



Concerning Seven Manuscripts Linked with Moreto's Name

Ruth Lee Kennedy

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CONCERNING SEVEN MANUSCRIPTS LINKED WITH MORETO'S NAME

ANTES MORIR QUE PECAR

THE manuscript *Antes morir que pecar*¹ is on its title page attributed to Agustín Moreto, but the name is found on paper that is not yellowed with time and is written in a bold handwriting that is evidently of a later century than the delicate script of the text. The same may be said for the last page of the play, which contains only six lines. Whether these pages, which are clearly additions, are exact copies of those which they have replaced and whether this manuscript explains its attribution to Moreto in Medel's list,² I cannot say. If the reverse situation should be true, —that is, that in patching up the copy the mender followed Medel's inaccurate work—then the historical proof supporting Moreto's claim is slight. The modernity of the handwriting, as well as the coloring of the paper, lead me to think this latter relationship the probable one.

Internal evidence makes its authenticity even more uncertain. In its emendations, it gives evidence of being an original manuscript, though these are so few that it must have been a second draft, or else the copyist took the liberty of making such changes as he felt wise. One finds, for instance (III, p. 5), these punning words of the *gracioso*:

que enlanados una vez
si él no nos librare de ellas,
ellas nos librarán de él;

but the first line has been struck out and in its place written:

que si ellos se enlanan bien.

¹ No. 16766. All catalogue numbers refer to manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nacional unless it is stated to the contrary.

² Medel's list of 1735, entitled *Indice general*, has recently been printed by J. M. Hill. See *Revue Hispanique*, 1929, LXXV, 155. If the play has been printed, I have found no trace of it. Cotarelo (*La bibliografía de Moreto*, Madrid, 1927, p. 20) is of the opinion that the inclusion of a play in Medel's list does not necessarily mean that the play has been printed previously, since this compiler has cited other plays of the Osuna library which are to be found in manuscript only. Fajardo, who lists only printed works (*Indice de todas las comedias impresas hasta 1716*, Ms. 14706), does not mention it.

There are at least half a dozen more changes which would indicate the manuscript to be an original, but persevering search among the autograph plays of the Biblioteca Nacional did not enable me to place the handwriting. It is not Moreto's, though so decidedly similar in type that one wonders if this could explain its attribution to him.

The play has for its subject San Casimiro's determination to preserve his chastity in spite of the wiles of the unscrupulous Astrea and of the pleas of his royal father that he marry.³ This general situation was a popular one with Moreto in his religious dramas⁴ and the lay-out of characters, the usual one in this type of play. The *gracioso* is an inveterate punster and in this thoroughly characteristic of Moreto, but in the dramatically useless function which he plays—his rôle is virtually an *entremés* injected at intervals into the main plot—he cannot be considered typical. Nor is the vocabulary particularly characteristic. Analysis of the versification shows a total of 2778 verses: 1850 lines of *romances* (66.6%), 668 of *redondillas* (24.1%), 56 of *silvas*, 190 of *décimas*, and 1 sonnet. Such percentages are representative enough of Moreto's later theatre,⁵ though they are in no wise peculiar to it.

If the work is Moreto's—and neither the historical evidence nor the internal structure can be considered at all conclusive—it has evidently come to us retouched by another hand of the seventeenth century. I doubt that it belongs in Moreto's theatre.

³ Poland's importance in the political and religious world of the first half of the seventeenth century, as well as the outstanding piety of its ruler Juan Casimiro (1649–1668), did much, throughout Catholic Europe, to popularize the cult of San Casimiro. For the reasons which led me to believe this play was written in 1656, see my study (*The Dramatic Art of Moreto*, Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Northampton, Mass., 1931–1932, pp. 26–27) and Barrionuevo's *Avisos* (ed. Paz y Melia, Madrid, 1892, Vol. II, pp. 357–358).

There were at least four books dealing with San Casimiro which were published during the first half of the 17th century:

1. St. Gregory, *S. Casimiri theatrum seu ipsius prosapia, vita, miracula*, Vilna, 1604.
2. Ciati, *Officium San Casimiro confessoris, M. D. Lithuaniae patrini*, Vilna, 1638.
3. Ciati, *La santità prodigiosa di S. Casimiro*, Lucca, 1640.
4. Colle, *Compendio della vita di S. Casimiro*, Palermo, 1650.

I have not been so fortunate as to see any of the above and cannot say whether any one of them could have served as source for this play or not. If there is any Spanish *comedia* on the subject other than this, I have not seen it.

⁴ See *The Dramatic Art of Moreto*, pp. 37–38. For a more detailed summary of the plot, consult pp. xxix–xxx of the *Catálogo razonado* which is included in Fernández-Guerra y Orbe's edition of Moreto's works (*BAE*, Vol. XXXIX, Madrid, 1856). There is a photostat copy of this manuscript in our Library of Congress.

⁵ *The Dramatic Art of Moreto*, pp. 60, 66.

EL ENEAS DE DIOS

(*El caballero del Sacramento o El blasón de los Moncadas*)

El Eneas de Dios,⁶ a seventeenth century manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional, is, as Cotarelo has pointed out,⁷ a different play from the one of the same name published in *Parte XV* of the *Escogidas*.⁸ It is the *comedia* in manuscript which should be attributed to Moreto, not the published work.⁹ Both versions of *El Eneas de Dios* are based primarily on Lope's play, *El caballero del Sacramento*,¹⁰ but there are details of the manuscript which have a counterpart in the printed play that prove an interrelationship.¹¹ Before asserting which of the two later dramatists was the borrower, one would have to establish the chronology of the two plays.¹²

⁶ No. 17113. See *The Dramatic Art of Moreto*, pp. 144, 169, 170. The manuscript belonged to one Antonio (sic) La Plana, perhaps a relative of Domingo de la Plana who, according to Rennert (*The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega*, The Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1909), was in 1662 an actor in Seville in the company of Juan Pérez de Tapia.

⁷ *Bibl.*, p. 26.

⁸ Melchor Sánchez, Madrid, 1661.

⁹ Without having seen the manuscript—for the photostat of this play, ordered several months ahead, did not arrive in time to be of any value to me—I called into question the authenticity of the printed version. See *The Dramatic Art of Moreto*, p. 144. Mr. W. L. Fichter, in making his review of this study (*Hispanic Review*, 1933, I, 352–356), quotes my surmise (p. 353) that the manuscript “may supply the key to the situation” and, after briefly analysing the work, concludes: “the published play . . . must henceforward be rejected as Moreto's.”

¹⁰ Paz y Melia (*Catálogo de las piezas de teatro que se conservan en el departamento de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, 1899, p. 170) states that Francisco de Aguilar wrote a play *El caballero del Sacramento* and La Barrera (*Catálogo del teatro antiguo español*, Madrid, 1860, p. 9) mentions a *suelta* of this name attributed to him. Paz y Melia adds that it is the same play as *El gran patriarca . . . Don Juan de Ribera*. I have seen Aguilar's play under the latter name (included in *Norte de la poesía española*, Josepe Ferrer, Valencia, 1616), and it has no relationship to Lope's play or to either version of *El Eneas de Dios*.

¹¹ Cf. the scenes of the *memoriales* (*Escogidas*, II, pp. 163 r. to 165 v. and Ms., II, pp. 7–10); also the disguise of the *peregrinos* (*Escogidas*, II, p. 164 v. and Ms., II, pp. 1 and 8).

¹² Which was the play acted in 1651 by Osorio de Velasco? I am inclined to think it was Moreto's *comedia* because of its Catalan setting. There was good evidence that Moreto was deeply interested in the wars with Catalonia that took place in the first years of the decade of the 1650's. See his description of the siege of Gerona (1653) in *De fuera vendrá* (*BAE*, Vol. XXXIX, I, pp. 58–59). Moreover, *El desdén con el desdén* and *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso* (both published in Moreto's *Parte I*, Diego Díaz de la Carrera, Madrid, 1654), with their Catalan settings, give further proof of his interest in the political situation.

I have not been able to find a printed version of Moreto's work, though the form of the title (*Comedia famosa del / Eneas de Dios de / Don Agustín Moreto*) was the usual formula for printed editions.

The plot of the manuscript is as follows: The Count of Barcelona, in order to avoid war with Sicily, pledges the hand of his daughter Isabel to his nephew, the king of that island. Thereby he wins the enmity of the Almirante, who is at court as representative of the French king's suit, and sends black despair into the heart of his own nephew, Don Luis de Moncada, who loves and is loved by Isabel. She is to sail for Sicily next day, accompanied by her brother Gastón, who must save the proprieties since the papal dispensation necessary for the marriage is to be sent to the island direct from Rome in order to save time. The lovers decide to leave for Aragon that night, but the cry that the church of Santa Olalla is burning leads Don Luis to abandon his plans for the moment and to go to the rescue of the Holy Sacrament. As a result of a mistake, which has been occasioned by the *gracioso*, Isabel concludes that Don Luis is too timid to take the risk and, in her contempt and anger, leaves him as a parting gift a box of relics. She takes with her as maid-in-waiting Rosaura, who has long been in love with Don Luis.

The suggestion that he is a coward maddens Don Luis, and he decides to follow her to clear himself of the charge. Once in Sicily, he dresses as a pilgrim, hoping under pretext of giving Isabel a *memorial*, to make known to her the truth. Chance wills it that the document is given into the hands of the king, whose suspicions

Did both plays carry originally the title *El Eneas de Dios*? In both, at least, this name is to be found within the verses (*Escogidas*, I, 162 r. and Ms., I, 26). Or was the version of the *Escogidas* represented under some other name and did the printer, recognizing it as another version of the older play, print it under the better-known name of Moreto, hoping thereby to increase his sales? He has, in the same volume, attributed Montalbán's *El mejor padre* to Calderón and Lope's *La batalla del honor* to Zárate. See La Barrera (*Op. cit.*, p. 693).

It was played in September, 1680 as *Lo que la religión puede en un noble catalán*. See Ms. 16089 of the Biblioteca Nacional, which carries this name.

Rennert (*The Spanish Stage*, p. 548) states that Osorio de Velasco presented Calderón's comedias, *El Eneas de Dios* and *Antes que todo es mi dama* in 1651. I have found no other reference to Calderón's having written a play *El Eneas de Dios*. It is probably an error on Rennert's part, for the notice is apparently taken from Pérez Pastor's statement (*Documentos para la biografía de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, Establecimiento tipográfico de Fortanet, Madrid, 1905, p. 186): "Obligación de Diego Osorio, autor de comedias, de ir con su compañía a la villa de Algete . . . y . . . hacer *El Eneas de Dios* . . . y *Antes que todo es mi dama*." Only the latter is Calderón's.

are later strengthened by the knowledge (which he acquires through the unsuspecting Rosaura) that Don Luis, his rival, is on the island. At a masked ball, he has Don Luis and Isabel seized and commands that the former be burnt to death and that the latter be thrust in prison. Before these orders can be executed, chance gives Isabel an opportunity to free Don Luis, who arrives at Barcelona just in time to take the place of Don Gastón as leader—the latter is dying from a wound—and to defeat the Almirante's forces. The count, angered at the havoc which Luis' trip to Sicily had wrought, puts him in prison as a traitor.

At the beginning of the third act, the forces of the king of Sicily are besieging Barcelona. The Almirante, astounded at the ingratitude of the Count, frees Don Luis, who not only manages to save the imprisoned Isabel from the prison which the king of Sicily has prepared for her, but, by entering battle at a decisive moment with the Holy Sacrament as his standard, is enabled to defeat the forces of the Sicilian. He claims for himself Isabel's hand and for the Almirante, Rosaura's.

The changes effected in the original are the usual ones: the plot has been unified; the characterization, made more consistent; the protagonist's rôle, sentimentalized; the *gracioso's*, increased. Moreover, the play has been shortened from 3471 lines to 3141, which total includes 17 lines of song.¹³ In its general percentages, the versification is quite characteristic of Moreto: *romances*, 1714 (54.5%); *redondillas*, 1056 (34%); *décima*, 10; *silva*, 111; *quintilla*, 118; *pareados*, 57; *prose*, 8; *lira* (ABABCC), 50. The use of a 2-line *estribillo*, however, one line of which serves at the same time to form the last assonated line of a series of *romances* (see I, pp. 8-17), is not to be found elsewhere in Moreto's theatre. Finally, the method of borrowing is quite characteristic: there are scenes which clearly have a definite source, such as the fire in Santa Olalla,¹⁴ and Isabel's gift of relics to Don Luis;¹⁵ but if there are any verbal debts, I have not noted them.

¹³ These figures vary ever so slightly from those given by Mr. Fichter (3104 with an additional 22 lines of song). See *Hispanic Review*, I, 355. The discrepancy in the verses of song is natural, since the first line of the *estribillo* forms on five occasions the last assonated line in a series of romances. Mr. Fichter has counted the line twice, I only once. Variations are not sufficient to alter percentages noticeably. My totals were made before I had seen his figures and checked after his estimates were printed.

¹⁴ *Escogidas*, I, pp. 158 v.-159 v. and Ms., I, pp. 25-28.

¹⁵ *Escogidas*, I, pp. 161 r.-162 v. and Ms., I, pp. 34-36.

EL HIJO OBEDIENTE

There is, in the Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid, a play in manuscript entitled *El hijo obediente*,¹⁶ which is of sufficient importance to merit detailed description. On the title page one finds the following: Jesús, María, José / v=d=c=m^s 17 / El hijo obediente / Comedia famosa / de / don Agustín Moreto y Cavana / (a name scratched out) / 1678 / Sandobal.¹⁸ This is all in the same hand as Act I except the name of "Sandobal." At the end of act I we find: "se sacó en Madrid a 7 de Marzo de 1678"; at the end of act II, "Don Gerónimo de Cárdamo Salcedo y Zúniga, 1678, en Valencia"; and at the end of act III, "sacóla Pizarro de Moreto." The handwriting of each act is different. Acts I and II, in spite of the difference of place, are apparently on the same paper, but are different from that used by the copyist of Act III. Act I is so very similar to Moreto's own handwriting as to at first lead one to think it his, but close comparison with the autograph *El poder de la amistad* reveals one's error. The play concludes with the following verses:

Pues si logro tanta dicha
 en que el aplauso me aliente,
 por corona del perdón
 que aquesta pluma os merece,
 vuestros vítores dará (sic)¹⁹
 el fin dichoso que tiene,
 el premio que en esta historia
 da el cielo al *hijo obediente*.

¹⁶ No. 1-35-5.

¹⁷ These letters are incorrectly copied, I suspect, since they must be the v=d=l^s=m^s found in the autograph manuscript *El poder de la amistad* (no. V^a-7-4) and at the heading of the second act of *El príncipe perseguido* (no. R. 81). The latter is not an autograph—probably because the last pages of the act are lacking—but is unquestionably in Moreto's own handwriting. I have seen these four letters only in *El hijo obediente* and in the manuscripts of the two works just indicated, a fact that leads me to suspect that this play was taken directly from Moreto's copy. Efforts to find a clue as to the significance of the letters, which are found in every instance just below the word, *María*, have been in vain. Could they be "Virgini dicite laudes Moretus"?

¹⁸ Probably Jerónimo de Sandoval, who was in the companies of Alonso de la Paz, Antonio de Castro, and José de Prado in the respective years of 1655, 1656, and 1658. See Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos*, *Bulletin Hispanique*, XV, 429, and Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, p. 598. For reasons which I shall give later, I suspect this play belongs to the early 1650's.

¹⁹ This play gives every evidence of being hastily copied. There are numerous errors, especially in the first act.

Fajardo does not list the play in his *Index*, and this is to be expected since it has not (to my knowledge) ever been printed; but Medel,²⁰ who there is reason to think had access to the Osuna library, attributes a play by this name to Moreto and still another to *un ingenio*. Fernández-Guerra,²¹ without having seen the *comedia*, surmised that it was the comedy "sometimes printed under the name of Beneyto, sometimes under that of Guillén de Castro." I have read the *El hijo obediente* which is attributed to Beneyto,²² and there is no relationship between this work and Moreto's. I am inclined to think the play *El hijo obediente*, which is mentioned in the *Lista sessoriana* of date 1666,²³ is this play in manuscript, not Beneyto's.

The characters listed are: El infante Don Fernando; El príncipe Don Carlos; Doña Blanca, dama; Elvira, criada; Garibay, gracioso; el rey Don Juan; Don Bernardo Bocaberti; Don Juan de Beamonte; soldados, unos catalanes; un alcalde de villano.²⁴ The plot is as follows: Juan II of Aragon is father of the envious and turbulent Carlos by his marriage with Doña Blanca, who had inherited the kingdom of Navarre from her grandfather Carlos el Bravo. His second nuptials with Doña Juana Enríquez, daughter of the Almirante de Castilla, had given him Fernando, who by way of contrast to his half-brother is a model of obedience, generosity and valor. In the repeated wars which Carlos wages against his father for the possession of Navarre, Fernando on more than one occasion risks his own life to save his father's. He is, nevertheless, in so far as circumstances permit, generous toward Carlos and his wife Brianda. On one occasion, feeling that the king's orders to imprison Brianda are unfair, for she thoroughly disapproves of Carlos' wars against his father, Fernando even disobeys the commands of the latter, in order to restore her to his brother. Eventually, Carlos is thrown from a horse and killed; Brianda retires to a convent, leaving her children at court with their grandfather; and Fernando is made king of Castile and Aragon.

²⁰ *Indice*, p. 194.

²¹ *BAE*, XXXIX, p. xxxvi.

²² Printed in *Doce comedias de cuatro poetas naturales de . . . Valencia*, Aurelio Mey, Valencia, 1608.

²³ See Restori, *Piezas de títulos*, Messina, 1903, pp. 36 and 37.

²⁴ Listed here as Doña Blanca, this character is throughout the play written correctly as Doña Brianda. The children of Brianda and Carlos, though not included in the *dramatis personae*, appear on the stage, nevertheless. Don Juan de Beamonte sometimes appears under this name, sometimes under that of Don Juan de Benavente.

This play bears the unmistakable stamp of Moreto's personality in its characterization, its versification, and its vocabulary. We have Fernando, the hero *sans reproche*, who discreetly manages to obey the letter of the law while breaking the spirit of it (always for a noble end, of course!); Juan II, the kind-hearted king, who is more father than monarch; Brianda, dignified wife and loving mother; Garibay, omnipresent *gracioso* with his neat commentaries on the situation. These, as well as the courtly atmosphere in which they move, are entirely Moretean. The versification, too, is characteristic, except that the copy is a most imperfect one and lines are frequently lacking. The three acts, with their total of 2773 lines, show the following distributions of verses: *romances*, 1547 (55.8%); *redondillas*, 848 (30.6%); *silvas*, 204; *quintillas*, 65; octaves, 104; prose, 6. All acts end in *romances*.

There is, finally, a detail in the play (II, p. 28) which brings to mind *El desdén con el desdén*: the coadjutors of Carlos in his rebellion against his father are "el conde de Fox con los tercios de . . . bearneses." Now the Conde de Fox and the Príncipe de Bearne are two rivals of Carlos in Moreto's masterpiece.

El hijo obediente is a revision of Lope's *El piadoso aragonés*.²⁵ In dealing with the characterization of the latter play, Menéndez y Pelayo²⁶ terms the whole "una falsificación continua y sistemática de la historia," one in which the Príncipe de Viana (Carlos), "tan culto, tan humano, tan dolorosamente simpático . . . especie de Hamlet de la historia" is portrayed as "un ambicioso insensato y brutal, como un mal hijo . . . vencido y perdonado una vez y otra"; one in which "el terrible D. Juan II . . . tan inaccesible a la compasión como al temor . . . no hace más que perdonar a su hijo y gemir y lloriquear por su ingratitud y rebeldía" and in which there are "monstruosos anacronismos" whereby "D. Fernando el Católico . . . aparece ganando batallas contra él (Carlos)," although it is well known that the latter was dead four years before his half-brother appears on his first battlefield. To this I may add that Lope has made Carlos' death due to a fall from a horse instead of a "pain in his side," as Zurita would have it,²⁷ or to the many tribulations of his unfortunate life as Mariana²⁸ puts it. He has,

²⁵ First published in *Parte XXI*, Madrid, 1635. An autograph ms. of 1626 (R. 106) exists in the Biblioteca Nacional. The play may be read in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed. Acad., Vol. X. This is a relationship which has not, in so far as I know, been pointed out previously.

²⁶ *Obras de Lope de Vega*, Vol. X, pp. civ-cvii.

²⁷ *Anales*, IV, Juan de Lanaja y Quartanet, Zaragoza, 1610, pp. 97 r and v.

²⁸ *The General History of Spain*, translated by Capt. John Stevens, London, 1699, p. 403. Mariana adds that public opinion in Catalonia attributed his death to a slow poison.

too, changed to Elvira Abarca the name of Carlos' mistress, Brianda Vaca.

Menéndez y Pelayo's harsh words apply even more justly to *El hijo obediente*. Moreto has sentimentalized still further than Lope the character of Don Juan and blackened more that of Carlos. Moreover, he has followed Lope in his version of the Prince's death. On the other hand, he has given the heroine her correct historical name, Brianda, though he has in accordance with his sense of propriety, made her Carlos' lawful wife instead of his mistress.

The other changes Moreto has made are quite in accordance with his usual dramatic practices. The work of Lope, written August 17, 1626, has placed the emphasis on Juan II and his relations to Carlos. Fernando's rôle is here relatively unimportant. In Moreto's play, on the other hand, the interest is centered on Fernando, *El hijo obediente*, and the unhappy relations between Juan and Carlos but serve as an opportunity for Fernando to show his loyalty to his father and his generosity toward his brother.²⁹ Moreto has suppressed the two subplots formed by Fernando's love for Doña Ana and his marriage to Isabel; has cut the cast of characters from 17 to 9; has added the characteristic *gracioso*, Garibay.³⁰

The work is unquestionably Moreto's. As a historical play which deals with Ferdinand the Catholic and with Charles of Viana, "more famous for his misfortunes than any other thing," it deserves printing.

EL HIJO PRÓDIGO

There is, in the Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid, an eighteenth century manuscript³¹ bearing the title *El hijo pródigo*. It is attributed to Cáncer, Moreto, and Matos, but has for its conclusion the following verses:

que al hijo pródigo aquí
da el poeta fin dichoso.

In giving those plays staged in Valencia during the eighteenth century,³² Sr. Juliá lists one entitled *El hijo pródigo*, which is

²⁹ In my opinion this play was written around 1651-1653. The victory of Juan de Austria against Catalonia seems to have impressed Moreto very much. One wonders if all of these plays with a Catalan sitting may not possibly have a political significance.

³⁰ I am not able to state whether or not Moreto owes a verbal debt to Lope, for I discovered the source after the manuscript was no longer available to me.

³¹ No. 1-34-12.

³² E. Juliá, *Preferencias teatrales del público valenciano en el siglo XVIII*, *Revista de Filología Española*, 1933, XX, 113-159.

attributed to Cáncer, Matos, and Moreto.³³ It was played only twice. In a manuscript of the Nacional,³⁴ likewise of the eighteenth century, it is attributed to *tres ingenios*. If the play has been printed, I have not seen it.³⁵

The story is the Biblical version of the prodigal son, upon which has been superimposed a love triangle. Liberio, heedless alike of his father's pleas and of his cousin Celia's love, goes to Rome to spend the inheritance which has at his own request been turned over to him. Celia is adored by Lidio, brother to Liberio, but she cannot give up the latter, and in order to stay near him follows him to Rome dressed in man's attire. Here, against her advice, Liberio enters Sirena's home and is, in due time, robbed of his money and his costly raiment. He flees to the mountains where he becomes so destitute as not to be recognized by his friend Experio who has come in his search. Indeed, he is so ashamed that he tells him "Liberio is dead." Persuaded by his servant Capricho, who never leaves him in his misfortunes, the prodigal decides to go home. His arrival is none too soon: Celia has returned and, convinced that he is dead, has promised to marry Lidio if by the end of that day her true love has not appeared. The fatted calf is thus doubly appropriate. Lidio, bitter at first because of the injustice of it all, later accepts fate gracefully and welcomes his brother.

The play is a reworking of Tirso's *Tanto es lo de más como lo de menos*,³⁶ a relationship pointed out by Durán.³⁷ In order to secure the simple story outlined above, the earlier play had to be pruned vigorously. In Tirso's work the prodigal son stands between the rich miser, who denies even the crumbs from his table to the starving beggars, and the saintly Lázaro, who is so improvident as to give away his entire fortune to the poor and who dies of starvation at

³³ I question very much these names being found in the source from which Sr. Juliá took his data. Whether this eminent student of the drama knew this particular manuscript of the Municipal Library or whether he drew his information from elsewhere, I cannot say.

³⁴ No. 14893.

³⁵ La Barrera (*Catálogo*, p. 554) attributes it to *tres ingenios* and states: "consta en Huerta" (*Theatro Hespañol, catálogo alfabético de las comedias, tragedias, . . . y otras obras correspondientes al Theatro Hespañol*, Imprenta Real, Madrid, 1785. Paz y Melia (*Catálogo de las piezas de teatro*, p. 234) states that it has been printed as a *suelta*.

³⁶ First printed in *Doce comedias nuevas del maestro Tirso de Molina*, Madrid, 1627. See La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 387. It was played in Valencia in 1628. See E. Merimée, *Spectacles et comédiens à Valencia*, Toulouse and Paris, 1913. For a modern edition, see Cotarelo y Mori, *Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, NBAE, Vol. IV, Madrid, 1906.

³⁷ See Paz y Melia, *Catálogo de las piezas de teatro*, p. 234.

his rich uncle's door. All three are, when the story opens, suitors for the hand of Felicia. Having married the miser for mercenary reasons, she lives to repent it in the boredom she suffers. Liberio, his inheritance wasted in riotous living, ultimately returns to eat the fatted calf which his father so joyfully sacrifices. By this time, too, Felicia is a rich widow, a stroke of apoplexy having carried off her gluttonous husband. Her marriage to Liberio occasions no suffering to the brother inasmuch as the latter is not in love with Felicia.

The changes made in reworking Tirso's play are only in part characteristic: one expects, and finds, unification of plot by excision of all extraneous materials; idealization of the heroine; lessening of the lyrical. The *gracioso's* rôle was already very important; it would perhaps have been difficult to increase it. But one is *not* prepared for the dull creature that is Capricho in the later play, nor for a heroine who, dressed in man's attire, follows her lover.³⁸ The presence of the situation is all the more surprising because it is not found in the source. Finally, the versification is not what we expect:

I: *romances*, 400; *redondillas*, 408; *pareados*, 50; *décimas*, 20; *silvas*, 26; songs, 24.

II: *romances*, 334; *redondillas*, 360; *pareados*, 24; *décimas*, 10; song, 4.

III: *romances*, 346; *redondillas*, 252; *pareados*, 136; *décimas*, 60; *quintillas*, 135; songs, 12.

The comedy shows a total of 2601 verses with the following distribution: *romances*, 1080 (41%); *redondillas*, 1020 (38.8%); *pareados*, 210; *quintillas*, 135; *décimas*, 90; *silvas*, 26; songs, 40. The song near the close of Act I (made up of 6 and 8 syllables with a rhyming echo which recalls Alcázar's *Discurso por la hermosa Eco*) is not, in so far as I know, characteristic of Moreto or his collaborators; the percentage of *redondillas* is unusually high, that of *romances* unusually low for this trio of dramatists, whose other works written in collaboration show respective figures of 20 to 30 and 60 to 70.³⁹ Finally, this work gives evidence, aside from the closing lines, of being written by one man only: the author has in the course of the play used 7 different assonances and has conscientiously avoided using the same assonance twice. Matos, Cáncer, and Moreto did not, in their collaborated works, display such care in matters of

³⁸ The situation, virtually unknown in Moreto's secular theatre, is found, however, in his religious plays, but can usually, if not always, be explained by the exigencies of the dramatic tradition. See *The Dramatic Art of Moreto*, p. 71.

³⁹ *Caer para levantar; No hay reino como el de Dios; El bruto de Babilonia.*

versification. I do not believe it to be the work of the three. It reads like a play of the late 1630's, an uninspired one.

LA MEJOR LUNA AFRICANA

La mejor luna africana is, in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid,⁴⁰ entitled *La luna africana*, attributed to nine collaborators:

Memoria de los ingenios
que se juntaron a hacer
esta comedia: el primero
Luis de Belmonte; tras él
Luis Vélez, el afamado;
luego Don Juan Vélez fué
quien acabó la primera;
empezó la otra después
el maestro Alfonso Alfaro;
quien le vino a suceder
fué Don Agustín Moreto,
y a la segunda el pincel
de Don Antonio Martínez
la acabó de componer.
La postrera comenzó
con Don Antonio Sigler
de Huerta; siguióse luego
la ingeniosa pulidez
de Don Jerónimo Cáncer,
y acabólo, como veis,
Don Pedro Rosete. . . .

Moreover, within the pages of the manuscript, the scribe has indicated the portion that belongs to each.⁴¹ On the final page, there is the censor's stamp of Francisco de Avellaneda ("vista y aprobada *muchas veces*, Madrid, a 16 de henero de 1688") and above it in the same handwriting as the text: "trasladóla Salvador de la Cueva, año de 1680 en Madrid, a 8 de henero."⁴² As the *gracioso* is named Cosme and his rôle is obtrusive, one wonders if it were not created for the great Cosme Pérez (Juan Rana).

⁴⁰ No. 15540.

⁴¹ In Act I, p. 8 v., one reads "hasta aquí Don Luis de Belmonte," and in similar fashion one finds scattered throughout the pages the eight other names listed in the order given above. See I, 18 v. and 24 v.; II, 11 r., 17 r., 24 r.; III, 5 v., 10 r., 17 r.

⁴² It is the same hand that has copied two pages of *El poder de la amistad* (Ms., Va-7-4, III, pp. 25 r., v.).

All of the printed versions which I have seen ⁴³ carry the title *La mejor luna africana*, and are all attributed to *tres ingenios*:

La mejor luna africana
 tenga fin y aplauso, pues
 piden perdón de sus yerros
 tres plumas a vuestros pies.

The play has likewise been linked with Calderón's name. Medel ⁴⁴ attributes a play of this title to him, and Fajardo ⁴⁵ notes: "*Mejor luna africana* de Calderón entre las sueltas; suelta en Madrid, León [a bookstore], y dice ser de tres ingenios." Vera Tasis does not include it, however, and certainly there is nothing in the play that would bring to mind the poet of *La vida es sueño*.

I see no reason to discredit the manuscript. It is a careful piece of work and was apparently taken directly from the original—perhaps with some small cuts in long speeches, since the printed editions possess a few lines not found in the manuscript. The names of the authors coincide with the *only* changes of scene within the acts and those faulty rhymes which are found in all of the printed editions I have seen are correct in the manuscript.⁴⁶ The part attributed to Moreto is small but characteristic enough.

W. A. Kincaid, in his study of Belmonte Bermúdez,⁴⁷ points out that Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada* is the source of this play. In its central situation, it brings to mind Lope's *El testimonio vengado*⁴⁸ or Moreto's version of the latter, *Cómo se vengan los nobles*⁴⁹—but done in Moorish dress. The beautiful Sultana, wife to Boabdil el Chico, is accused by the traitor Gomel of illicit relations with Hazén,—with Hazén, the perfect knight, whose only thought is for the Christian slave, Leonor! It is proclaimed that the wife will be put to death on a certain date if no one comes to defend her honor in single combat. Hazén, sustained morally by the redoubtable Don Juan Chacón, makes Gomel at the point of the sword deny his charges; then, having

⁴³ Vda. de Fr. de Leefdael, Sevilla, without date; Antonio Sanz, Madrid 1733; Vda. de Joseph de Orga, Valencia, 1764; Alonso del Riego, Valladolid.

⁴⁴ *Indice*, p. 210.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, 35 r.

⁴⁶ Among others, see Ms., II, 21 v., where we find *viendo* and *estruendo* rhymed correctly. In the printed editions, it is everywhere *viendo* and *ruido*.

⁴⁷ See *Revue Hispanique*, LXXIV, 176–178.

⁴⁸ Printed in *Parte I* of Lope's comedies, 1604. It may be read in the *BAE*, XLI.

⁴⁹ First printed in *Parte XXIX* of the *Escogidas*, José Fernández de Buendía, Madrid, 1668. It may be read in the *BAE*, XXXIX.

renounced the Crescent for the Cross, he marries his true love, Leonor. The characterization of the three main figures (the King, the Sultana, and Hazén) differs little from corresponding characters in *Cómo se vengan los nobles*. I have noted no verbal parallels. When Schaeffer⁵⁰ terms this play "nicht verdientslose," he must have had in mind the portrayal of the character of blunt Don Juan Chacón. Only that could hope to save it from an otherwise merited oblivion.

If we accept this play as the work of the nine collaborators, then it was written before 1643, the date of Alfaro's death, and therefore must constitute one of Moreto's earliest dramatic attempts. *Cómo se vengan los nobles* was, on the other hand, probably one of his latest. It is interesting that in this last he dared to present the story to the public without a love motif.⁵¹

Figures of versification for the different portions are as follows:

Belmonte: *romances*, 208; *redondillas*, 204.

Luis Vélez: *romances*, 432; *redondillas*, 88.

Juan Vélez: *romances*, 114; *redondillas*, 176.

Alfaro: *romances*, 378; *redondillas*, 100.

Moreto: *romances*, 184; *redondillas*, 116.

Martínez: *octavas*, 72; *redondillas*, 276.

Sigler de Huerta: *romances*, 10; *redondillas*, 148; *silvas*, 84; prose, 17.

Cáncer: *romances*, 106; *décimas*, 70; *pareados*, 70.

Rosete: *romances*, 226; *silvas*, 46; *octavas*, 24; prose, 8.

This gives a total of 3157 lines: 1658 of *romances* (52%); 1108 of *redondillas* (35%); 130 of *silvas*; 96 of *octavas*; 70 of *décimas*; 70 of *pareados*; 25 of prose.

NO PUEDE MENTIR EL CIELO

No puede mentir el cielo, which La Barrera attributes to Rodrigo Enríquez (though with the qualifying remark that "en alguna edición" it has been ascribed to Diego Enríquez), is in a manuscript of the eighteenth century⁵² ascribed to Moreto.

Y este verdadero caso
da fin; vuestra piedad supla
de Don Agustín Moreto
con piedad las faltas muchas.

A note at the end of the manuscript states: "Esta comedia anda en nombre de dos autores, de don Agustín Moreto y de Don Andrés Gil Enríquez."

⁵⁰ *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas*, Leipzig, 1890, II, p. 284.

⁵¹ The only other play in which Moreto makes this daring departure is *El hijo obediente*, which is still in manuscript.

⁵² No. 15242.

La Barrera's phrase "en alguna edición" would indicate that the play had been printed. Moreover, the form of the title (N. Comedia famosa / No puede mentir el cielo / de Don Agustín Moreto / Personas) is the stereotyped one used by the printers. I have, however, found no copy. Medel⁵³ attributes a play of this name to Don *Diego* Enríquez. This may have been the source of La Barrera's information. Fajardo does not list it in his *Index*. Fernández-Guerra evidently knew nothing of the manuscript, nor had he seen a printed edition. Cotarelo⁵⁴ lists the play as apochryphal, adding that Juan de la Calle represented a *comedia* of this name in Madrid during November of 1659.

The plot of the manuscript is as follows: Conrado, Duke of Francobia (*sic.* Franconia?) is, after some dissension among the electors, made emperor, and his first move is to take vengeance on Leopoldo, leader of the forces of opposition. Not only does he deprive the latter of his estates, but he orders one Rugero to put to death Enrique, the infant son of his enemy, hoping thus to defy Heaven's decree that the boy shall succeed him to the throne. Rugero, kinder than his master, leaves the child in the forest where the noble Ricardo picks him up. To lull any suspicions Conrado may have, Rugero sends him the heart of an animal.⁵⁵ When the play opens, Conrado is urging the marriage of his daughter Clorinda to the powerful Astolfo, but loving Enrique as she does, and knowing that Astolfo is beloved by her cousin Fenicia, she refuses to give her consent. Moved by the ever-present fear of losing his throne, the emperor first tries to encompass the death of Leopoldo, but fails. Enrique, to whom he has intrusted the commission, deceives his sovereign into thinking his enemy dead, but in reality he saves the life of his father, moved by some strange tenderness which he cannot explain to himself. A letter from the dying Ricardo now leads Conrado to suspect that Enrique is the one designed by Heaven to succeed him. Accordingly he sends him to Astolfo, to whom he has, while on the battlefield, delegated his powers as ruler, and with him sealed orders that the messenger is to be put to death. Luckily for the lovers, Enrique meets Rugero, who again saves his life, this time by exchanging for the decree of death a forged note in which he commands Astolfo to marry at once Clorinda and Enrique. Thus the emperor returns to find a son-in-law. Philosophically resigning himself to the will of heaven, he accepts the

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, p. 218.

⁵⁴ *Bibl.*, p. 41.

⁵⁵ Cf. the *romance* of Gaiferos. See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, IX, 57-58.

marriage, returns Leopoldo his estates, and marries Astolfo and Fenicia. *The heavens cannot lie.*

In my opinion the play is Moreto's. The jests of the *gracioso*, the characterization of the disdainful heroine and of the perfect knight, the vocabulary, the phraseology, the use of dances and glosses, the attenuated drawing-room atmosphere, all proclaim it the work of the same author as *Industrias contra finezas*, *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso*, and *La misma conciencia acusa*.⁵⁶ It is reminiscent of the last mentioned even in its situation. Figures for versification are: a total of 2961 verses, including 2400 lines of *romances* (81%); 239 of *redondillas* (8%); 90 of *décimas*; 168 of *silvas*; 46 of songs; 18 of prose.⁵⁷

And, finally, the play gives further proof of Moreto's authorship in its method of revision. It is taken from Lope de Vega's *Dios hace reyes*.⁵⁸ The thread of the story, if we should outline *Dios hace reyes*, would differ only in minor details from *No puede mentir el cielo*, as given above. Moreto has carried over the names and rôles of the three main characters (Conrado, Leopoldo, and Enrique); has fused those of Leonido and Lisardo into a single character, Rugero; has transformed the dramatically unimportant Teofinda into the very essential Clorinda; and has changed the name of Rolando to Astolfo. He has added the *gracioso* Escabeche and the cousin Fenicia, who in a measure fill the dramatic gap created by the loss of Bato and Dorista, though their respective rôles are quite distinct from those of the source. As is to be expected, he has omitted many minor characters (some seventeen in all) and with them at least three sub-plots.

The plot has gained immensely in unity. Lope, beginning his

⁵⁶ I do not know sufficiently well the characteristics of any of the dramatists Enríquez to be able to assert negatively that *No puede mentir el cielo* is not characteristic of them. There is certainly no resemblance to *Sufrir más por querer menos*, which is, in *Parte X* of the *Escogidas* (Francisco Serrano de Figueroa, Madrid, 1658), attributed to Don Rodrigo Enríquez.

⁵⁷ If it is objected that the percentage of *romances* is unusually high, one may point out that *No puede ser*, also written in 1659, had 76% of *romances*.

⁵⁸ Printed in *Parte XXIII* of Lope's works. It may also be read in *Obras*, Acad., nueva edición, Tip. de la *Rev. de Arch., Bibl. y Museos*, 1917, Vol. IV. If the relationship has been pointed out previously, I have not seen it.

Señor Cotarelo (see *Prólogo*, p. xxiv to Vol. IV just mentioned) is of the opinion that this is one of the first of Lope's plays, although it is not mentioned in either *Peregrino* list, and that Cervantes is referring to this work when he writes (*Quijote*, I, xlviiii): "¿Qué mayor disparate puede ser en el sujeto que tratamos que salir un niño en mantillas en la primera escena del primer acto y en la segunda salir ya hecho hombre bárbaro?"

play before Enrique's birth, centers the interest of the first act on Leopoldo and in the second and third transfers it to Enrique. When Moreto's curtain goes up, the son is already a young man who has made his way at court. The plot and characterization show a gain, too, in verisimilitude of detail. Nevertheless the play remains of the novelesque type: the improbable dénouement with its forged letter and its heaven-willed marriage has been kept *in toto*. In Enrique and Clorinda, we have the idealized protagonists so characteristic of Moreto. And, finally, the lyrical has been cut to make way for the comic.⁵⁹

EL REY DON ENRIQUE EL ENFERMO

Paz y Melia⁶⁰ asserts that the manuscript *El rey Don Enrique el Enfermo*⁶¹ which is attributed to Zabaleta, Martínez de Meneses, Rosete, Villaviciosa, Cáncer, and Moreto was printed in *Parte VI* of the *Escogidas*.⁶² He was mistaken in thinking the two plays the same; they are entirely different. It is the manuscript which is the work of the six collaborators.

The printed play was written at an earlier date—if one may judge by its structure and versification—and by a *toledano*, if the final words of the play are to be taken literally:

y vuessastedes perdonen
rudezas de un toledano,
*tosca planta de aquel monte.*⁶³

⁵⁹ I cannot say whether there is or not a verbal debt on Moreto's part. The discovery of the source was made after the manuscript was no longer at hand.

⁶⁰ *Catálogo de las piezas de teatro*, p. 442.

⁶¹ Ms. 15543.

⁶² A typographical error for *Parte IX*, Pedro Rodríguez, Madrid, 1657.

⁶³ The Toledan background against which the action is outlined (contrary to historical tradition which ordinarily places it in Burgos) substantiates this statement. Could it be the work of Rojas Zorrilla? He was born in Toledo and had some interest in the character of the picturesque Villena, if the manuscript *Lo que quería ver el Marqués de Villena* is correctly attributed to him. (See Paz y Melia, *Catálogo de las piezas de teatro*, p. 279, where Durán's reference would seem to relate it to Ruiz de Alarcón's *La cueva de Salamanca*.) Furthermore, the interest in the Military Orders could be a reflection of Rojas' personal aspirations for election to the Order of Santiago. As internal evidence in favor of its attribution to him, we may note the vigor of style that characterizes some of the verses. On the other hand, the loosely-knit structure of the play, as well as the use of popular elements (particularly in Act III), recall Tirso's or Lope's days.

There has long been a tradition that Philip IV wrote a play by this name. See la Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 150. It is impossible to see the languid hand of that monarch in this crude but vigorous work.

The historical background was drawn directly from the chronicles according to the author's own words:

Y está escrito en sus anales.⁶⁴

The play's main interest is the passion of the king for Margarita, faithful wife to Enrique de Villena. This ambitious nobleman accedes to his sovereign's wishes and has his marriage annulled; as a reward for such compliancy he is made Grand Master of the Order of Calatrava. Thus he exchanges "one cross for another," as the *gracioso* neatly observes. Only in the closing scene is the king able to forget his love and his *cuartanas* sufficiently to call to account his haughty nobles for their usurpation of his wealth and to claim the power and dignity that should accompany his regal position. Indeed, the conflict with his nobles is a mere episode, one which is completely overshadowed by the love triangle.

The manuscript version, on the other hand, centers its interest on this political struggle. The plot is as follows: To Enrique III, weakened by fevers and robbed of his patrimony by his rich nobles, comes Fernández Yáñez, a doctor from the University of Salamanca. With him is his daughter Elvira, whom the haughty and dissolute Don Mendo had found attractive, even in his college days. Bribing her servants, he gets into her room, and once there, finds he cannot break down her resistance except by a written pledge of matrimony. This pledge he later gets away from her by wile, replacing it with another wherein he agrees to marry her "when her rank shall be equal to his own and when there shall be in Spain a king who has sufficient power to make him keep his word."⁶⁵ The king has in the meantime been an unseen witness at a sumptuous feast of his nobles—which was in striking contrast to his own frugal meal of a shoulder of mutton for which he had had to pawn his coat—and has determined to make his nobles return their riches to the throne. All graciously accede except Don Mendo, who is, on his refusal, first exiled from court, then brought back to marry Elvira. He stubbornly refuses to make any such alliance, maintaining in his

⁶⁴ Act II, p. 449. With the library facilities at hand, I am not able to trace this reference. A likely source is Francisco de Rades' *Crónica de las tres órdenes y cavallerías de Santiago, Calatrava y Alcántara*, Juan de Ayala, Toledo, 1572; the love story is not found in Gil González Dávila's *Historia de la vida y hechos del Rey D. Enrique III*, Francisco Martínez, Madrid, 1638. Reference to the love triangle which forms the plot of this drama may be found in Georgiana Goddard King's *A Brief Account of the Military Orders in Spain*, Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1921, pp. 69-70.

⁶⁵ Act II, p. 12.

contemptuous insolence, that such a king as Enrique III *can't* raise her to his rank—this, though the latter has proved himself Mendo's superior in a hand to hand combat. With the ominous promise that he *will* nevertheless equal their stations in life, the king has his opponent beheaded and in the hour of death gives his hand to Elvira. This "bloodletting" (*sangría*), recommended by the doctor, was accepted by the king only after all less violent means had been proved of no avail.

I doubt that Moreto and his friends knew the work of the same name, which was, as we shall see later, not printed until after the *comedia* now in manuscript had been represented. True both versions contain in common three dramatic episodes: (1) the scene wherein the king is reduced to such poverty that he must sup on a shoulder of mutton and the partridge he himself has killed; (2) the contrasting one wherein he is a silent observer of the feast spread before his nobles; and (3) the highly dramatic one where he demands restitution from his nobles. But such coincidence was the inevitable result of the historic tradition. The same scenes are to be found in *Los novios de Hornachuelos*,⁶⁶ and it was this play which served as a source for the corresponding scenes of Moreto and his friends, not the work of the *Escogidas*. Details show it. Moreover, as we have pointed out already (see n. p. 311), the version of the *Escogidas* gives Toledo as setting for this episode; the other two, Burgos.

The collaborators' debt is not limited to *Los novios de Hornachuelos*. They also drew freely from *El rey Don Pedro en Madrid (El Infanzón de Illescas)*.⁶⁷ The love story of Elvira has been carried over (even to the name), and so has the scene wherein the king disarms his haughty opponent and proves that he is sovereign not only by inherited right but by native ability.⁶⁸

The work of the collaborators is interesting for various reasons. Apparently made from an autograph, it carries within its pages the exact portion which should be attributed to each of the six men, the first sixth being the work of Zabaleta, the other five being

⁶⁶ Lope's? Vélez de Guevara's? Found in a manuscript of the Bibl. Nac'l, dated 1627, which is attributed to Vélez de Guevara. Easily available in the *Obras de Lope*, ed. Acad., Vol. X. See Rennert y Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega*, Madrid, 1919, p. 501, for a brief summary of the problem of authenticity; also Hill, *Los novios de Hornachuelos*, New York, 1929.

⁶⁷ Lope's? Printed as Lope's work in *Parte XXVII extravagante*, Barcelona, 1633, according to La Barrera. Available in *Obras de Lope*, ed. Acad., Vol. IX. See Rennert y Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega*, p. 488.

⁶⁸ Cf. *El rey Don Pedro*, III, p. 511, and the manuscript III, p. 7.

written by Martínez de Meneses, Rosete, Villaviciosa, Cáncer, and Moreto in the order named.⁶⁹

Is this the play to which Barrionuevo refers in his letter⁷⁰ of Sept. 22, 1655? "Habrá ocho días que vino Rosa, el autor de comedias, a esta corte, y la primera farsa que ha hecho y que hasta hoy dura, es la comedia de *D. Enrique*, el de las espaldas de carnero. En todas partes hay espejos donde se pueden ver los remedios eficaces de nuestra restauración; pero la lástima es que nadie se mira (*sic*) en ellos que lo pueda hacer." There is in my mind, no doubt but that it was the manuscript version which was represented at that time. Certainly the wavering conduct of the king in the *Escogidas* edition is not exemplary enough to serve as a mirror even to the weak Philip IV.⁷¹ Moreover, both structure and versification show it to be of an earlier date than 1655, whereas the play in manuscript is normal in its percentages for this period: a total of 2743 lines with 1800 of *romances* (65.6%), 726 of *redondillas* (26.5%), 110 of *décimas*, 70 of *pareados*, 17 of prose, and 20 of songs.

The play is interesting, too, because of its conclusion. The love story of Elvira and Mendo is taken from *El rey D. Pedro en Madrid* (*El Infanzón de Illescas*), as I have said, and if I mistake not, we have here the ending of the play as Lope wrote it. I am convinced that Menéndez y Pelayo⁷² was right in arguing that the version which we have of this play is probably Claramonte's revision of Lope's work; and if we may judge by the final lines, the original had a tragic end:

Y aquí tenga fin dichoso
de Illescas el Infanzón
con prodigios y sin muertes.⁷³

The conviction that the ending of *El rey Don Enrique el Enfermo* is very near the original is strengthened by the fact that this is the only play in Moreto's whole secular theatre which has a tragic end.

⁶⁹ See I, p. 15; I, p. 28; II, p. 14; II, p. 29; III, p. 10; III, p. 33.

⁷⁰ See his *Avisos*, Vol. II, p. 131.

⁷¹ One wonders if there may not have been a silent conspiracy on the part of the dramatists of this time to arouse the king from his lethargy. Was the decree in favor of historical plays, made in 1651 (see Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, p. 250), instigated in a measure by patriotic, as well as religious and moral, reasons? However, if the anecdotes of Barrionuevo (*Op. cit.*, I, pp. xxvi-vii) which paint the dire poverty of the royal family at this time were true, one can imagine that this particular play must have consoled as well as pricked poor Philip.

⁷² *Obras de Lope de Vega*, Vol. IX, pp. cxlii-cxxvi.

⁷³ The printed edition of Barcelona (1677) ends "sin casamiento y sin muerte." See Restori's review of the Royal Academy Edition, *Zeitschrift*, XXIX, 127.

Moreover, Elvira is so forceful in her just anger that she is much nearer Lope's animated heroines than Moreto's decorous ones. After reviewing for D. Mendo in masterly fashion the history of his duplicity, she asks him to marry her. He refuses; thereupon Elvira pronounces these ringing words:

y ya que os he conocido,
 aunque de todos los cetros
 que empuñan brazos invictos
 me hiciesen una corona
 que con todo su dominio
 ciñese imperial mis sienes
 de diamantes y zafiros,
 no me casara ⁷⁴ con vos
 por ingrato, por indigno,
 por traidor, mal caballero,
 por villano, así lo digo,
 que al que afrenta en sus acciones
 tantos blasones antiguos,
 ¿de que sirve lo heredado
 si es infamia lo adquirido?

and leaves.

Finally, the work is interesting because of its intrinsic value. One normally expects a play written by six collaborators to be a hodgepodge, disorganized, lacking in climax, inconsistent in characterization, pale and uneven in dialogue. Yet none of these things is true. The story is firmly knit and has a straightforward, onward march; the characters even to the minor ones, well-delineated; dialogue is forceful and, in general, natural; the *gracioso's* humor, if at times a bit broad, is undeniably amusing.

Such facts lead one to wonder if the play could be incorrectly attributed,⁷⁵ but examination shows that the manuscript, written in a precise, neat hand, is a careful piece of work that must be taken seriously. Those places within the three acts which carry respectively the names of Zabaleta, Rosete, and Cáncer are the

⁷⁴ The form is *casaré* in printed editions. In the Ms., see III, pp. 19-20, for the quotation.

⁷⁵ It has been printed as Cañizares' work in a *suelta* which I have seen in the Biblioteca Nacional, but as Cañizares was not born until 1676, and the Ms. carries this notation, "La escribió I.P.G.Y. en Zaragoza a 4 de abril, año 1689," it could not be his work. Moreover, there is every reason to think, as we have shown above, that the play is the one Rosa played in 1655. It is attributed to "un ingenio" in a *suelta* (N. 125, Vda. de Joseph de Orga, Valencia, 1768, 32 pp.) which Sr. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori possesses.

only logical ones, both in content and versification, for these authors to have laid down their pens. Moreover, Villaviciosa's fondness for the *entremés* is revealed in the stress he has given to the *gracioso's* rôle in his sixth: Cáncer's interest in popular songs is made evident in the portion attributed to him. If the tragic conclusion and the *brío* of the heroine are unexpected in Moreto's part, these facts can have an explanation in its nearness to the lost comedy of Lope de Vega.

It is a play which deserves a modern reprint and a closer study.

RUTH LEE KENNEDY

Smith College