina, defensor de la comedia nueva', Revista Univ. de San Carlos, XII (1948), 39-48.
18. A. H. Bushée, in Three Centuries of Tirso de Molina (Philadelphia, 1939), attributes this mainly to the fact that the theatres were closed in 1646-1649 and when they were re-opened, Calderón's plays held sway. Tirso, we recall, died in 1648, and by then had long since ceased writing for the stage.
19. Here, of course, are the seeds of Romanticism. The revival of interest in the comedia was undoubtedly one aspect of the more general reaction against Neo-Classicism. I do not know whether there is a direct influence of German criticism on Spanish criticism here, as distinct from the more general one of a new "atmosphere". That there was a sort of cultural exchange by the end of the century is certain.

20. For details, see A. H. Bushee, especially chap.V: 'The Guzmán Edition of Tirso de Molina's Comedias'.
21. I. L. McClelland: Tirso de Molina. Studies in Dramatic Realism (Liverpool, 1948), especially the "Introduction".
22. Da. Blanca has drawn attention to this. See Vol.I of her ed. of Tirso (Madrid, 1946), pp.13, 22.
23. Cf., e.g., Martínez de la Rosa's statement: "... mostróse superior a todos ellos en malicia y sal cómica". In Obras literarias, II (Paris, 1827), 449-50. Quoted by Bushee, p.21.
24. See the comments of Hartzzenbusch in his two eds. of Tirso's plays: (1) Teatro escogido de Fray Gabriel Téllez, 12 vols., (Madrid, 1839-42); and (2) Comedias escogidas de Fray Gabriel Téllez, B.A.E., V (Madrid, 1848). The introduction to the latter contains articles by Durán, Lista, Javier de Burgos, etc. It is these critics who first put forward the view that Tirso's men are all shy and his women impudent and bold. Hartzzenbusch's comments on the plays (in the first of the eds. mentioned) are important, though of necessity brief. He frequently condemns Tirso's lapses in matters of taste, but he commends his style, his dialogue, his character-drawing. As will be clear, I do not always agree with his comments on the structures of Tirso's plays. Hartzzenbusch's great interest in Tirso is rather surprising. His best-known play, Los Amantes de Teruel is, of course, based on a traditional story which also served as the basis for a play of the same name attributed to Tirso. The Romantic view of life was not consonant with comedy. Tirso's popularity in the early nineteenth-century is thus even more surprising, unless political factors are the explanation here.

25. P. Muñoz Peña: El teatro del Maestro Tirso de Molina. Estudio crítico-literario (Valladolid, 1889). He quotes with approval one of the more purple patches from A. F. Schack: Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien (Berlin, 1845-6; Frankfurt am Main, 1854. Spanish transl., Madrid, 1885-7). Schack does not add much that is new to the views of Hartzzenbusch et al. He is more sympathetic to Tirso's art (but this may be just Romantic effervescence). He draws attention to the fact that most of Tirso's plays are comedies, that they contain obscenities (which he attributes to a difference in customs between the 17th century and the 19th century), and that they are constructed in an original way. He mentions their daring satire (though he does not elaborate on this remark). He does not completely agree with Durán's remarks about Tirso's timid men and bold women. He is inclined to think that Tirso's virtues - style, wit, characterisation, originality, etc. - outweigh his defects. His actual comments on the plays, which he considers as some of the best comedies ever written, are largely descriptive.
26. In his Investigaciones. Much of this information with some modifications, is also to be found in the intro. to his ed. of Tirso's plays in N.B.AA.EE., IV, IX, (Madrid, 1906-1907).
27. El enigma biográfico de Tirso de Molina (Madrid, 1928). Her arguments are reprinted in the introduction to Vol. I of her ed. of Tirso.
28. See, e.g., M. L. Ríos: 'Tirso de Molina no es bastardo', Estudios, V (1949), 1-13; M. L. Ríos and J. Núñez Barbosa: 'La hipótesis de doña Blanca de los Ríos de Lampérez sobre la fe de nacimiento de Tirso de Molina', Atenea, XC (1948), 299-314; M. Penedo Rey: 'Ampliación al trabajo del Rev. P. Fr. Miguel L. Ríos "Tirso de Molina no es bastardo".', Estudios, V (1949), 14-18.

- A summing-up of the situation is made by A. Cioranescu in his article: 'La biographie de Tirso de Molina. Points de repère et points de vue', BH, LXIV (1962), 157-92, part of which is reprinted as an appendix to K. Vossler: Lecciones sobre Tirso de Molina (Madrid, 1965).
29. See, e.g., her introduction to La celosa de sí misma in Vol.II of her ed., and also various of her remarks in her introduction to Vol.I, e.g., pp.39, 47-50, 63; see also her remark on the "Calderonian" monologue of D. Manrique in her introduction to Cómo han de ser los amigos in Vol.I, p.267b.
30. E. W. Hesse: 'Catálogo bibliográfico de Tirso de Molina', Estudios, V (1949), 781-889. Supplements are in later numbers of Estudios.
31. G. E. Wade: 'Tirso's Cigarrales de Toledo: Some Clarifications and Identifications', HR, XXXIII (1965), 246-72; 'Tirso's Friends', BC, XIX (1967), no.1, 1-6. A. Nougé's book is 'L'Oeuvre en prose de Tirso de Molina. 'Los Cigarrales de Toledo' et 'Deleytar aprovechando''. (Paris, 1962).
32. See, e.g., 'Certain Phases of the Sumptuary Decrees of 1623 and their Relation to Tirso's Theatre', HR, X (1942), 91-115; 'The New Plaza Mayor of 1620 and the Reflection in the Literature of the Time', HR, XII (1944), 49-57; and 'The Madrid of 1617-25. Certain Aspects of Social, Moral, and Educational Values', in Estudios hispánicos. Homenaje a Archer M. Huntington, Vol.I (Wellesley, Mass., 1952), pp.275-309.
33. See, e.g., 'On the Date of Five Plays by Tirso de Molina', HR, X (1942), 183-214; and 'Studies for the Chronology of Tirso's Theatre', HR, XI (1943), 17-46.

- 34. 'La prudencia en la mujer and the Ambient that brought it forth', PMLA, LXIII (1948), 1131-90.
- 35. 'Literary and Political Satire in Tirso's La fingida Aracadia', in The Renaissance Reconsidered. Smith College Studies in History, XLIV (Northampton, Mass., 1964), pp.91-110.
- 36. A. Castro, in his ed. of the play in Clás. Cast. (Madrid, 7th ed., 1963). Casaldueiro in his articles: 'El desenlace de El burlador de Sevilla', in Studia philologica et litteraria in honorem L. Spitzer, (Berne, 1958), and 'Contribución al estudio del tema de Don Juan en el teatro español', Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, XIX, (1938), nos. 3-4.
- 37. See D. Rogers: 'Fearful Symmetry: The Ending of El burlador de Sevilla', BHS, XLI (1964), 141-59; and a more idiosyncratic study by H. Bihler: 'Más detalles sobre ironía, simetría y simbolismo en El burlador de Sevilla de Tirso de Molina', in Actas del primer congreso internacional de hispanistas, (Oxford, 1964), pp. 213-18.
- 38. See T. E. May: 'El condenado por desconfiado', BHS, XXXV (1958), 138-56.
- 39. M. A. Peyton: 'Some Baroque Aspects of Tirso de Molina', RR, XXXVI (1945), 43-69.
- 40. Madrid, 1959.
- 41. Estudios, V (1949), pp. 479-655.
- 42. Don Giovanni e il mistero di Tirso (Turin, 1958).
- 43. Antona García, Act III, scene iii, page 439b.
- 44. R. L. Kennedy: 'A Reappraisal of Tirso's Relations to Lope and his Theatre', EC, XVIII (1966), 1-13.
- 45. Da. Blanca, of course, suggests that certain plays, notably Marta la piadosa and El amor médico, are sustained satires

directed against Lope de Vega. I am not convinced that her arguments are conclusive; at the moment, they seem to be no more than interesting hypotheses.

46. J. Sutherland: English Satire (Cambridge, 1962).
47. H. Bergson: Le Rire (Paris, 1900). See also E. Aubouin: Technique et psychologie du Comique (Paris, 1948).
48. L. J. Potts: Comedy (4th impression, London, 1966. 1st published 1949), especially chap. 6: 'The boundaries of comedy'.
49. These two essays (Bergson's in an English translation) are reprinted in Comedy, with an introduction and appendix by W. Sypher (Doubleday Anchor Books, New York, 1956).
50. A. Nicoll: The Theory of Drama. (London 1931).
51. R. O. Jones: 'El perro del hortelano y la visión de Lope', Filología, X (1964), 135-42. This theory has much in common with C. L. Barber's Shakespeare's Festive Comedy (Princeton, 1959).
52. R. Piddington has put forward the theory that laughter performs a compensatory function in society. It arises when two sets of conflicting values are shown to be simultaneously valid. Laughter is then an attempt to gloss over a socially embarrassing situation and to affirm that there is, in fact, nothing unusual in the situation. See The Psychology of Laughter (2nd ed., 1963, 1st ed., 1933).
53. E. Auerbach, in his brilliant work, Mimesis, has asserted that Golden Age literature is not problematic, it does not question the existing order in any way.
54. R. C. Elliott: The Power of Satire (3rd printing, Princeton University Press, 1966. 1st published 1960).
55. W. Kerr: Tragedy and Comedy (London, 1968).

56. This is, of course, one aspect of the principle of poetic justice which, as Professor Parker has pointed out, is a characteristic feature of the comedia. See A. A. Parker: The Approach to the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age (London, 1957). Professor B. Wardropper has, in a recent article, pointed out the close resemblances between Golden Age comedy and tragedy. See B. W. Wardropper: 'Calderón's Comedy and His Serious Sense of Life', in Hispanic Studies in Honor of Nicholson B. Adams (Chapel Hill, Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1966), pp.179-93.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. V. O. Freeburg: Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama (New York, 1915).
2. R. O. Jones: 'El perro del hortelano y la visión de Lope'. Fil., X (1964), 135-42.
3. A. Nicoll: The Theory of Drama (London, 1931).
4. E. W. Hesse and W. C. McCrary: "La balanza subjetive-objetiva en el teatro de Tirso: ensayo sobre contenido y forma barrocos." Hispanófila, no.3 (1958), 1-11.
5. E. W. Hesse: "The Nature of the Complexity in Tirso's Don Gil." Hispania XLV (1962), 389-94.
6. C. Bravo-Villasant<sup>e</sup>: La mujer vestida de hombre en el teatro español. ss. XVI-XVII. (Madrid, 1955), 114-15.
7. A. Valbuena Prat: Historia de la literatura española, II, 5th ed., (Barcelona, 1957) p.413.
8. All quotations are taken from Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas, I, ed. B. de los Ríos, Madrid, 1946. The references are to Act, scene and page.
9. G. E. Wade: "On Tirso's Don Gil". MLN, LXXIV (1958), 609-12. Perhaps some of these "slips" can be seen in a different light. One may regard Inés's mistake (Miguel de Cisneros instead of Miguel de Ribera) as the result of her own confusion (she gets the name correct as Elvira is telling her about her woes). Pedro, of course, correctly repeats what he heard from Inés. Juan could easily have learnt about Miguel off-stage.
10. This, surely, is where Clara fits into the play's structure. Hesse states that she forms part of a sub-plot which also involves Gil and Antonio. This is true, but my viewpoint is slightly different.

The sudden appearance of Antonio at the end as a husband for Clara is a small flaw in the play's construction.

- 11. As Hesse points out, Elvira's story is an oblique truth, i.e., an indirect reference to the story of Martín and Juana.
- 12. M. C. Bradbrook: English Dramatic Form (London, 1965), especially chap. X. I owe the idea about the ghost in El caballero de Olmedo to Prof. J. E. Varey. Gil de las calzas verdes is also, of course, Martín's conscience.
- 13. M. A. Peyton: "Some Baroque Aspects of Tirso de Molina." RR, XXXVI (1945), 43-69.
- 14. E. Gijón: El humor en Tirso de Molina. Madrid, 1959.
- 15. Martín excuses himself thus:

Mi padre la culpa tiene  
destas desgracias, Quintana,  
su codicia y interés.  
III.i. p.1745a.

- 16. I owe this coinage to Prof. A. A. Parker.
- 17. The irrationality of courtly love gradually comes under attack towards the end of the XVc and this attack is intensified in the course of the XVIc. This irrationality is still evident in early Neo-Platonic works (Montemayor's Diana), but irrational love is gradually equated with amor loco, and superseded by rational love (Gil Polo's Diana enamorada), which comes to be regarded as the genuine Neo-Platonic love. See, e.g., R. O. Jones: "Ariosto and Garcilaso." BHS, XXXIX (1962), 153-64; A. Solé-Leris: "The Theory of Love in the Two Dianas: A Contrast." BHS, XXXVI (1959), 65-79; et. al. But Neo-Platonism, because it is, to a large extent, merely a dressing-up of courtly love in pseudo-Platonic guise, can lead to bewildering contradictions, and in this speech Tirso points up one of them. Nature's perfection depends on her variety,

and it is in this that Inés finds a "logical" justification for her inconstancy, which is theoretically inconceivable within the "serious", Neo-Platonic scheme of pure, constant love. Tirso, as we shall see in the course of this study, takes delight in exploding false and artificial ideals.

18. The symbolical use of night scenes is a recurrent feature in Tirso's plays. Here, it stands for Inés's emotional blindness as well as for the disfraz which has caused so much confusion in the characters. E. H. Templin has analysed night scenes in "Night Scenes in Tirso de Molina," RR, XLI (1950), 261-73, but does not point out the symbolical significance of this scene, although he does discuss one aspect of it.
19. Hartzzenbusch, in his notes to the play in the 3rd vol. of his Teatro escogido de Fray Gabriel Téllez, (Madrid, 1839) is puzzled by this aspect of Inés's character: "La fria crueldad que allí manifiesta la dama, de nada sirve, no es propia de su caracter y con nada se justifica." (p.128) We can only share in this reaction if we see Inés as a naïve, innocent girl. It is clear that Tirso did not intend to portray her as such. To sympathise to such an extent with Inés is to be completely impervious to Tirso's masterly satirical irony.
20. Cf., e.g., "Lo que sí cansa es el principio de la Comedia. La esposicion es penosa y sin artificio, la preciosísima relacion de Caramanchel, plagada de rasgos satíricos muy felices, es inoportuna." (Hartzzenbusch, p.126.) I may add here that the summings-up of the action at various points throughout the play may strike the reader as a violation of dramatic economy; but in view of the complexity of the action, these summaries may well be of considerable help to an audience.

21. Perhaps the unreality of the action in Don Gil is worth stressing, if only because of the fact that the play has been censured as lacking in verisimilitude. Cf., e.g., Muñoz Peña: El teatro del maestro Tirso de Molina. Estudio crítico literario (Valladolid, 1889), chap. XI, p.653, and Ildefonso-Manuel Gil's introduction to the play (Madrid, 1964), pp. 17-18. Such critics seem to assume that verisimilitude is a sine qua non of a literary work, without realising that all literature is more or less unrealistic, since all art operates at at least one remove from reality. In this play, travesty (both of a dramatic situation and of human behaviour) has been shown to be the central feature. And all travesty is a systematic deformation of the matter travestied, which makes it even more artificial and unreal. If the aprovechar element is to be seen as no less important in Golden Age literature than the deleitar aspect, we must recognise the need for an unreal or stylised situation to bring out the "message" (which is always an abstraction from life). The real-life situation in this play (i.e., the Juana-Martín one) is potentially tragic. The action of the play is intended to make us aware of this, so that the real-life tragedy may be averted. All criticisms of the play's inverisimilitude are therefore doubly irrelevant.
22. Mr. A. D. Deyermond has pointed out to me that the confusion of the four Gilets may be compared to the confusion of tongues which brought down the tower of Babel (in both cases a limitation imposed by God being ignored). Also that Babel = Babylon (cf. Camoëns' Babel e Sião).
23. J. B. Nomland draws our attention to this passage in his article:

"A Laughter Analysis of Three Comedias of Tirso de Molina." MLF, XXXI (1946), 38. He seems to regard it as one of Tirso's less successful frivolous puns because he does not take into account the absurdity which Caramanchel is stressing. Note how the "-il" echoes through the passage like a mocking laugh. In his article: 'Tirso's Cigarrales de Toledo: Some Clarifications and Identifications', HR, XXXIII (1965), 246-72, G. E. Wade has drawn attention to the name "Don Gil de Albornoz". There is, first, the Cardinal Gil de Alvarez Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo, buried in the chapel of San Ildefonso in Toledo. The banda of the Albornoz coat-of-arms, Wade notes, was green in colour. (See the allusion to this Don Gil in the 'Cantica de los clérigos de Talavera' in the Libro de buen amor). A more immediate reference, according to Wade, would probably have been to the Cardinal Gil de Albornoz, Inquisidor de la Suprema in 1627, and made Cardinal in that year. Wade suggests that he may have been in Toledo in 1615 (the place and date of composition of Don Gil) and perhaps also in 1621. Wade comments: "It appears that Tirso was making fun of a clerical friend ... We feel quite sure that it was this don Gil de Albornoz whose name Ti[r]so gave to the protagonist of Don Gil de las calzas verdes, with its mujer disfrazada de hombre and its malicious homosexual implications."

24. The same image recurs, for example, in La venganza de Tamar, II.xii; III.iv.
25. Nomland draws attention, briefly, to this, but, unfortunately, he does not develop his point.
26. See, e.g., S. G. Morley: "Color Symbolism in Tirso de Molina." RR, VIII (1917), 77-81. He bases his analysis on findings in H. A. Kenyon: "Color Symbolism in Early Spanish Ballads." RR, VI

- (1915), 327-40. Curiously enough, Morley does not mention Don Gil in his article. W. L. Fichter also analyses this phenomenon in "Color Symbolism in Lope de Vega." RR, XVIII (1927), 220-31. For Calderón, too, green symbolises hope (See E. M. Wilson and J. Sage: Poesías líricas en las obras dramáticas de Calderón. (London, 1964), p.45, No.59: "El JUEGO es de las colores ..."). It is bright green, of course, which symbolises hope; dark green may suggest its frustration. This distinction is clearly seen in Alonso de Ledesma's "El juego de las colores" (In Juegos de Noches Buenas a lo divino. Barcelona, 1605. In BAE, XXXV, (Madrid, 1885), p.179b): "Tomó el limbo verde claro, / viendo á su Dios en el suelo, / y el judio verde obscuro, / pues hoy ele espera protervo." I am indebted to Mr. J. Sage for this reference and also for some references in the following note.
27. In the Enciclopedia del idioma III, ed. M. Alonso, (Madrid, 1958), we find the following (12th) meaning given to verde: "fig. s. XVI al XX. Libre, indecente, obsceno. Apl. a cuentos, comedias, poesías, etc. Góngora: Obr. II - 102." The ref. to Góngora is also to be found in B. Alemany y Sella: Vocabulario de las obras de Don Luis de Góngora y Argote (Madrid, 1930): "40 fig. Inmodesto, obsceno. (quantas en vano / tiernas derramè lagrimas, temiendo, / ... / ... algún siempre verde, siempre cano / Satyro de las aguas. II, 102 y 103." Quevedo also uses verde with similar overtones. Cf., e.g., his "Desmiente a un viejo por la barba": "Viejo verde, viejo verde, / más negro vas que la tinta, / pues a poder de borrones / la barba llevas escrita. / Recoger quiere la nieve / que tus edades ventiscan / ..." The green-white contrast is interesting, as it recurs a few lines later: "Sobre blanco capa negra // es mocedad dominica;" (Quoted from Obras completas. Verso.)

ed. L. Astrana Marín. [3rd ed., Madrid, 1952.], No. LCII, p.391).

This green-white contrast, as we shall see, is also exploited by Tirso in the play. (In the Enciclopedia del idioma, we are informed that, in this sense, verde is used from the XVIIIc to the XXc. XVIII is surely a slip for XVII). Verde is more explicitly associated with indecency in another poem of Quevedo's (ed. cit. No. LXXXVII, pp.383-84), entitled "Quejas de una cortesana viéndose ociosa" (dated 1626): "A la jineta sentada / sobre un bajo taburete, / con su avantalillo blanco / y su vestidillo verde ..." Here again the white (because she is "ociosa") -green contrast recurs. What is curious about this romance is that later on there appears the refrain: "Molinico, ¿por qué no muelas? / Porque me beben el agua los bueyes", which also appears in Tirso's play (I.viii. p.1725a). The bueyes in Tirso's play symbolise suspicions, while in Quevedo's poem they represent married women of easy virtue who force the courtesans to live a life of enforced and unwelcome chastity.

28. Some of the words in this passage perhaps call for brief comment.

"motolito": "Facil de ser engañado ù vencido, por ser poco avisado, ò falta de experiencia y manejo en lo que se trata"

(Dicc. de Autoridades). "gazmió": Gazmiar = "Quitar y andar comiendo golosinas." "Se toma tambien por quejarse y resentirse.

Es voz burlesca, y en este sentido verbo neutro." (Aut.) Here it seems to mean "seduce" or "catch". The latter sense is reinforced by "garlito": "Especie de nassa  $\frac{1}{2}$  modo de orinál de vidro, y en lo mas estrecho de él se hace la red de unos lazos, que en entrando el pez no puede salir, porque se enreda en ellos". "Metaphoricamente significa celáda, lazo ò assechanza, que se arma à alguno para

molestarle y hacerle daño." (Aut.), i.e., a trap. More interesting, perhaps, is "arador": it is, of course, a ploughman and also the ring-worm: "Piojuélo ò gusanillo casi imperceptible, que se cria lo mas ordinariamente en las palmas de las manos, que sacado y puesto al Sol, se vé mover: y con ser tan pequeño, tiene una manchita negra que parece cabéza. Díxose Aradó, porque parece vá formando surcos, como hace el arádo" (Aut.). Caramanchel may be comparing Don Gil to this almost invisible mite; but, in the context of the passage, the word seems to have sexual overtones, by a metaphorical extension of the basic meaning. Cf. the Elizabethan image, exemplified in the lines from Shakespeare's sonnet: "For where is she so far whose un-ear'd womb / Disdains the tillage of thy husbandry?" However, I have been unable to find any allusion to such sexual connotations of "arador" in the dictionaries, etc. I have consulted. I may, of course, be reading into the Spanish term a meaning which belongs only to the English equivalent, but the overall context in which the word appears would suggest that I am not. Alternatively, Tirso's use of the word here may possibly constitute an isolated, original metaphor.

29. This sociological dimension, arising out of a social structure in which the male and female roles are clearly defined, is discussed more fully in J. G. Peristiany (ed.): Honour and shame (London, 1965), pp. 70-71. The figure of the mujer varonil, examined, though not very satisfactorily, by Da. Carmen Bravo-Villasante in her book already referred to, is the subject of a Cambridge Ph.D. thesis by Dr. M. Jones: The Mujer Varonil in the Drama of the Golden Age. (A Social and Literary Study of a Dramatic Type). [1967]. As the existence of this dissertation did not come to my notice until after this chapter was written and my thesis

nearing completion, I have not been able to make use of its findings.

- 30. G. E. Wade in "Notes on Two of Tirso's plays" EC, XII (1960), no. 2, 1-6, has suggested that Don Gil was written between 21st January and 25th June, 1615. It was produced by Valdés in Toledo in July, 1615. Wade does not agree with the date of composition (1614) D. Blanca assigns to the play in her introduction to it in her ed. The date of Amar por arte mayor is discussed in a later chapter, where it is suggested that internal evidence seems to point to the years 1627-29 as the period of composition.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. An ed. of this play has only now been done as a Ph.D. thesis at Pittsburgh University by Dr. O. Giardini. I have not yet been able to see it.
2. In vol. II of his Teatro escogido de Fray Gabriel Téllez, (Madrid, 1839-42).
3. Hartzenbusch (op.cit.) is, however, correct in saying that "sólo puede notarse que el personaje de don Luis, sin ser inútil, no sea tampoco completamente necesario." Hartzenbusch's view of his function as serving to excuse in part Melchor's treatment of Magdalena is justifiable: "La escena VII da a conocer que Téllez introdujo en la comedia el personaje de don Luis para hacer a don Melchor más disculpable, si se apartaba de los conciertos tratados, pues así quedaba a doña Magdalena un novio de su misma sangre, y más rico que el leonés ..." Apart from the final scene, where all the characters gather on stage, Luis appears thrice in the course of the play. In I.vii and III.vii, he serves as Melchor's confidant. Their conversation also allows Magdalena in Act I and Angela in Act III to change, while the situation as it stands is reviewed. The symmetrical placing and function of these two scenes is obvious. Luis's other appearance is in II.iii, where, unknowingly, he acts as an intermediary between the veiled Magdalena and Melchor. This is an ironical moment when the poor Luis urges the tapada to ensnare Melchor so that he, Luis, can marry Magdalena.
4. See E. Schanzer's article: 'A Midsummer-Night's Dream' (In Shakespeare. The Comedies. ed. K. Muir. Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, c 1965, 3rd printing). The structural function of setting in Shakespeare and other Elizabethan dramatists is

examined by M. Doran in Endeavors of Art (Madison, Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1954), chap.X. This analytic method owes much to the "Lexicon Rhetoricae" of K. Burke's stimulating Counter-Statement (2nd ed., Los Altos, California, 1953).

5. Quotations are by Act, scene and page. The ed. used is Da. Blanca de los Ríos': Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas, vol.II (Madrid, 1962).
6. "Peche<sup>o</sup>lingue". Da. Blanca suggests that here the word means "pirate", and at other times "heretic". However, in the intro. to Amar por arte mayor (vol. III of her ed, p.1166b) she gives what appears to be a more acceptable meaning, viz., that the word is a phonetic transcription of "speech English". I have been unable to find the word in such dictionaries of the period as I have consulted. It seems to be one of Tirso's inventions. The fact that it occurs in Amar por arte mayor may suggest a chronological proximity with La celosa, although, as I shall argue in Chapter Ten, the former appears to be considerably later than La celosa, (1627-29 as opposed to 1622).
7. Vol. IV of the Dicc. crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana (Berne, 1957), pp. 604-05.
8. The function of the tropelía motif in Cervantes' Novela ejemplar has been brilliantly analysed by Prof. L. J. Woodward in 'El casamiento engañoso y El coloquio de los perros' BHS, XXXVI (1959), 80-87.
9. M. A. Peyton: "Some Baroque Aspects of Tirso de Molina" RR, XXXVI (1945), 43-69.
10. In her intro. to the play, op.cit., p.1436b.
11. S. E. Leavitt has analysed examples of "strip-tease" in Golden Age drama in his article: 'Strip-tease in Golden Age Drama',

Homenaje a Rodríguez-Moñino, I (Madrid, 1966) pp. 305-310.

He does not, however, refer to this scene which is much more delicate, but, perhaps, even more suggestive than the ones he discusses.

12. This farcical scene, we may note, is based on the deception motif, and is thus thematically linked to the main section of the play. But in addition it also performs an important structural function in the play as a whole by helping along the complication.

Thus a small deception scene is organically fitted into a play about deception. Furthermore, Santillana's deception (in part motivated by interés) produces no result, for Ventura refuses him his "cuatro reales". Similarly, in the main action, the practice of deception will eventually prove fruitless. To anticipate a later phase in this discussion of the play, note, too, how on the stylistic level, the whole of I.iii grows out of the tropelia motif. Even Melchor's story about the purse-thief fits into the pattern of an inconsistency between appearance and reality.

13. One wonders here whether Sebastián's early description of Angela was a complete fabrication. The Sebastián-Angela relationship is a curious one. They seem to work in concert with each other, and, in fact, Sebastián's description of his sister in I.ii may have been no more - and no less - than an example of high-powered salesmanship. It is a curious man who would invite his acquaintances to amuse themselves at his sister's expense! When Sebastián discovers that Angela's plan to marry Melchor threatens to ruin his own, he would murder her. Also, periodically, as in II.vi. p.1468a, Angela threatens to leave her home if she cannot have her desires fulfilled. This would be a serious step to take in the XVIIc. Are Angela and Sebastián a professional "brother-

- and-sister" team, companions in business rather than relations in blood?
14. We note that almost all the characters contribute in some way towards the failure of the device. In Don Gil, too, Martín's uncomfortable position towards the end is not wholly due to his own fault. This process (but on a different level and in a different key) bears some resemblance to the working of what Prof. A. A. Parker has aptly termed "diffused responsibility" in Calderón's tragedies (in 'Towards a Definition of Calderonian Tragedy', BHS, XXXIX (1962), 222-37).
  15. Cartas de los jesuitas, vol.I (Madrid, 1861) p.45. Letter dated Madrid, 6th May, 1634, from Francisco de Vilches to P. Rafael Pereyra.
  16. See, e.g., P. W. Bomli: La Femme dans l'Espagne du siècle d'or (La Haye, 1950), p.115. Bomli confirms that all foreigners spoke of the liberty of the mujer tapada.
  17. "Confesión que hacen los mantos de sus culpas en la premática de no taparse las mujeres." No. LXX in Obras completas. Verso, ed. Astrana Marín (3rd ed., Madrid, 1952), pp. 361-64. Quevedo in chap. XXI of his Buscón (ed. Castro, Madrid, 1965, p.226) refers to the art of wielding the manto. In chap. XVIII of the novel (pp. 194-95) he also refers to a girl who never tired of displaying her beautiful hands. This may help to support the view that Melchor's praise of the tapada's hand is intended to strike us as ridiculous and that we are not to take it seriously.
  18. This is pointed out by Cotarelo in Tirso de Molina: Investigaciones bio-bibliográficas (Madrid, 1893) and by Miss Kennedy in 'On the Date of Five Plays by Tirso de Molina', HR, X (1942), 183-214. The satire of Gongorism is one of a number of details

which lead Miss Kennedy to suggest that the play was written between Dec., 1619 and 1st March, 1624. Da. Blanca assigns it to the years 1621-22. (Cotarelo's dating - 1607 - is curious and rejected by Miss Kennedy, but a possible explanation for his dating, if this is not based on a conjecture that Tirso may have seen some of Góngora's Gongoristic works at an early date, may be the fact that he thought that it was connected with the 1610 premática against the manto.) One fact which may help to support the view that the play may have been written c.1622-23 seems to have passed unperceived so far. There are two obvious references (both in Act III) to homosexuals in the play. The first is Santillana's humorous rejection of Ventura's embraces:

SANTILLANA (A VENTURA, que porfia en abrazarle):  
 ¿Queréis apostar, hermano,  
 que os he de hacer acusar?  
 III.ii. p.1477a.

The second is when Melchor asks Ventura to allow him to climb on to his back so that he can take the Condesa's hand: in this latter speech there is an open attack on certain persons in Madrid:

VENTURA: ¡Mal año! Busca una yegua  
 o el banco de un herrador,  
 que soy macho y no eres hembra.  
 MELCHOR: Hazme esta merced, que así  
 quiero llamarla.  
 VENTURA: Dijeras  
 servicio, que agora hay hartos  
 que a todo Madrid inciensan.  
 MELCHOR: Enojaréme contigo.  
 VENTURA: ¿Yo debajo de ti? ¡Afuera!  
 Ni aun de burlas, vive Dios.  
 Lcha esa carga a otra bestia.  
 III.xviii. p.1488a.

It may not be rash to suppose that this is a reference to Villamediana and his circle of homosexuals. He was assassinated in the Calle Mayor on 21st Aug., 1622. Miss Kennedy states that if the play was presented by Manuel Alvarez de Vallejo, it was probably staged during his stay in Madrid between Oct. 5th, 1622 and

Feb. 8th, 1623.

19. A. Valbuena Prat: La vida española en la edad de oro  
(Barcelona, 1943), p.251.
20. The first passage is obviously an echo of the parable of the marriage feast (Matthew, chap. 22, vv. 1-14, and, in particular, v.14: "For many are called, but few are chosen"). The second passage is a ref. to the story of Esau and Jacob (Genesis, chap. 27).
21. So, too, is God. Thus the parallel of the religion of love is valid here too; the goddess of this religion is also a hidden one.
22. On the level of the religion of love, these are the "revelations" granted to the "worshipper" in Church. Melchor, in fact, had asked for such a "revelation":

En fin: ¿mi amor no os obliga  
a que lo que por fe adoro  
vea?

II.v. p.1466a.

23. Here, too, there are religious overtones. Human eyes cannot look upon the Godhead. Also, it is clear that this play wittily establishes a relationship on the stylistic level between Gongorism and Neo-Platonism. Prof. R. O. Jones, in various studies, see, e.g., 'The Poetic Unity of the Soledades of Góngora' BHS, XXXI (1954), 189-204; 'Neo-Platonism and the Soledades', BHS, XL (1963), 1-16; "Góngora and Neo-Platonism Again", BHS, XLIII (1966), 117-20 - has, on the other hand, sought to establish a serious, ideological connexion between the two, which is suggestive.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. In her introduction to this play in Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas II (Madrid, 1962), pp. 961-69.
2. G. E. Wade: Rev. of Por el sótano y el torno, ed. A. Zamora Vicente (Buenos Aires, 1949), in Symposium, IV (1950), 187-90.
3. Cf. R. L. Kennedy: 'La prudencia en la mujer and the Ambient that brought it forth' PMLA, LXIII (1948), 1131-90. The point, as Miss Kennedy notes, had been made by Da. Blanca de los Ríos in an article in La esfera, XVII (Oct. 4th, 1930).
4. This date is suggested by Miss Kennedy in her article, 'On the Date of Five Plays by Tirso de Molina' HR, X (1942), 183-214. It will be noted that the element of medical satire links El amor médico with plays which are now assigned by critics to the period 1622-1623. C. Bruerton, in his review of Tirso de Molina. Comedias II (Clás. Cast., Madrid, 1947) in NRFH, IV (1950), 68-71, assigns the play to the period 1622-1625: "El porcentaje de romance (44.9%) y silva (3.06%) indica claramente que la obra es posterior a 1620, y, a juzgar por la versificación, hasta podría ser de 1625. Por razones que no puedo divulgar, la pieza probablemente no se escribió antes de los últimos meses de 1622. La fecha sería, pues, 1622-1625" (p.69). As I point out below, other features link El amor médico with plays probably written around the year 1622. Incidentally, this dating would make El amor médico fall within that period which Miss Kennedy shows to be a critical one in the relationship between Tirso and Lope, and would thus seem to lend indirect support to Da. Blanca's suggestion that Tirso is satirising Lope in this play. This point is touched on

briefly at a later stage of this analysis.

5. R. Sancho de San Román: La medicina y los médicos en la obra de Tirso de Molina. (Salamanca, 1960), p.65.
6. San Román (op. cit., p.10) makes the following comment; "algunas citas expresas parecen indicar que [Tirso] conoció a estas "autoridades" de la antigüedad clásica más íntimamente de lo que podría deducirse por una mera información cultural; así, en algunos parlamentos de El amor médico (Acto II, Escena VIII), La fingida Arcadia (Jornada II, Escena XV), y Don Gil de las calzas verdes (Acto I, Escena II)".
7. This feature is, of course, similar to Tirso's so-called "self-plagiarism", already noted by critics. See, e.g., G. E. Wade: 'Tirso's Self-Plagiarism in Plot' HR, IV (1936), 55-65. One aspect of this developing technique is also discussed by E. Calderà in 'Un motivo delle commedie "de enredo": l'elaborazione de "El melancólico".' in Studi tirsiani (Milan, 1958), 95-110.
8. This date is suggested by Miss Kennedy in her article 'On the Date of Five Plays by Tirso de Molina.' HR, X (1942), 183-214.
9. This is noted by A. Zamora Vicente and Da. Ma. Josefa Canellada de Zamora on p.88 of their ed. of this play (Madrid, 1956).
10. In his review of Tirso de Molina: Comedias II (Clás. Cast., Madrid, 1947), eds. A. Zamora Vicente and Ma. J. Canellada de Zamora, in NRFH, IV (1950), 68-71. Bruerton refers to "esas dos piezas, que no son ciertamente de las mejores de Tirso" (p.68).
11. In his examen of the play in Teatro escogido de Fray Gabriel Téllez, vol VIII (Madrid, 1840).
12. Hartzzenbusch, of course, makes this point: "Nos parece que Tellez debia haber empezado y concluido la accion del Amor

Médico en Coimbra, porque el acto primero no es mas que una esposicion amplificada, que podia reducirse á un par de escenas: así hubiera quedado fuera el personaje de don Gonzalo que de nada sirve." (Examen, p.390). This structure (which seems typically Tirsian) in which Act I serves as the exposition to the action proper in Acts II and III can also be noted in El vergonzoso en palacio.

13. C. Bruerton (loc. cit., p.69) draws attention to this curious feature of the play. He considers that the rôles especially of Martín, Machado and Delgado have been truncated and concludes: "Cabría pensar que hubo una versión anterior, en la cual sus papeles eran más extensos". This is a definite possibility (cf. Brito's rôle in Calderón's El príncipe constante) although it must be borne in mind that Tirso is not over-nice about such technical details. On the other hand, scenes ii to vi constitute the second cuadro of Act I, and, as I point out below, there is a symmetrical pattern established in it by the crescendo-decrescendo build-up and reduction of the characters on stage. From the purely visual point of view, therefore, Machado is an important element here. "Stage-business" also provides an explanation of sorts for Delgado's presence in II.i-iii (or i-iv?). This opening cuadro builds up to the important third scene between Tello and Delgado. The function of this scene will be examined later on, but the linguistic ambivalence, we may note, is reflected visually in the presence of two characters on stage. Since the dialectic in the play is important, Tirso needs a partner (largely passive, here) for Tello when the two gentlemen leave the stage. Delgado's being an old friend who has just arrived in Coimbra makes the ensuing conversation more

natural. Considerations of visual symmetry may also help to account for Martín's largely silent presence in II.vi-viii, and III.i-ii. His return in III.xx forms, of course, part of the final gathering of all the characters on stage - apart from the dead Gonzalo.

14. That complexity which U. Ellis-Fermor, in the opening chapter ("The Limitations of Drama") of her stimulating book, The Frontiers of Drama (2nd ed., London, 1964), sees as an element recalcitrant to dramatic treatment is, in a sense, clearly present in this play of Tirso's. The two themes might easily have produced two separate plays. That he chose to yoke them together to form a single play would make us suspect that Tirso was indeed working on the "frontiers of drama". Other plays, such as El condenado por desconfiado, where we have a treatment of a genuine religious experience in a complex dramatic mould - the experience is presented in both its positive and negative forms - and the Pizarro and Santa Juana trilogies (not to mention the large number of plays whose sequels were either never completed or have been lost) help to confirm this view.
15. Jerónima is, of course, one version of the mujer varonil. This figure has been studied by Dr. M. Jones in her Ph.D. thesis: The Mujer Varonil in the Drama of the Golden Age. (A Social and Literary Study of a Dramatic Type). (Cambridge, 1967). For the reasons stated in chapter one of this thesis, I have been unable to make use of Dr. Jones' findings.
16. J. M. Viqueira, on p.299 of his interesting monograph, 'La lusófilia de << Tirso de Molina >>' (Biblos, XXXVI (1960), 265-489), sees the play as exemplifying two types of freedom: the freedom to love and the freedom to act. This, in a sense,

is true enough. Yet, there is an assumed incompatibility between these two types of freedom in the play - until a way of reconciling them is found. One type of freedom, in other words, limits the other type. This is what helps to maintain the dramatic tension in the play.

17. Cf. the following passage from Marta la piadosa:

JUAN : Don Diego, hele de matar.

DIEGO: ¿Sois vos médico?

III.xviii.

18. José Ma. Viqueira, in his study, Coimbra en las letras españolas (Coimbra, 1964) refers briefly to the play's dualism which, as he points out, suits the character of the city: "Verdaderamente, ¿dónde mejor podría localizar, en aquella época manuelina, el dualismo amorciencia, sino en la(s) Atenas lusitana que era, y es, además, la tierra de los amores?" (p.41). Because of the nature of his study, Viqueira does not develop this point much further, save to link vaguely this dualism to the shift in setting in the play: "La pieza se titula El Amor Médico, y aquí se revela el citado dualismo. Su primer acto se desarrolla en Sevilla, y los otros dos en Coimbra." (p.41). Viqueira further notes that Jerónima-Barbosa "va desarrollando el duplo proyecto amoroso-científico de su vida, con tanta habilidad y perspicacia, que, naturalmente, triunfa en toda la línea: consigue el objeto de amor, y es doctorada en la Universidad y nombrada médico de palacio" (p.41). As I hope to show, the point can be developed a step further in order to bring out the way in which the dualism is, to a large extent, ultimately resolved. I have not yet seen Viqueira's Coimbra y Tirso de Molina (Coimbra, 1955), where, as he states elsewhere, he examines El amor médico more closely.

19. In this, Tirso is only following a long tradition in European literature which describes love as an illness. The sick doctor must therefore cure herself in the play.
20. Quotations are taken from Da. Blanca de los Ríos' ed. already mentioned. References are to Act, scene, and page. In a few cases, ZamoraVicente's ed. in Clás. Cast., mentioned above, provides a more satisfactory reading. Where there is a significant difference between the two texts, this is noted. Obvious misprints have been corrected.
21. In The Structure of Literature (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1962, c 1954), Chap.III, "Comic Plots", pp.82ff.
22. P. Goodman (op. cit.) sees the complex plot (in the Aristotelian sense) as being composed of an apparent and a hidden plot. The emergence of the latter constitutes the Aristotelian reversal. For Goodman, the complex plot properly belongs to tragedy, as it is there that the undermining of the surface plot can be exploited to the full. However, as Goodman admits, the complex plot, with modifications, may also be found in comedy. El amor médico seems to be an example of what Goodman is trying to express, although the hidden plot is hidden only to Jerónima's victims. As will become clear, it is this "hidden plot" which is the ultimate motivating element in the structure of the play.
23. In his examen of the play, already mentioned.
24. F. Halstead: 'The Optics of Love: Notes on a Concept of Atomistic Philosophy in the Theatre of Tirso de Molina' PMLA, LVIII (1943), 108-21. One may make a few reparos with respect to Halstead's article itself. It contains the odd factual inaccuracy: e.g., he says that "Jerónima is herself the object of Rodrigo's desires, and hers the eyes that set him aflame" (p.114, note 23).

Again, Halstead reasonably concludes that Jerónima's long medico-philosophical speech is carefully planned and deliberately included. However, he can only explain its inclusion by regarding it as "yet another of the digressions not uncommon to his theatre" (p.121), as he is unwilling to accept that Tirso may have had "an object in mind" in the writing of the speech. But it is clear that the speech (1) adds to the comic effect of the play by its mystifying effect; (2) is an integral part of the play's medical satire; (3) contributes to our sensing the element of caricature Tirso is introducing into the portrayal of Jerónima. These are, perhaps, good enough organic reasons for the shakiness of the philosophical argument in the speech, although I have no intention of implying that Tirso's knowledge was less incomplete than Halstead claims. At the same time, the "tendency to criss-cross along the lines laid down by the various schools" (p.120) is hardly important in strict dramatic terms, although it could just conceivably bear some relation to the basic ambivalent pattern which characterises the comedy. Finally, Halstead's comments in notes 31-33 on p.117 are themselves open to doubt as regards interpretation. The passage commented occurs in III.v. 1005a-b. The expression "a su modo" can be taken in a literal sense to mean simply "in a suitable, i.e., digestible or easily assimilated, way". Halstead's translation of modo by "mode" in this context seems to do violence to the sense, apart from being syntactically unusual. The "entendimiento agente" is, surely, the factor which mediates between the external, corporeal process and the inner, spiritual one. Once the information obtained by the former has been "spiritualised" ("que las immaterialice, / y vuelva espirituales"), the inner process

starts. The will's coming into operation is therefore quite normal, especially as it controls the emotion of love. The assertion of the control it has over the individual is, of course, partly comic: but this control is not absolute.

Jerónima, in a sly remark later on, opposes it to the albedrío, on which the ultimate decision rests: "que el sabio siempre resiste". The point is, ultimately, that this speech of Jerónima's contains an ambiguous irony which we must perceive if we are to respond meaningfully to it on the dramatic level.

25. Cf. [SANTILLANA]: más almas tiene en el cielo  
que un Herodes y un Nerón;  
conócenle en cada casa:  
por donde quiera que pasa  
le llaman la Extrema-Unción.  
(I.xiii. p.561b in vol.III of  
B. de los Ríos' ed., Madrid, 1958.)
26. The large number of Jewish doctors in Spain and the essentially social reasons for this have been noted by E. Glaser in 'Referencias antisemitas en la literatura peninsular de la edad de oro.' NRFH, VIII (1954), 39-62.
27. Quiteria, of course, frequently stresses that Jerónima's actions only tarnish the family honour. Cf., e.g., the following passage:
- ¡Buen fin a nuestro viaje  
ha dado tu ciego amor,  
buena disculpa a tu honor,  
buen fin a nuestro viaje!  
Don Gonzalo está en Pamplona  
peleando, y cuanto gana,  
échalo a perder su hermana.  
II.xii. p.997a.
28. The emphasis on personal merit as the basic criterion in determining the individual's position in the social hierarchy is a constantly recurring theme in Tirso. Da. Blanca de los Ríos has sought to connect this with her hypothesis of Tirso's illegitimacy and his consequent attitude towards bastards and

- segundones. G. Mancini has pointed out, however, that the segundón is a common enough character in the drama of the period in his article: 'Caratteri e problemi del teatro di Tirso' in Studi tirsiani (Milan, 1958), p.12. The self-made man who stakes all on merit and personal achievement is, of course, a typical figure of the Renaissance.
29. Viqueira recognises this: "... el motor de toda la acción dramática es el amor: por él, se hacen viajes largos y cansados, por él, se arrostran peligros, y por él, incluso, se viste de hombre una mujer para frecuentar la Universidad" ('La lusofilia ...', p.402).
30. 'The Feminist Theme in the Drama of the Siglo de Oro.' RR, XXVI (1935), 191-231. Feminism is, of course, also a real-life social phenomenon of the period. Both Da. Blanca and Zamora Vicente discuss some feminists of the day in their introductions to the play. Bomli, in chap. IV of the first part of his La Femme dans l'Espagne du siècle d'or (La Haye, 1950) examines the phenomenon, making passing reference to this play of Tirso's.
31. Da. Blanca claims to see in this speech some autobiographical echo of Tirso's own life, viz., Figueroa's attack, in El pasajero, on Tirso personally as well as on the Lopean comedy (pp.966-7). Her argument seems, perhaps, a little over-subtle, although one might be prepared to see the speech in part as Tirso's personal attack on slanderers - perhaps even his own personal enemies.
32. The tendency to arrange marriages between members of rich families for almost purely socio-economic reasons was a pressing social problem of the time. Zamora Vicente draws attention to this on p.52 of his ed. A more detailed discussion of the phenomenon especially among the upper classes and its implications

may be found in A. Domínguez Ortiz: La sociedad española en el siglo XVII Vol.I (Madrid, CSIC, 1963), Part II, chap. 2.

33. "Importo / corto": this is Zamora Vicente's reading.

34. I am not sure that Da. Blanca has proved her case conclusively. At the same time, the sequence of names and the implications of some of the incidents seem to point to more than a series of mere coincidences. The fact that Tirso and Lope were not on friendly terms at the time this play was probably composed may be of some significance here. Therefore, while not considering Da. Blanca's statements as more than an interesting hypothesis, I shall review here some points which seem pertinent to it. Any definite conclusions will have to be reserved until such time as the exact nature of the relationship between Tirso and Lope is fully clarified. (This is a subject on which Miss Kennedy has been working.) Lope's love-affair with Amarilis, i.e., Marta de Nevares, seems to have begun late in 1616. Their daughter was born in August, 1617 and Roque Hernández died towards the end of 1618 or the beginning of 1619. One may recall Lope's glorification of death and its assistants, illness and the doctors, on this occasion. A convenient résumé of the affair may be found in Lope's Obras escogidas. Teatro. Vol.I., ed. F. C. Sainz de Robles (5th ed., Madrid, 1966), pp.137-48. There seem to be other echoes of Lope's love-affairs, perhaps, in the play. Da. Blanca proposes that Gaspar's Micaela is an echo of Lope's Micaela de Luján. Sainz de Robles suggests (p.87) that Lope probably met her in Toledo c.1597. Da. Blanca also makes the point that there may be some significance in Tirso's choice of the names Jerónima (=Jerónima de Burgos) and, of course, Marta. Gaspar has had to flee from Toledo to escape the law-officers,

after attacking his slanderers. Lope himself was exiled from Madrid because of his libellous attacks on Elena Osorio. Part of this exile was spent in Valencia (the town of D. Jaime in Tirso's play). Lope went to Lisbon, where he joined the Armada - in order to escape from his newly-married wife, Isabel. Gaspar, in the play, plans to go to Lisbon and embark for the East, but eventually finds himself in Coimbra.

35. R. L. Kennedy: 'A Reappraisal of Tirso's Relations to Lope and his Theatre'. BC, XVII (1965), 23-34 and XVIII (1966), 1-13.

36. We may note, incidentally, that the situation in which an unidentified woman pursues a man, claiming he promised to marry her, although he has not really done so, or, at least, has no recollection of having done so, is central in the problematic La mujer por fuerza.

37. Tirso's rough-and-ready Portuguese, to which Hartzzenbusch has drawn attention, obviously turns out to be a virtue here. The perhaps deliberately imperfect Portuguese employed facilitates the word-play in the comedy.

38. R. Cantel in his article: 'Le Portugal dans l'oeuvre de Tirso de Molina', in Mélanges d'études portugaises offerts à M. Georges le Gentil (Chartres, 1949), pp. 131-53, notes that: "Le portugais est plus qu'un simple élément comique dans El amor médico. Il permet d'introduire une série de quiproquos qui embrouillent les personnages et il devient ainsi un des éléments de l'action dans la pièce." Cantel, however, does not develop his statement.

W. S. Morby, in his article, 'Portugal and Galicia in the Plays of Tirso de Molina.' HR, IX (1941), 266-74, states that Portuguese is used as an element of disguise in El amor médico. Viqueira points out that Tirso uses Portuguese in this play for

comic effect (Tello's word-play) and to bring out the element of coquetry in Jerónima's character. ('La lusofilia ...', pp. 445ff.) He also adds: "... no veo que se pueda tachar de incorrecta esta lengua lusitana usada por nuestro dramaturgo, en el siglo XVII: era la misma, con levísimas diferencias, que él leía y oía en sus portugueses coetáneos" (p.452).

39. Zamora Vicente makes a brief reference to the relationship between language and personality in El amor médico in 'Portugal en el teatro de Tirso de Molina' in De Garcilaso a Valle-Inclán (Buenos Aires, 1950): "a cada aparición y desaparición del portugués como medio expresivo corresponde una transmutación de la personalidad en el hablante. A tal punto llega la identificación de la mudanza y su valor, que no sería entendida la comedia de no comprender este portugués. ...Es, incluso, la piedra de toque para el reconocimiento, para la identificación del voluntariamente borroso personaje." Viqueira, as has been already pointed out in a previous note, makes a similar point.
40. For a discussion of this point, see Jan Kott's "Shakespeare's Bitter Arcadia" in Shakespeare our Contemporary (2nd ed., London, 1967).
41. The phrase is, of course, taken from U. Ellis-Fermor's book: The Frontiers of Drama (2nd ed., London, 1964).
42. See Appendix A of this thesis.
43. A similar point has also been made with respect to Calderón by Professor Parker in his article: 'History and Poetry: the Coriolanus theme in Calderón'. In Hispanic Studies in Honour of I. González Llubera (Oxford, 1959), pp.211-224. Cf. also K. Muir's statement on Shakespeare's heroines: "It is characteristic of nearly all Shakespeare's comedies that the heroines

should largely escape his satire and that it is their qualities (wit, humor, generosity, initiative, balance, courage) which bring about a satisfactory resolution of the plot. Portia, Rosalind, and Viola embody the values of the plays in which they appear; and the falsities of society and the corruption of sentimentality are revealed for what they are in the clear light of the comic spirit." In his introduction to Shakespeare. The Comedies, ed. K. Muir (Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., c 1965), p.7. This view of woman in drama may perhaps be linked to the feminist question and this, in turn to the general ferment in the intellectual and social climate of the seventeenth century. See, e.g., P. W. Bomli: La Femme dans l'Espagne du siècle d'or (La Haye, 1950) and Ma. del Pilar Oñate: El feminismo en la literatura española (Madrid, 1938).

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR.

1. G. E. Wade: 'Notes on Tirso de Molina'. HR, VII (1939), 69-72.
2. Reprinted in E. Cotarelo's introduction to his edition of Comedias de Tirso de Molina, I, (Madrid, 1906), p. lxvii.
3. E. M. Wilson: 'Seven Aprobaciones by Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca'. In Homenaje a Dámaso Alonso, III (Madrid, 1963), pp. 605-18.
4. In my analysis of Amar por arte mayor.
5. 'La beata enamorada ó Marta la piadosa. Comedia de Tirso de Molina, refundida en cinco actos'. El Censor, X (1821), 449-53.
6. In his examen of the play in Teatro escogido de Fray Gabriel Téllez, I, ed. J. E. Hartzenbusch (Madrid, 1839).
7. P. Chasles: Italie et Espagne. Voyages d'un critique à travers la vie et les livres. II. (Paris, 1869), pp.337-50.
8. Cf. "El arte de Tirso ha logrado ... hacernos tolerable y a ratos simpática a la protagonista: es hipócrita sencillamente porque ama con pasión a un hombre y no quiere entregar su cuerpo a otro."  
M. Romera-Navarro: Historia de la literatura española (Boston, c 1928), p.337.
9. A. F. G. Bell: 'Some Notes on Tirso de Molina'. BSS XVII (1940), 172-203.
10. A. Valbuena Prat: Historia de la literatura española, II, (4th ed. Barcelona, 1953), p.409.
11. M. Penna: Don Giovanni e il mistero de Tirso (Turin, 1958).
12. Penna argues that the nature of the subject leads us to expect a tragic ending similar to that in Lope de Vega's El caballero de Olmedo, in which the tragedy, so to speak, atones for the profanation of religion. The justification for the tragedy in

Lope's play is not as Penna supposes, and has already been discussed by Professor Parker who has drawn attention to the similarity in situation and difference in treatment between the two plays. (See A. A. Parker: The Approach to the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age, London, 1957, pp.10-12.) Gómez is not dishonoured by the deception practised on him by Marta and Felipe, and, as is obvious, Gómez's character is very unlike that of Don Pedro.

13. Clásicos Ebro, Zaragoza, 4th ed. 1958 (1st ed., 1943).
14. 'De Tirso de Molina al refundidor de Marta la piadosa. Carta'. In Del siglo de oro (Madrid, 1910), pp. 81-97.
15. Act I. scene xiv. page 368a. All quotations are by act, scene and page and refer to vol II of Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas, ed. B. de los Ríos (Madrid, 1962).
16. A. Urtiaga: El indiano en la dramática de Tirso de Molina (Madrid, 1965), pp. 116-124, 174-175.
17. In fact, the style of the whole play is worthy of being closely analysed. The action of the play, by itself, can be seen as largely farcical. It is a stock situation in comedy. It is the subtleties of language in the dialogue which raise the play to the level of high comedy.
18. Incidentally, the fact that this hasty journey of Gómez's to Illescas is motivated essentially by his love of money and thus serves to illustrate his character answers Hartzenbusch's somewhat unnecessary complaint that the journey is useless and violates the unity of place for no sound reason. It also helps to explain Gómez's readiness in Act III to make a journey to Seville, here again enticed by the prospect of acquiring Felipe's wealth.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. Act I. scene iii. page 553a. References are to Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas, III, ed. B. de los Ríos (Madrid, 1958). A. Zamora Vicente's ed. of the play (Buenos Aires, 1949) has extremely helpful notes for the understanding of the text. The practice of marrying a young girl to a rich old man is, of course, frequently treated in Golden Age literature. Similar situations to the one in this play are to be found in, e.g., Rojas' Entre bobos anda el juego, and Cervantes' El celoso extremeño and El viejo celoso.
2. "recoleta": not only does this mean "reclected", i.e., secluded, but it also is the name of a religious Order. Cf. "Adj. que se aplica al Religioso que guarda y observa recolección: y también al Convento o Casa de la misma Recolección" (Diccionario de Autoridades). There is an ironic contradiction implied in the phrase "amor recoleta" (as also in the immediately preceding "humano monasterio" - as opposed to a religious monastery of celibates). The insulation of love is absurd, since this implies the negation of its very essence.
3. "cartujo": The Carthusian monk lived in an isolated, individual cell and was committed to a vow of silence for the greater part of his life. A person of his temperament would, consequently, be unfitted to serve as a means of communication between the two parties - the joke, of course, being that a tercero is the intermediary between lovers, and is also a "Tertiary", i.e., "el que professa la Regla de la Tercera Orden de N.P.S. Francisco, Santo Domingo y N. Señora del Carmen" (Diccionario de Autoridades).
4. This is a reference to Naaman's leprosy. See II Kings, chap.V, vv.1-14. I am grateful to Dr. J. Lowe of Edinburgh University for drawing my attention to this.

5. "andadera": "La muger que en los Conventos de Monjas vá à los recados" (Dicc. de Autoridades). Hence, in this context, a go-between.
6. Though <sup>the</sup> humour of this passage is obvious, its precise meaning is rather obscure. The reference seems to be to an infidel religion (i.e., Islam). In the context of the play, if the "true religion" is the Platonic, non-sexual love enforced upon the sisters, the physical love of the servants would appear to be a "false religion" - hence "ánima en pena". This interpretation of the passage may be open to question, but it fits into the overall tone of the play. The fact that Tirso is laughing at a non-sexual married love (a Neo-Platonic concept) does not necessarily vitiate the interpretation, this "religion", of course, being "false" from the point of view of the galanes de monjas. The fact that the servants' offspring will, in due course, go on pilgrimages to Mecca means that they, too, will not hold to the celibate view of human love. We may also note the equivocal use of "hermana".
7. I am indebted to Professor A. A. Parker for having clarified for me the relation of these symbols to the theme of the play. He has also pointed out to me the similar sexual symbol in Calderón's Apolo y Climene. The priestesses of the temple of Diana are vowed to chastity, Climene being one of them. Yet all the others carry on secret love-affairs, their lovers entering the temple through a mina, or underground tunnel. Apollo, when exiled from his divinity and succumbing to sensual love with Climene, does so by falling into the mina and finding his way into the garden. The theme of Calderón's play is, of course, different, and is given a serious, philosophical treatment, for which see A. A. Parker: "Metáfora y símbolo en la interpretación de Calderón" in Actas del primer congreso internacional de hispanistas (Oxford, 1964), pp. 141-160.

8. In his "Examen" of the play in Teatro escogido de Fray Gabriel Téllez, X (Madrid, 1841), p.123.
9. In his La comédie espagnole. 1600-1680 (Paris, 1966).
10. Cf. A. Valbuena Prat: "En determinadas formas, Tirso juega con la intriga, y compone una especie de "ballet" maravilloso, de gracia y malicia, pintoresco en las costumbres de ciudad y de aldea, en que la trama inverosímil se combina con la parodia de motivos usuales en el drama de honor o caracteres" in his Historia de la literatura española II (4th ed., Barcelona, 1953), p.413. Romera-Navarro, also, in his Historia de la literatura española (Boston, 1928), affirms that Tirso's theatre is "el de situaciones y lances más inverosímiles" (p.346)
11. In his review of A. Zamora Vicente's ed. of the play, in BH, LI (1949), 452.
12. Memorial histórico español, XIII (1861), p.15.
13. R. L. Kennedy: 'On the Date of Five Plays by Tirso de Molina', HR, X (1942), 183-214, and 'Studies for the Chronology of Tirso's Theatre', HR, XI (1943), 17-46.
14. E. Cotarelo y Mori gives this information in his book: Tirso de Molina. Investigaciones bio-bibliográficas (Madrid, 1893), p.83. On page 214 he suggests that Prado produced the play during his stay in Madrid between 1621 and 1623. This seems quite likely. We learn from Rennert: The Spanish Stage (New York, 1909), pp.560-562, that Prado was in Madrid in the first half of 1623, and again in 1635, spending most of the intervening years in Seville. Shergold supports this in his A History of the Spanish Stage (Oxford, 1967). It is obvious that the play was originally intended for a Madrid audience.
15. See Cotarelo, op.cit., p.84, note 1.

16. In the introduction to her ed. of the play (Manchester, 1957), p.ix. Miss Kennedy, of course, suggests that the play was written in February or early March, 1623, in 'On the Date of Five Plays by Tirso de Molina' HR, X (1942), 183-214.
17. In Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas I (Madrid, 1946).
18. R. L. Kennedy: 'Studies for the Chronology of Tirso's Theatre' HR, XI (1943), 17-46. See my discussion in a later chapter of the two plays in question.
19. H. Hume: The Court of Philip IV (London, 1907).
20. G. Marañón: El Conde-Duque de Olivares (Madrid, 1952), p.207. Marañón seems to be sceptical of the authenticity of some of the details in the story.
21. It may be argued, on the other hand, that Tirso's play served as an incentive to such adventures, and, in fact, Tirso was censured by the Junta de Reformatión in 1625 on precisely such grounds. It is hoped, however, that it has been shown that Tirso's play is satirical and is meant to ridicule such behaviour and, above all, the social conventions which led to such absurd situations. The very definite "warning" at the end of the play obviously seems to be intended to reinforce the audience's awareness of a parallel situation (or situations) in real life.

The main substance of this analysis has been published in article form, under the title: 'Satire and Symbolism in the Structure of Tirso de Molina's Por el sótano y el torno' in FMLS, IV (1968), 374-85.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX.

1. In her article: 'Notes on Two Interrelated Plays of Tirso: El amor y el amistad and Ventura te dé Dios, hijo, HR, XXVIII (1960), 189-214. The termini set by Miss Kennedy (1621-1624) encompass the period in which some of Tirso's best (and most committed) plays were probably written. Miss Kennedy draws attention to the political satire in Ventura te dé... and to the play's relation to El amor y el amistad and La fingida Arcadia. For Miss Kennedy, this is an important play in Tirso's political theatre, and one which is critical of Philip IV's government. I am not here concerned primarily with Tirso's political satire, which is being studied by Miss Kennedy, but it is interesting to note that if, as Miss Kennedy suggests, the play was staged before the Queen in 1623, Prado was very naive or Tirso was very daring. This play, therefore, must have contributed its bit to the events of 1625. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that lots of indirect hints concerning the behaviour of prince and privado are scattered throughout the play: the Duke's resistance to César's Machiavellian suggestions in III.viii is a good example of this. Miss Kennedy's view appears more convincing than Da. Blanca's argument for 1615 as the date of composition of Ventura te dé..., in her introduction to this play in Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas, I (Madrid, 1946), pp.1627-1637. The latter's arguments are not always persuasive here, and her reference to Don Quixote seems to me too subtle if not far-fetched. Even Otón's remark on the importance of travel in the formation of character (II.vi) can be taken as referring to Tirso's own experience as a consequence of his visit to the Indies. Another passage (see note 7) would

seem to support this. At the same time, there can be no doubt that the play bears some resemblance to the early El vergonzoso en palacio. The similarity in the endings is obvious and there are moments when the Clemencia-Otón relationship seems to be drawing upon the Mireño-Magdalena one. There is also the curious episodic structure of the play which might lead one to presume that it belongs to Tirso's early period. But I shall return to this later. Furthermore, as Da. Blanca also notes, there are a number of points which Ventura te dé... and La peña de Francia have in common. Da. Blanca assigns the latter play to 1611-12(?). Whether this dating is accurate or not, I am inclined to suspect that La peña de Francia is indeed an early play, and not only because, as Da. Blanca says, it has some points in common with El Vergonzoso and Mari-Hernández la gallega. The technique seems less skilful. It also probably antedates Ventura te dé..., for it states more explicitly what is often implicit in the latter play. For example, in I.i,ii of La peña..., we are told explicitly that learning, arms and business are the three occupations which society respects most. Simón Vela rejects these for religion. The theme is the same as in Ventura te dé..., but in the latter play it recurs, so to speak, in a more secular mode: the religious values are implicit and do not, as in La peña, imply a total rejection of the world.

2. Prof. M. C. Bradbrook has drawn attention to the existence of the same theme in Shakespeare's comedy in her article: 'Virtue is the True Nobility: A Study of the Structure of All's Well That Ends Well', reprinted in Shakespeare. The Comedies, ed. K. Muir (1965), pp.119-132. This article is extremely interesting also for the light it casts on the social and courtly con-

ventions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which underlie many of the assumptions of Shakespeare's comedy. It will be evident that the same assumptions underlie Tirso's comedy.

3. In his Examen of the play in Teatro escogido de Fray Gabriel Téllez, III (Madrid, 1839), p.383.
4. In her introduction to the play.
5. Refs. are by Act, scene and page to Da. Blanca's ed. already referred to in note 1.
6. S. Langer: Feeling and Form (1953). The implications of this view are considered by H. Gardner in her essay: 'As You Like It', reprinted in Shakespeare. The Comedies. ed. K. Muir (1965), pp. 58-71.
7. The first four lines probably refer to a trait of the West Indians perceived by Tirso, and seem to lend support to the view that the play was written after his visit to the Indies. A. Urtiaga draws attention to Tirso's views on the intelligence of the West Indians on p.204 of his El indiano en la dramática de Tirso de Molina (Madrid, 1965), quoting from the Crónica de la Merced: "porque aquel clima influye ingenios capacísimos, puesto que perezosos...".
8. For Miss Kennedy's dating of La prudencia, see her article 'La prudencia en la mujer and the Ambient that Brought It Forth', PMLA, LXIII (1948), 1131-90. C. Samonà, in the introduction to his ed. of the play (Milan, 1967), makes some interesting comments on its structure, which he likens to the diseminativo-recolectivo pattern analysed by D. Alonso in some poetic structures. See D. Alonso and C. Bousoño: Seis calas en la expresión literaria española (Madrid, 1963). The correlation between the sin of pride and the frustration of Don Quixote's apparently noble aims

has been pointed out by Prof. A. A. Parker in his articles:

'El concepto de la verdad en el Quijote', RFE, XXXII (1948), and 'Fielding and the Structure of Don Quijote', BHS, XXXIII (1956). Incidentally, Miss Kennedy, in her article on Ventura te dé..., suggests that the original title of this play may have been Atravimientto y ventura. I should be inclined to think that the title Ventura te dé Dios, hijo is authentic rather than a title given to the play by Morales, as Miss Kennedy suggests. This does not exclude the possibility that the title Atravimientto y ventura is also authentic. As Miss Kennedy points out, it is a perfect title for the play. But three facts support Ventura te dé Dios, hijo as at least an authentic alternative title. First, it is part of a proverb, which, in its complete form, provides the closing lines of the play. The title is also used as a recurrent tag in the course of the play. Secondly, the thematic opposition ventura-saber obviously derives from the proverb. And, finally, it is clear that we must take God into account if we are to make sense of the play's structure and not see it as a haphazard series of incidents.

9. "... the harmonic structure: the structure which by parallel, contrast, or cross-reference, independent perhaps of the cause-and-effect connections of the progressive action, makes us compare one passage or person of the play with another, and so find an enriched significance in both". In 'Themes and Structure in The Comedy of Errors', reprinted in Shakespeare. The Comedies, ed. K. Muir (1965), pp.11-25. The quotation occurs on p.12.
10. The ambiguity noted in these words is a feature of the play. Cf. Grimaldo's use of virtud, to which I have already referred (=valour/virtue). The most obvious example is, of course, the

term ventura itself, which appears to be the luck of the ignorant man but which is in reality the reward of the good man.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. The most important of these studies is, of course, J. Casaldüero's brilliant analysis: 'Sentido y forma de El vergonzoso en palacio', NRFH, XV (1961), 198-216, reprinted in his book: Estudios sobre el teatro español (Madrid, 1962), pp. 83-112. My page references will be to the latter. Aspects touched on by Casaldüero are developed by the following critics: F. Ayala: 'Erotismo y juego teatral en Tirso', Ínsula, XIX (Sept., 1964), no.214, pp. 1,7; R. F. Glenn: 'Disguises and Masquerades in Tirso's El vergonzoso en palacio', EC, XVII (1965), no.2, 16-22 (in some ways, I think Glenn overstates his case - as in his assessment of Antonio). J. M. Viqueira, in his monograph: 'La lusofilia de "Tirso de Molina"', Biblos, XXXVI (1960), 265-489, has some interesting remarks on the Portuguese characters and setting (love, passionate emotions), and the social problem (honour vs. love).
2. El vergonzoso was first published in the Cigarrales (1624). As A. Castro pointed out, there exist two mss. in which the letter in the first act is dated 15th July, 1611. The play was therefore presumably written in that year. (See Castro's ed. of the play in Tirso de Molina. Comedias I, Clás. Cast., 7th ed., Madrid, 1963). Miss Kennedy has convincingly argued for a revision of the play (and especially of Act II) in her article: 'A Reappraisal of Tirso's Relations to Lope and his Theatre', EC, XVII (1966), no.1, pp.1-13 (the first part of the article being in EC, XVII (1965), no.2, 23-34). Da. Blanca, of course, in her introduction to the play, in her edition of the Obras dramáticas completas, I, (Madrid, 1946) also argued, on different grounds, for a revision in

1620-1621 (see especially, pp. 436ff). A revision during these years would also help to account for certain similarities between this play and Ventura te dé Dios, hijo.

3. The elaboration of the theme of the timid lover in Tirso's theatre is discussed by E. Calderà, in his article: 'Un motivo delle commedie "de enredo"; l'elaborazione de El melancólico', in Studi tirsiani (Milan, 1958).
4. Quotations are by Act, scene and page. The ed. used is La. Blanca's, referred to above in note 2.
5. Cf. Casaldueiro: "No se trata de un progreso material ni aun moral. Vemos el sentido del futuro cristiano: la realización de aquello para lo cual ha sido creado"(p.92). And again: "Esos impulsos dan lugar a un movimiento en forma de torbellino, con el eje siempre en el yo, el cual es una realización: la busca de la plenitud querida por Dios" (p.108). Glenn accepts this when he states that the primary theme of the work is the search for identity.
6. Casladueiro makes a similar point when discussing the ending of El burlador in his article: 'El desenlace de El burlador de Sevilla' in Estudios sobre el teatro español [first published in Studia philologica et litteraria in honorem L. Spitzer (Berne, 1958)]: "No se trata de resumir la comedia en el sentido de Barry, ni de establecer una prelación entre la justicia divina y la humana. Sino de mostrar que la última es un reflejo de la primera, pero sobre todo lo que se quiere es realizar la conexión entre lo terrenal y lo supernatural, revelando así la justicia divina, el orden divino que yace bajo el desorden humano." (p.127).
7. J. M. Viqueira: "Puede que sea muy femenino, mas aquí creo que Tirso resbaló hacia un artificio demasiado infantil" (p.344).
8. Cf., too, the crucial mask-scene in Calderón's El pintor de su

deshonra, where the licence of Carnival allows the utterance of anti-social, immoral sentiments. In Calderón's play, the "acting" is more serious than it should be and is carried into "real" life with tragic consequences. I owe this idea to Prof. J. E. Varey.

9. Hartzzenbusch, for example, in his "Examen" of the play is sure that Tirso "al componer esta comedia, no trató de formar una intriga regular y ordenada, sino de pintar mas bien dos personajes originales ..." (Teatro escogido de Fray Gabriel Téllez, vol. X, Madrid, 1841, p.272). For him, the first four scenes "son efectivamente inútiles. La accion debia empezar en la escena diez y seis, y si Tirso hubiera omitido la mayor parte de los personajes, la comedia hubiera tenido mas interés y regularidad." (p.273). P. Muñoz Peña, in his book: El teatro del Maestro Tirso de Molina. Estudio crítico literario (Valladolid, 1889) is even more severe in his criticism: "su mayor inconveniente es tener dos acciones distintas que perjudican grandemente para producir la verdadera ilusión escénica: los amores de D. Antonio y de Serafina son balumba y nada más para la acción de El Vergonzoso que podía desarrollarse perfectamente sin necesidad de ellos" (p.446). He continues: "nada de preparación armónica de las partes con el todo, nada de regularidad en la fábula, ninguna justificación en los detalles, todo es ruido, acción, tropel y movimiento; escenas sin relación unas con otras, ó si existe, muy lejana; falta de precisión y no cifándose nunca el poeta a lo absolutamente indispensable: hé ahí todos los defectos de este drama y de la mayoría de las composiciones de Tirso que siguió en esto el desbarajuste de su maestro Lope." (p.447). Da. Blanca sees the play as unproblematic

in its implications and undistinguished in structure: "no es obra de tesis, ni aspira a resolver problemas, ni contiene situaciones supremas y escalofriantes, ni es dechado de arquitectura dramática ..." (p.435). On Serafina's rehearsal scene, A. Nougué has the following to say: "Ce jeu est en quelque sorte une préfiguration de ce qui pourrait arriver. Cette scène n'est peut-être pas absolument indispensable. C'est le morceau de bravoure de l'auteur qui montre la façon dont il traite le lyrisme". [In his article: 'A propos de l'auto-imitation dans le théâtre de Tirso de Molina', BH, LXIV (2), (1962), 559-566.]

10. E.g., Castro, in his ed. of the play, and E. Calderà in his article referred to.
11. This technique, of course, is to be found also in Shakespeare. An interesting example of the introductory sounding of motifs is to be found in the fierce punning of the opening scene of Julius Caesar. This is the stylistic manifestation of the basic theme of misconception which underlies the whole play and comes to the surface at the end. Cf. Messala's words in V.iii:

O hateful error, melancholy's child,  
Why dost thou show to the apt thoughts of men  
The things that are not?

And, more explicitly, Titinius' words:

Did I not meet thy friends? and did not they  
Put on my brow this wreath of victory,  
And bid me giv't thee? Didst thou not hear their shouts?  
Alas, thou hast misconstru'd everything.

Equally important are the religious implications of the puns. The cobbler is not the only one in the tragedy to "play God", i.e., to arrogate to himself divine functions.

12. All references are to Da. Blanca's edition: Tirso de Molina. Obras

dramáticas completas, I (Madrid, 1946).

13. J. Caro Baroja: 'Honour and Shame: A Historical Account of Several Conflicts', in Honour and Shame, ed. J. G. Peristiany (London, 1965), p.133, note 43.
14. Da. Blanca, in her introductions to these plays, suggests that they satirise the Girón family and, in particular, the Duke of Osuna. The matter is also discussed by R. Avrett: 'Tirso and the Ducal House of Osuna', RR, XXX (1939), 125-32; and W. E. Wilson: 'Did Tirso hate the Girones?', MLQ, V (1944), 27-32. The former does not think that any personal allusion was intended. The latter seems to think that there is a personal allusion, but that it is laudatory, not condemnatory, and that both plays are connected with the political disgrace of Osuna. I am not sure that too much can be made of the name of the hero. After all, in Fuenteovejuna, the Maestre de Calatrava is D. Rodrigo Téllez Girón. In view of the fact that Tirso moved among the upper classes, there is, I grant, a possibility that the allusion in these plays is personal. But if they were originally conceived as particulares, Tirso may have merely been indulging in some leg-pulling.
15. R. L. Kennedy: 'On the Date of Five Plays by Tirso de Molina', HR, X (1942), 183-214.
16. See Cotarelo: Tirso de Molina. Investigaciones bio-bibliográficas (Madrid, 1893), p.213.
17. The information in this paragraph has been obtained from H. A. Rennert: The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega (New York, 1909).
18. Cotarelo and Da. Blanca have drawn attention to this. The play

thus seems to have been written after the publication of the Novelas ejemplares (Cervantes' "dedicatoria" being dated July 14th, 1613) and before (?) the publication of Don Quixote II (the "dedicatoria" dated 31st October, 1615).

19. S. G. Morley and C. Bruerton, in The Chronology of Lope de Vega's 'Comedias' (New York and London, 1940), give the outside dates for El perro as 1613-15. Incidentally, there seems to be, in Quien calla, otorga, a reference (I.xi) to Lope's El despertar a quien duerme, which Morley and Bruerton assign to the period 1610-15 and probably 1610-12. There also seems to be a ref. to this play of Lope's in Marta la piadosa (I.viii).

20. G. E. Wade: 'The Literary Sources of El castigo del pensèque of Tirso de Molina', in South Atlantic Studies for S. E. Leavitt, eds. T. B. Stroup and S. A. Stoudemire (Washington, D.C., 1953), pp.81-96. Wade concludes that Tirso borrowed situations from Lope's El secretario de sí mismo and La ocasión perdida.

According to Wade, Tirso draws his main plot from the latter and the episode of the letter-to-himself from the former. It may be pointed out, first, that there is also a sort of letter-to-himself episode in El vergonzoso, and, secondly, that one cannot validly say that Tirso plagiarised Lope because he used situations found in Lope's plays. Surely these situations are, so to speak, the alphabet, the letters and words, of all drama, and the common property of all playwrights. Originality is to be sought in the way in which these situations are arranged in order to form a plot, a meaningful action. This is not to say that Tirso may not have plagiarised Lope; but I doubt whether "plagiarism" in its strict sense is an appropriate term to describe what Wade is quite properly pointing out.

21. Of course, Cervantes' La gitanilla and La ilustre fregona would fit into this pattern (between El vergonzoso, which they resemble, and El perro, which parodies them.)

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT.

1. In her introduction to the play in Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas, I (Madrid, 1946), pp. 207-219. All quotations refer to this ed.
2. R. L. Kennedy: 'Studies for the Chronology of Tirso's Theatre', HR, XI (1943), 17-46. This dating, of course, would seem to destroy completely E. Calderà's theory of an elaboration of a character type from El melancólico to Quien calla, otorga, without, however, necessarily invalidating all his observations concerning the characters. See his article: 'Un motivo delle commedie "de enredo": l'elaborazione de El Melancólico, in Studi tirsiani (Milan, 1958).
3. Varela Jácome in the introduction to his ed. of the play (Madrid, Aguilar, 1967) refers to it in the section entitled: 'Conflicto social', (pp.22-24). Dr. Paterson also touches on this aspect in his discussion of the play in the introduction to his ed. of La venganza de Tamar (Cambridge University Press, 1969).
4. Referring to this anecdote, Hartzzenbusch observes: "El razonamiento de Carlin en la primera escena de El Melancólico, cuando compara sus amores con los de su burro, no merecia seguramente conservarse". "Observaciones" on Esto sí que es negociar and El melancólico in Teatro escogido de Fray Gabriel Téllez, IX (Madrid, 1841), p.332.
5. "... hay en esta comedia lo que es rarísimo en el teatro de Tellez, á saber, un caracter principal de hombre, que aunque bosquejado nada mas, es digno de atencion, porque tiene cosas muy originales." (p.333).

6. Varela Jácome, in fact, refers in his introduction to the play to this so-called "melancolía preromántica". But the melancholy individual was well-known in the 17th century. See, e.g., Prof. L. C. Knights' discussion of this figure in 17th-century England in Appendix B: 'Seventeenth-Century Melancholy' to his book: Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson (Peregrine Books, 1962, 1st ed., 1937). But what is also very important in Tirso's play is the relation, asserted by the physicians of the period, between melancholy and intelligence. M. de Iriarte comments: 'La opinión, muy repetida por el Dr. Huarte, de que la melancolía es el humor más favorable al ingenio, y aquella frase del Segundo Proemio: "por donde dijo Platón que por maravilla se halla hombre de muy subido ingenio que no pique algo en manía", las tuvo presentes Tirso de Molina, al redactar El Melancólico y particularmente en los siguientes versos:

Toda melancolía  
ingeniosa, es un ramo de manía;  
y no hay sabio que un poco  
(si a Platón damos fe) no toque en loco.'

(El doctor Huarte de San Juan y su examen de ingenios, Madrid, C.S.I.C., 3rd ed., 1948, p.308). As we shall see, Tirso gently mocks the melancholy intellectual in his play.

7. E. Bentley: The Life of the Drama (London, 1965).
8. Prof. Knights, in his book already mentioned, points out that melancholy was often an affectation in England in the 17th century. One wonders at times in Tirso's plays whether Rogerio is not delighting in making a martyr of himself. The social objection he raises to marriage with Leonisa seems deliberately contrived in order to feed his melancholy love. The obstacle seems to serve the same sort of purpose as the marriage of the lady in a courtly-

love relationship. It is designed to frustrate possession and so maintain passion. Is Rogerio, in a way, following Pinardo's original advice?

9. Hartzenbusch has made this point: "La Leonisa de El Melancólico dice que ama con violencia; pero este amor vehemente no se descubre en sus acciones y comportamiento: la Leonisa de Esto sí que es negociar, mas celosa, mas intrépida y arrojada, muestra su pasión en sus obras, é inspira un interés mas fuerte: el carácter de la primera es mas moral, el de la segunda mas dramático" (p.332). The difference is, I think, very important. El melancólico can be seen as a skit on the conventionally "right" situations: Leonisa is a loyally passive woman; Rogerio an absurdly faithful man. The obstacle to their marriage lies in Rogerio's acceptance of a social convention which keeps them apart. The result is an absurd impasse which, I think, Tirso deliberately creates in order to satirise the conventions which lead to it.
10. The pure, perfect love of the main characters is contrasted with other forms of love. There is the interested love of Firela: she is a false friend; she is also prepared to use her love as a weapon to blackmail Carlin in II.xiv. Her love for him has sadistic overtones: we learn that she gives him a sound beating (I.v). Then there is the unnatural love of the Duke, who, however, soon sees his error. Finally, there is Enrique's love, part passion, part ambition.
11. In his Observaciones to the two plays, referred to in note 4 above.
12. In her introductions to the two plays in Tirso de Molina, Obras dramáticas completas. Vol I (Madrid, 1946), pp.207-219,

and Vol. II (Madrid, 1962), pp.697-702. Esto sí que es negociar is in Vol. II, from which quotations are taken.

13. At other points in Esto sí ... one seems to perceive echoes of El melancólico. In II.viii-x, Carlín brings a letter for Rogerio, as he does in El melancólico. But there is no real reason why he should, since Leonisa has already visited Rogerio in II.iii. (In El melancólico, Carlín is a valid messenger). It seems that these scenes were retained in Esto sí ... for their comic content, and especially because they stress the absurdity of Rogerio's situation. Perhaps one regrets in Esto sí ... the loss of the neat burlesque of a conventional dramatic situation which is found in II.xiv of El melancólico. Here, Carlín appears just as Firela is deceitfully telling Leonisa that the chain is Rogerio's gift, brought back by Carlín. Normally, Carlín's appearance would mean the unmasking of Firela; but, instead, he is blackmailed into consenting tacitly to whatever Firela says. This burlesque of a conventional dramatic situation can be seen again in the ending of the play, where the conventional marriages are delayed. (This ending is kept in Esto sí ..., but in an attenuated form.) The burlesque scenes noted in El melancólico are consonant with the overall intention of the play, which is to ridicule the literary convention of a perfect love, found especially in pastoral (Neo-Platonic) literature.
14. Hartzzenbusch suggested that the reason for the writing was Rogerio's close resemblance to Philip II. Tirso may have thought "que era una falta de respeto pintar enamorado de una pastora á un hombre en quien suponian retratado al adusto Felipe . . . . Tellez para librarse de la acusacion de haber intentado sacar

al teatro los amores secretos del rey difunto, escribiria entonces la refundicion que tituló Esto sí que es negociar, sustituyendo á la melancolía de Rogerio, de la que apenas dejó vestigios, las ingeniosas travesuras de la serrana" (p.331).

- 15. This situation is clearly similar to the one in La celosa de sí misma, where a man's emotional attitude towards a woman is controlled by the latter's dress or disguise.

NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE.

1. In her introduction to the play in Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas, vol.I (Madrid, 1946), pp.315-23. All quotations, by Act, scene and line, refer to this ed. The document is on p.109 of this vol. The other two plays are Cómo han de ser los amigos and El saber guardar su hacienda.
2. G. E. Wade: 'Tirso's Cigarrales de Toledo. Some Clarifications and Identifications', HR, XXXIII (1965), 246-72. The information is in note 8 on p.252.
3. The relationship between the main plot and the sub-plot is the same as that in Lope's exemplary plays, which has been studied by D. Marín in: La intriga secundaria en el teatro de Lope de Vega, (Univ. of Toronto Press, 1958). Marín points out that the plays of ejemplarización - historical, legendary, and hagiographical - (as opposed to the less didactic plays, intended as entertainment), have "separate sub-plots intended to throw into relief the main plot and underline the lessons to be learnt from it". [I quote from Prof. J. E. Varey's review of the book in BHS, XLIV (1967), p.62.] Here, Tirso is clearly following Lope's technique.
4. A comparison of the story presented in Tirso's play with the historical facts of Sixto's life has been made by G. Guastavino Gallent in his article: 'Sobre La elección por la virtud, de Tirso', Revista de Literatura, XXVII (1965), 51-63. It emerges that Tirso makes some significant changes in his story for the sake of his thesis. Guastavino has been unable to identify a definite source for Tirso's play.
5. This has been pointed out by T. E. May in his article:

- 'El condenado por desconfiado. 1. The Enigmas. 2. Anareto',  
BHS, XXXV (1958), 138-56.
6. There are echoes of this speech in Ventura te dé Dios, hijo:  
[GRIMALDO:] y cuando en Césaro empieza,  
acabe en él su linaje.  
I.vii. p.1645a.
7. K. Vossler: Lecciones sobre Tirso de Molina. (Madrid, 1965),  
p.60.
8. L. L. Schücking: 'Direct Self-Explanation', in Shakespeare  
Criticism: 1919-1935, selected by A. Ridler (O.U.P., 1965, 1st  
ed., 1936), pp.152-79.
9. A. A. Heathcote: The Portrayal of Women Characters in the  
Religious Plays of Tirso de Molina. M.A. Thesis, Manchester,  
1954, p.65.
10. The use of "Adivas" is curious, and I have not been able to find  
a satisfactory explanation for it. It is, of course, a humorous  
substitution for "Evas". One is tempted to say that the rhyme  
was the main consideration here. But there is possibly another  
explanation. The word is, of course, a genuine one. It means  
"jackals" and in the plural also means "vives", i.e., an in-  
flammation in the neck of animals. I can only suggest tentatively  
that Tirso deliberately uses a word which refers to an animal to  
reinforce his point about the basic equality of all men. This  
is consonant with the use of the word "vencejos" in the main  
"debate" to refer (metaphorically) to humans.
11. For the dates of some of these plays, see R. L. Kennedy's  
articles: (1) 'Notes on Two Interrelated Plays of Tirso:  
El amor y el amistad and Ventura te dé Dios, hijo', HR, XXVIII  
(1960), 189-214; (2) 'Literary and Political Satire in Tirso's  
La fingida Arcadia' in The Renaissance Reconsidered. Smith College

Studies in History, XLIV (1964), Northampton, Mass., pp.

91-110; and (3) 'Tirso's No hay peor sordo: Its Date and Place of Composition', in Homenaje a Rodríguez-Moñino, vol. I (Madrid, 1966), pp. 261-78. Da. Blanca de los Ríos has suggested that La huerta de Juan Fernández is a late play in her introduction to it in vol. III of her ed. Dr. Paterson, in his ed. of La venganza de Tamar (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1969), has assigned the play to the period 1621-1624.

12. Morley and Bruerton in their book: The Chronology of Lope de Vega's 'Comedias' (New York, 1940), assign El perro to 1613 and El villano to 1611-1616. They record that Montesinos assigns the latter to 1611. M. Bataillon has also linked La pícara Justina (1605) with certain aspects of the career of Rodrigo Calderón. See his articles: 'Don Rodrigo Calderón Anverso', Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique (Classe des Lettres), 5e série, XLV (1959), no.12, 595-616; '"La picaresca". A propos de La pícara Justina', in Wort und Text. Festschrift für Fritz Schalk, (Frankfurt am Main, 1963), pp. 233-50; and 'Les nouveaux chrétiens dans l'essor du roman picaresque', Neophilologus (1964), 203-98. In his article: 'El villano en su rincón', BH, LI (1949), 5-38, LII (1950), 397, Bataillon links Lope's play with the political incidents of the time. He does not, however, offer an explanation for the fact that it is a peasant and his family who are exalted. In the light of his subsequent findings concerning La pícara Justina, it would seem that the play may have been an implicit comment on the efforts of Calderón to prove his nobility and limpieza. As Bataillon points out, his initial moves were to have titles of nobility conferred on his relatives. Tirso's play, like Lope's, would seem to argue that true nobility is not to be acquired by money or schemes, but is nobility of soul. In considering the possibility that Tirso's play may have been revived

in 1621-22, it may be useful to bear in mind that Rodrigo Calderón was executed on 21st October, 1621, which would have created an ironical background for the staging of the play. The fact that many people (Tirso included) were incensed by the "new-broom" policies of Philip IV and Olivares, i.e., the disgrace of Philip III's ministers and the advancement of Olivares and his favourites, not manifestly on grounds of worth and virtue, would have given extra topical significance to the play.

13. For a discussion of this point, see A. A. Parker's review of A. G. Reichenberger's ed. of Lope's Carlos V en Francia (Univ. of Pennsylvania Press and O.U.P., 1962) in BHS, XLIV (1967), 129-31.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TEN

1. First published in Tirso's Quinta parte (Madrid, 1636). The title is a curious one. It does not, of course, refer to the 12-syllable line known as the arte mayor. But there is the implicit opposition between the arte mayor and the arte menor, the latter being associated with simplicity, the former with greater artifice and complexity. The arte mayor, therefore, implies a courtly, discreto way of behaving. This is evidently the meaning which must be associated with the lovers' code. The latter is heralded in Lope's final words at the end of Act II:

De amar por arte mayor  
 verá el discreto experiencias.  
 II.xviii. p.1194b.

The term is explicitly associated with the lovers' means of communication in III.viii. Here, Lope, when about to read the letter addressed to him, says:

Leedme filosofía  
 de amar por arte mayor.  
 Sabrá el mundo que es error  
 decir que es de amor la esencia  
 inclinación y no ciencia,  
 pues ya estudia artes amor.  
 III.viii. p.1203b.

Here, clearly, "artes" also means "mañas", i.e., "tricks". Love has got to study "artes" because the King and his sister have confused the burlas and veras of life. Everything has been inverted, made topsy-turvy. Love therefore has to be clever and cunning to survive. The result, of course, is the ingenious letters composed in Act III, which may be aptly regarded as "obras de arte mayor": cf. Diccionario de Autoridades: "Obra de arte mayor. Se dice por ponderación de la que es mui realzada, primorósa y acabada". Hartzzenbusch comments in his "Examen" of this play:

"El título de Amar por arte mayor parece que significa 'amar escribiéndose cartas en versos divididos en dos partes á imitacion de los de arte mayor.' ...¿Quería Tellez tambien que este título abrazara dos sentidos, y significase ademas 'amar correspondiéndose con gran arte, con arte superior, con un secreto sumamente ingenioso?' No es imposible, y en cualquiera de las dos acepciones es propio." (Teatro escogido de Fray Gabriel Téllez, XI, Madrid, 1841, p.216.)

2. All references to Amar por arte mayor are by Act, scene and page to Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas, III, ed. B. de los Ríos (Madrid, 1958).
3. See, e.g., H. Thomas's introduction to his translation of the play (The Star of Seville, Oxford, 1950, pp.ix-x), and the introduction by Hill to La Estrella de Sevilla, eds. Reed, Dixon and Hill, (Boston, 1939) pp.xxx-xxxiv.
4. A certain amount of confusion attends the story of Philip's designs on the Duchess of Albuquerque. Mme. D'Aulnoy, in her Relation du voyage d'Espagne, tells us that the lady in question was the above Duchess. Bertaut, in his Journal d'un voyage, names the lady as the Duquesa de Veragua (who was the sister of the Duquesa de Albuquerque). It is possible that both references are to the same incident, though there is some difference in details. (For details, see J. Deleito y Pifúela: El rey se divierte, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1955, pp.21ff.) Marañón agrees that there may be some truth in the rumour (El Conde-Duque de Olivares, 3rd ed., Madrid, 1952, p.39). The only concrete evidence we have of a similar incident is reported in a letter of 14th January, 1656, written by Sor María de Ágreda, in which she says that she has received news "que el Rey está con sus mocedades antiguas y que

le habian herido" (quoted by Marañón). The date is, of course, very late, although it is not impossible, as Sor María suggests, that the King had been involved in similar incidents before.

5. C. E. Aníbal: 'Observations on La Estrella de Sevilla', HR, II (1934), 1-38. According to Morley and Bruerton (The Chronology of Lope de Vega's 'Comedias', New York, 1940, pp.241-42), the play may have been written between 1604 and 1608, probably between 1604 and 1606.
6. S. E. Leavitt: The 'Estrella de Sevilla' and Claramonte, (Harvard, 1931), pp.19ff.
7. For an account of this trip, see J. Delcito y Piñuela, op. cit., section LXXXI ("El Rey en Sevilla"),
8. Marañón has pointed out (pp.37-40) that Olivares was not Philip's alcahuete. There is ample evidence, however, as Marañón admits, that popular opinion regarded him as such.
9. See the introduction to the play in Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca. Obras completas, II, ed. A. Valbuena Briones, (Madrid, 1956), pp. 51-56. The dating of this play and also of Saber del mal y del bien, to which I refer later, is supported in N. D. Shergold and J. E. Varey: 'Some Early Calderón Dates', BHS, XXXVIII (1961), 274-86.
10. The date of Saber del mal y del bien is 1628. I am indebted to Prof. A. A. Parker for having drawn my attention to its thematic connexion with La Estrella and other related plays, and also to the chronological proximity of these plays.
11. Act I, p.115b. All references are to the ed. of A. Valbuena Briones: Calderón. Obras completas, I, (Madrid, 1959).
12. This play is included in the 2nd vol. of Valbuena Briones' ed. of Calderón (already referred to), pp. 1204-43. References are

by Act and page. The accusation levelled at Álvaro is curious. He is the King's privado and we know that Olivares, Philip's privado, was popularly supposed to be his alcahuete.

13. E. Cotarelo: Ensayo sobre la vida y obras de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca, (Madrid, 1924), p.235n.
14. See E. Cotarelo: Tirso de Molina: Investigaciones bio-bibliográficas (Madrid, 1893), p.168. Also, A. Valbuena Briones, in his introduction to the play, loc. cit., p.1203.
15. E. M. Wilson: 'Seven Aprobaciones by Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca', in Homenaje a Dámaso Alonso, III, (Madrid, 1963), 605-618.
16. Act III. p.1237a. Tirso's Deleytar aprovechando was published in Madrid in 1635, in the same year, that is, as his Quinta parte. See E. Cotarelo: Comedias de Tirso de Molina, I, (Madrid, 1906), pp.xlviii-liii.
17. See p.3 of the introduction to C. A. Jones' ed. of this play (Oxford, 1966).
18. In her introduction to the play in Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas, III (Madrid, 1958), pp. 1163-66.
19. G. E. Wade: 'Notes on Tirso de Molina', HR, VII (1939), 69-72.
20. A. K. G. Paterson: Tirso de Molina. An Edition of 'La venganza de Tamar' with bibliographical, textual and Literary Criticism. Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1965. I am grateful to Dr. Paterson for having allowed me to consult his copy of his thesis.
21. Noticias de Madrid, 1621-1627, ed. A. González Palencia, (Madrid, 1942), pp. 161-162.
22. G. Marañón, note 22, pp.175-6. The letter in the Biblioteca Nacional is given as Mss. 954, f.1.430.
23. Deleito y Piñuela, p.19. As will be realised, Deleito has erred

with respect to the name of the parent, which should, in fact, be the "Marquesa de Charela". According to an editor's note to one of the letters of the Jesuits (Memorial histórico español, XIV, Madrid, 1862, p.8, note 1): "D. Antonio Manrique estuvo casada con una señora siciliana, que fué marquesa de Ciarella". The death of the King's bastard son is recorded in these Cartas de los jesuitas (M.H.E., XIII, Madrid, 1861). Diego Díaz de Meneses, writing from Madrid on 28th March, 1634, states: "De Guipúzcoa escriben que murió allí, en la villa de Heybar, donde residia, D. Fernando Francisco de Austria, por otro nombre el Charelo, hijo del rey". (p.30). On p.51 of the same volume, Francisco Viches, in a letter dated 21st May, 1634, mentions the subject also: "El niño, hijo del Rey extra matrimonium, murió en Vizcaya, donde se criaba: vacó la encomienda de gran Prior; que era, por su muerte; á su madre hará falta: allá está en Nápoles."

24. See Deleito y Piñuela, op. cit., in which a section is devoted to "Los bastardos reales".
25. A. G. de Amezá: 'Unas notas sobre la Calderona' in Estudios hispánicos. Homenaje a Archer M. Huntington, (Wellesley, Mass., 1952), pp.15-37.
26. Deleito y Piñuela, pp. 27ff.
27. Deleito, p.19. There would seem to be a contradiction here with Marañón's account and a possible inaccuracy on Deleito's part if the "mercedes" the Marquesa pleads for in her letter are the "galeras".
28. On the other hand, one wonders exactly what part Medina de las Torres played in the affair of La Calderona. According to Marañón (p.280), María died in July, 1626, and Philip's affair

with the actress seems to have begun in the summer of 1627. For Medina de las Torres, who, in Marañón's words, was a "gran amigo de comediantas" and "un personaje galante y afortunado donjuán" (p.279), a year's mourning at the lively court of Philip IV would strike us as excessive. In any case, as Amezáa mentions, it was D. Ramiro who made a house available to La Calderona during her pregnancy, and Marañón informs us that the Duke was an intimate friend of the King's. In fact, "Tan grande fué esta intimidad con el Rey, que éste le confió el cuidado de Don Juan de Austria, el hijo bastardo que hubo de la Calderona, que fué educado en León, patria de Don Ramiro, donde era a la sazón corregidor el poeta Ulloa, protegido suyo" (p.279, note 37). To this one may add the rumour, current at the time, that Medina de las Torres was, in fact, the father of La Calderona's son. This rumour may have been quite unfounded, but it is clear that the Duke was considerably involved in the Calderona affair. Deleito gives us a curious bit of information: "pero sí es cosa cierta que el destierro sufrido entonces por el duque de Medina de las Torres se atribuyó entre el vulgo a celos del monarca" (p.27). So far, I have been unable to discover more information concerning this supposed exile of the Duke's. This is unlikely to be a reference to his appointment as viceroy of Naples, consequent upon his marriage, in 1638, to the Princess of Stigliano (cf. Marañón, p.283). If D. Ramiro was, in fact, exiled in 1627 or thereabouts, the parallel between him and the Lope of Tirso's play becomes even closer.

29. On p.1166 of her introduction to the play.
30. R. L. Kennedy: 'A Reappraisal of Tirso's Relations to Lope and his Theatre', EC, XVII (1965), no.2, 23-34 and XVIII (1966), no.1,

1-13. This article also contains a valuable summary of earlier work on this topic by Miss Kennedy.

31. For details, see Deleito, p.40.

32. R. L. Kennedy: 'Studies for the Chronology of Tirso's Theatre', HR, XI (1943), 17-46.

33. R. L. Kennedy: 'A Reappraisal ...'. See also R. L. Kennedy: 'Literary and Political Satire in Tirso's La fingida Arcadia' in The Renaissance Reconsidered, Smith College Studies in History, XLIV, (1964), Northampton, Mass., pp.91-110.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ELEVEN.

1. This play was first published in Tirso's Primera parte (Seville and Madrid, 1627). Da. Blanca de los Ríos assigns it to 1610 or 1611 in her introduction in Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas, vol. II (2nd ed., Madrid, 1962), pp.53-64. Her two main reasons for this are as follows. She suggests that Tirso visited Galicia twice, in 1607-1612 and 1619-1620. She (rightly, I think) states that the description of the Galician countryside and the atmosphere of the play lead one to conclude that they are the reflection of Tirso's personal experience. What makes her assign the play to the period of the first supposed visit is the fact that she sees in the anti-semitic passages in the play a reference to the expulsion of the moriscos by Felipe III in 1608-1614. (See also J. H. Elliott: Imperial Spain, London, 1963, pp.299-303, for a brief account of this expulsion). Da. Blanca also points out some resemblances between this play and La peña de Francia and La villana de la Sagra. These arguments seem plausible to me. On the other hand, I would tentatively draw attention to some other points which suggest a much later date of composition. Mari-Hernández and Antona García (a late play) have a number of features in common. The action of both plays takes place in roughly the same historical period: Antona García in the reign of Afonso, Mari-Hernández in the reign of his successor, Juan II. The Castilian-Portuguese hostility is the essential framework in which both plays are set. Both have long opening speeches, giving a résumé of the historical situation which is largely accurate factually. One wonders whether Tirso may have been reading up on the history of this period, which would

suggest that Antona García and Mari-Hernández may have been written at about the same time. In Mari-Hernández, as in Antona García, the Portuguese are identified, dramatically, with the enemy, although Tirso normally tends to present them in a favourable light. In both plays there is a María who is a mujer varonil. In both, also, there is a contest between a peasant woman and a woman of the upper classes: María vs. Antona in Antona García, María vs. Beatriz in Mari-Hernández. There is an opposition between nobles and peasants, and some members of the upper classes show a more just appreciation of the peasants - the Queen and Penamacor in Antona García, and Monterrey and the King in Mari-Hernández. Apart from these common factors (which may be mere coincidences) it is clear that most of the plays which Da. Blanca includes in the so-called "ciclo galaico-portugués" belong to the period 1619-1622, i.e., they are late plays. A glance at those she lists on p.54b is enough to indicate that. Again, there is a Don Egas in Mari-Hernández, and, in Las quinas de Portugal, probably Tirso's last play, there is a Don Egas de Muñiz. To complete this circle of motifs, the phrase "quinas portuguesas" occurs twice in the opening scene of Antona García. (I.i. p.409a, 409b of Da. Blanca's ed., vol.III). As regards the anti-semitic references, Miss Kennedy has suggested that these are not strong in Tirso's plays before 1620. [See her article: 'La prudencia en la mujer and the Ambient that Brought It Forth', PMLA, LXIII (1948), 1131-90.] In view of the historical accuracy of some of the details in Mari-Hernández, I see no objection to regarding the anti-semitic references as a reflection of historical fact. As is well known, when the Jews were expelled from Spain by the Reyes Católicos, many of them went to Portugal, where John II

extended his protection to them. Furthermore, it seems to me that Tirso ridicules this anti-semitism somewhat in the play. Linked to this is the fact that almost all the political motives in the play turn out to be mistaken: can one extend this to the policy regarding the Jews? However, it must be admitted that it is largely the Portuguese policies which are criticised, not the Castilian. This brings me to another point. Mari-Hernández also contains an unfavourable portrait of the King. He listens to flatterers, he acts precipitately and unjustly. At the end, he discovers his errors. As will be clear, this treatment of the King suggests Tirso's later plays - cf. La prudencia en la mujer, and my remarks concerning Amar por arte mayor. (I shall develop this point in note 2). There is also an amusing speech by Caldeira in III.xxii. p.107a (in vol.II of Da. Blanca's ed. already mentioned):

Si otra vez la hablare más,  
 si diere causa a tu ofensa,  
 plegue a Dios que siendo calvo,  
 traiga postizas guedejas;  
 en humo tome el tabaco;  
 sílbeme, siendo poeta;  
 en comedias de tramoyas,  
 salgan mal las apariencias.

The image of the wig is, of course, familiar to us from Pedro Crespo's speech in the first act of El alcaide de Zalamea. But I should not be surprised if it also contains a topical allusion in Tirso's play. What I am primarily interested in, however, is the satirical reference to "comedias de tramoyas" (one wonders who the poet silbado was: Alarcón?). This may be a reference to Vélez de Guevara. In that case, this play seems to anticipate the attack on him (and through him on Olivares) in La fingida Arcadia (1622). See R. L. Kennedy: 'Literary and Political Satire

in Tirso's La fingida Arcadia', in The Renaissance Reconsidered.  
Smith College Studies in History, XLIV (1964), Northampton, Mass.,  
 pp.91-110. Finally, a word on style. There is Beatriz's sarcastic  
 use of medical imagery in II.xiii. p.89b:

Quien tan bien penas divierte,  
 y con tanta prevención  
 a enfermedades de ausencia  
 tan presto antídoto halló  
 . . . . .  
 si no es que le dais el pulso  
 vos enfermo, ella doctor.

There seem to be echoes here of Tirso's preoccupation with doctors  
 (which also occur in La prudencia en la mujer and El amor médico,  
 both late plays). Next, there is the serious use of the culto  
 style: cf. Alvaro's lyrical speech in II.xi. This more serious  
 use of an artificial, culto style seems typical of the late Tirso.  
 There may be a case for arguing that Tirso's satire of the culto  
 style comes to a climax in La celosa. After that, he moves on to  
 other things, and is less hostile to it. (To prove this point  
 would require a close study of Tirso's style.) There are also in  
Mari-Hernández scattered hints of the confusión theme, which is  
 standard in Calderón. Cf. Alvaro's words: "¿Hay confusiones como  
 éstas?" (III.xix p.106a); and again, his soliloquy in III.xxi  
 p.106b, and again, his soliloquy in III.xxi. p.106b, beginning:

¡Hombre con amor y celos  
 por mí! Confusas quimeras  
 en lugar de averiguaros,  
 más mi dicha os enreda.  
 . . . . .

Finally, there is the marvellous lyrical scene in II.x, to which  
 I shall return later, and which begins with the fomance: "Mal  
 segura zagaleja". E. M. Wilson and J. Sage refer to it in their  
 book: Poesías líricas en las obras dramáticas de Calderón (London,  
 1964), p.99. The authors point out that it has been attributed to

Villamediana (d.1622) and Antonio de Mendoza (d.1644), Montesinos inclining to favour the authorship of the latter. It seems to have been first published in 1621 in the Primavera y flor de los mejores romances que han salido aora nueuamente en esta Corte . . ., collected by P. Arias Pérez (Madrid, 1621), and edited by J. F. Montesinos, 1954. Only the first four lines occur in Tirso's play:

Mal segura zagaleja,  
la de los lindos ojuelos,  
grave honor de los azules,  
dulce afrenta de los negros.

After this, Tirso goes his own way. Nevertheless, the version in Primavera advises the "Zagala" to be more sparing of her favours. By citing the opening lines, Tirso is probably hinting at the course the courtship between María and Álvaro has been taking. However, what is more interesting is the fact that Arias dedicates his anthology to Tirso. Montesinos can only identify one of the romances as definitely belonging to Tirso ("Pero Gil amava a Menga"). He points out that the one in Mari-Hernández must have been popular. There are two possibilities here: either that Arias, on including the romance, was aware of Tirso's use of it, or that Tirso, having read the collection, was impressed by the lines and incorporated them into his play. In the first case, the play would be prior to Sept., 1621 (the earliest date is that of the aprobación of the Primavera by Juan de Jáuregui - 16th Sept., 1621); in the latter, it would be some time after 10th Nov., 1621, the date of the tasa. But, to return to the romance itself, in Tirso's play, María's eyes are still blue, which, if we consider Miss Kennedy's arguments, would indicate that the play was written sometime before the sumptuary laws which were in force from 11th November, 1622 to

22nd March, 1623. See R. L. Kennedy: 'Certain Phases of the Sumptuary Decrees of 1623 and their Relation to Tirso's Theatre', HR, X (1942), 91-115. In view of these pieces of evidence, none conclusive by itself, there may be a case for suggesting that Mari-Hernández is a late play. If the points I have made have any validity, they would indicate that the play was probably composed around 1621. C. Bruerton also comments: "Con 47.4% de romance y 5.2% de silva, esta comedia es típica del período 1622-25, al cual otros investigadores la han asignado. Fue representada en palacio antes de abril de 1625", in his review of Da. Blanca's ed. of the first vol. of Tirso's plays (Madrid, 1946), NRFH, III (1949), 189-96. See also note 2.

2. The play is set in the aftermath of the "Guerra de la Beltraneja". Peace has not been established completely: there are still border skirmishes. An attempt is being made to ensure lasting peace by a marriage between the Portuguese Prince and the Infanta of Castile. This is what the Conde alludes to in III.xxiv. p.107b. John sought to bring about the revocation of the treaty of Moura (which stipulated that the heir to the Portuguese throne should marry the eldest daughter of Fernando and Isabel). A new agreement was suggested which would provide for a marriage between the Portuguese heir and the second daughter of the Reyes Católicos. The main reason for John's move was his wish to remove his children from under the tutelage of the Duchess of Viseu, D. Beatriz, in Moura, where, under the terms of the original treaty, they had been lodged as pledges. John was informed that Bragança had other plans of his own, viz., a marriage between a bastard daughter of Ferdinand and a boy of his line. Therefore John feared for the safety of Prince Afonso. The Castilians were

suspicious and for some time were reluctant to negotiate. The situation is reflected in Tirso's play. As will be obvious, the historical allusions in the play conform fairly closely to historical fact. See H. V. Livermore: A History of Portugal (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1947), pp.211-221, Chap. XIV: 'The Renaissance Monarchy'. Juan's harsh treatment of the nobles (most being members of the Bragança family) was intended primarily to curb their authority, Afonso having conferred excessive favours on them. (The same process was, of course, in progress in Castile under the Reyes Católicos.) Apparently, John's harshness was to some extent justified, although he seems to have been unnecessarily cruel. The grisly detail of the execution of Montemor in effigy is accurate. Alvaro de Ataide was Bragança's brother. (Tirso makes him his cousin: "Yo que como primo suyo" I.i p.66a). He was given permission to leave Portugal. Penamacor, whom we shall meet in Antona García, fled to London. It is clear that Tirso paints the King in an unfavourable light: the only mitigating circumstance is the fact that he is too prone to listen to traitors. The reason for this is not entirely clear. I am inclined to suspect that there is some criticism of the policies of Philip IV here. If this is so, the play would definitely have been written after 31st March, 1621, the date of Philip's accession. The same sort of criticism is to be found in La prudencia en la mujer. See R. L. Kennedy: 'La prudencia en la mujer and the Ambient that Brought It Forth', PMLA, LXIII (1948), 1131-90. (In note 9, p.1135, she refers to a theory of Millé y Giménez's that a number of plays whose concluding lines bear Tirso's name may have been written in 1621-1622. Among these is Mari-Hernández.) If there is a connexion between Tirso's play and

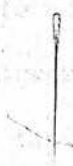
the political events of 1621, is one to see a reference to Rodrigo Calderón's execution in that of Montemor? The fact that, in the play, the King's actions turn out in the end to be misguided could be seen as a clear warning to Philip and Olivares. At the same time, the close historical references to the events of John II's reign may have been Tirso's own way of protecting himself. Yet the implications are ambiguous at the very least. For example, in the play, the King visits Beatriz at night: he is in love with her and is jealous because he suspects he has a rival. This action is hardly decorous, which is clearly implied in the play. The King seems to be abusing his power. But it has a basis in fact. John made the nobles swear a new oath of allegiance, "comprising a declaration of vassalage couched in the humblest style, a promise to receive the King 'at the top and at the bottom, by night and by day, and at any hour and time' . . .". (Livermore, p.211). John's order to Álvaro to marry María is, of course, consonant with his policy of supporting the charges of the peasants against the nobility.

3. Their meeting is, of course, the traditional encounter of a nobleman with a serrana, a situation burlesqued in the Libro de Buen Amor. There is a burlesque element in the portrayal of María and also, as we shall see, in that of Antona García. At the bottom of the situation in Mari-Hernández, there is a clash between an idealistic and a realistic convention, the artificial, courtly pastoral convention and the realistic, rustic one. Idealistic literature was, of course, considered irresponsible because escapist and immoral. To carry an idealistic, literary attitude into "real life" would be doubly irresponsible. For a discussion of these views on idealistic literature and the rise of a

realistic literature in the 17th century, see A. A. Parker: Literature and the Delinquent, (Edinburgh University Press, 1967).

4. It will be obvious by now that such scenes as this abound in Tirso's plays and are, in fact, mock formal debates, whose aim is to prove a point. Dr. Paterson has drawn attention to the fact that Tirso's characters are often arguing a case (in his Ph.D. thesis: Tirso de Molina. An Edition of 'La venganza de Tamar', with bibliographical, textual and literary criticism, Cambridge, 1965).
5. Cf. the situations in Don Quijote and La vida es sueño. In this interpretation of Don Quijote, I follow that put forward by Prof. A. A. Parker in his article: 'El concepto de la verdad en el Quijote', RFE, XXXII (1948).
6. Hartzbusch observes that in her lie to the King, "Miente demasiado bien María, porque el espectador la cree" (on p.227 of his Examen of this play in Teatro escogido de Fray Gabriel Téllez, vol. IV, Madrid, 1839). This, I think, is deliberately intended by Tirso. Álvaro has confused the burlas and veras of life. The resolution of the ensuing confusion is achieved by María's doing the same.
7. This episode is most likely a deliberate reminiscence of the duel between Bradamante and Marfisa in Canto XXXVI of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso. In Ariosto's account, the two women begin by fighting with lances on horseback, then on foot with swords, which they abandon for daggers, which in turn give way to fists and feet. Just as Ruggiero parts them here, Álvaro parts María and Beatriz in Mari-Hernández. As we shall see, Penamacor also intervenes in fights between Antona and María in Antona García.

8. The close and systematic parody of the main plot in the subplot of this play has been noted by E. Gijón in her book: El humor en Tirso de Molina, (Madrid, 1959), pp.128-32.



NOTES TO CHAPTER TWELVE.

1. Miss R. L. Kennedy has argued that the play was written or revised in February or early March, 1623, in her article: 'On the Date of Five Plays by Tirso de Molina', HR, X (1942), 183-214. Miss M. Wilson, on p.ix of the introduction to her ed. of the play (Manchester Univ. Press, 1957), suggests that revision may have taken place as late as 1625. Miss Wilson has given a summary of the historical background to the play on pp. x-xiii. She draws attention to the fact that Tirso does not follow historical fact closely: "... it is pointless to look here or elsewhere for Tirso's source, since his version is so remote from historical facts as to make it plain that he did not know them, and was drawing on the bare tradition linked with the name of Antona, plentifully eked out by his own inventiveness" (pp. xii-xiii). Da. Blanca de los Ríos assigns the play to the year 1622, seeing in it reflections of Tirso's quarrel with Lope. See her introduction to the play in Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas, III (Madrid, 1958). Da. Blanca did not live to complete the intro., so her commentary is not as extensive as is usual with her. My quotations, by Act, scene, and line, refer to this ed.
2. E. L. McClelland: Tirso de Molina; Studies in Dramatic Realism, (Liverpool, 1948), Chap.III, pp.69-70.
3. C. A. Soons: 'Two Historical Comedias and the Question of Manierismo', RF, LXXIII (1961), 339-346. This article, translated into Spanish, is reprinted in his book: Ficción y comedia en el siglo de oro, (Madrid, 1967).
4. It does not, however, appear to be wholly valid. Consider the

implications for the social structure of Lope's El villano en su rincón and El perro del hortelano.

5. D. Worcester: The Art of Satire, (Cambridge, Mass., 1940). Chapter III, section V: "Grotesque Satire".
6. This has been discussed by Prof. A. A. Parker in his book: Literature and the Delinquent (Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1967).
7. Perhaps a brief word on Bartolo's portrayal may be added. As I have stated, his grotesque courting of Gila in I.iii foreshadows Penamacor's courting of Antona in I.v-vi. (There is a parallel situation in El melancólico, as will be remembered.) More interesting is his love of money. In I.ii, he asks the Queen for "media cadena". His love of money is seen again in II.v. In this scene, his principal function is to criticise the barbarous actions of the Portuguese. One of their worst actions was to deprive him of his burra. His grief at her loss and his description of her qualities make it difficult not to suspect that Tirso is wickedly hinting at an unnatural love here - to be compared, of course, with the other "unnatural" (but right) love between Antona and Penamacor. However, Bartolo is promised enough money to buy two more burras - which prevents him from committing suicide.
8. For a discussion of the division of styles, see E. Auerbach's Mimesis (New York, Anchor Books, 1957. 1st ed., 1946). See also E. C. Riley: Cervantes's Theory of the Novel (O.U.P., 1964. 1st published, 1962), and in particular, Chap. IV, section 2: "Style and Decorum". Tirso's handling of the three styles is to be noticed. While the separation of styles is not a constant feature of his plays, it would seem that at times he deliberately exploits its possibilities. The clash of styles is evident in

Antona García, perhaps nowhere more prominently than in the initial interview between Antona and the Queen. But the existence of a symbolic counter-current which asserts a certain equality between Antona and Isabel seems to be significant. Is this, perhaps, Tiso's way of saying that the literary division of styles is absurd, since noble qualities are to be found in the lower classes too? It may be said, at least, that, at times, a deliberate stylistic tension seems to point to a factual one.

NOTES TO APPENDIX A.

1. A. K. G. Paterson: 'Tirso de Molina: Two Bibliographical Studies.' HR, XXXV (1967), 43-68.
2. 'Catálogo razonado ...' in Comedias escogidas de Fray Gabriel Téllez, ed. J. E. Hartzenbusch, B.A.E. vol. V (Madrid, 1848)
3. E. Cotarelo y Mori: Tirso de Molina. Investigaciones bio-bibliográficas (Madrid, 1893)
4. M. Menéndez y Pelayo: 'Tirso de Molina' in Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria, III (Madrid, 1941), pp.74-5.
5. In her introduction to the play in Tirso de Molina. Obras dramáticas completas, I (Madrid, 1946), pp. 499-504. Quotations, by Act, scene, and page, are taken from this edition.
6. In his article: 'Una comedia de Tirso que no es de Tirso' Archivo hispalense, 2a época, VII (1946), 99-107, Santiago Montoto shows that La reina de los reyes is by Hipólita de Vergara.
7. In his study: 'Un motivo delle commedie "de enredo": l'elaborazione de El melancólico'. In Studi tirsiani (Milan, 1958), p.95.
8. S. G. Morley: 'El uso de las combinaciones métricas en las comedias de Tirso de Molina.' BH, XVI (1914), 177-208. The danger of basing any firm conclusions on this (a danger stressed by Morley) is evident when we consider that La reina de los reyes also has a normal verse-pattern, while El condenado presents so-called anomalies.
9. I am grateful to Prof. A. A. Parker for having drawn my attention to this aspect of the play.
10. It will be clear that an analogous situation is central to Alarcón's La verdad sospechosa and Las paredes oyen.

11. This term was first used by B. Malinowski. See B. Malinowski: The Language of Magic and Gardening. (Coral Gardens and Their Magic. Vol. II). (2nd ed., London, 1966). Malinowski used the term in a rather restricted, concrete sense; it was broadened by Firth and his disciples. See the introduction to the vol. mentioned.
12. This statement occurs in Malinowski's appendix to Ogden and Richards': The Meaning of Meaning and is quoted on p.xi of the introduction to The Language of Magic and Gardening.
13. This would be an example of what E. Berne calls a "crossed transaction". Florela's "Adult" speaks to the Conde's "Child": "I want you to reassure me of your love for me". The Conde's "Child" replies to Florela's "Parent": "You are always accusing me of flirting with other women". At the same time, it can also be seen as an "ulterior transaction", i.e., one which takes place, in addition, between the "Adults" of both Federico and Florela. Florela: "Show me Finea; I'd like to see her". Federico: "I can't, because I don't have her with me." The plot of the comedy depends on the interpretation of their words on this, the "social level". See E. Berne's elementary but fascinating study: Games People Play (Penguin Books 1968).
14. Calderón, of course, uses the same situation in Casa con dos puertas.

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(see list in The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies).

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