Peasants in the Palace: Moreto and Cáncer's *La fuerza del natural* and the Mockery of Courtly Practices

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he dramaturgy that we have come to know as the *comedia nueva* is based on continuity and change: it is a theatrical system whose core traits evolved slightly over time since its inception, and at the same time it presents numerous themes and plots that were reused and adapted for new audiences by each generation of poets. By the middle of the seventeenth

century, the playwrights' tendency to rewrite previous theatrical texts had become much more predominant compared to the generation of Lope de Vega, and critics have considered this rehashing of plays as a main feature of playwriting from the 1650s onwards. One of the most significant examples of this practice can be found in Agustín Moreto since more or less half of his plays derive in some measure from works by other playwrights (Kennedy, Dramatic 36), a fact that has situated his works "entre el plagio y el canon" in the eyes of modern criticism (Sáez Raposo 195). From this perspective of remaking previous plays, "Moreto sería ... y no Calderón—de técnica muy diferente—, el poeta dramático más representativo de la segunda mitad del siglo en el marco de la evolución teatral hacia el XVIII" (Arellano 525). As much as our modern sense of originality conflicts with this practice of textual recycling, rewriting plays was above all a technique that allowed playwrights to expand on their inquiries on common cultural and social anxieties, to offer new answers to similar theatrical situations, and to develop, in short, the vast plurality of worlds that defines the comedia nueva.

In this article, I wish to focus on one of these plays traditionally associated with Agustín Moreto, *La fuerza del natural*, which has received little attention until now in spite of Ruth L. Kennedy's assessment of it as "one of the more attractive plays of Moreto" (*Sources* 369) and of critics' renewed interest in this playwright during recent years.¹ This play draws from Antonio Mira de Amescua's *Examinarse de rey*, and it is therefore an example of this rehashing process. However, it cannot be seen as just a mere revisiting of Mira's text.

As I will show, *La fuerza del natural* expands the comic element present in *Examinarse de rey* in an original way, relating it with a rich tradition of *comedia nueva* texts through a double process: on the one hand, it takes the central idea of Mira's original play in a whole new direction by connecting it to the motif of the peasant in the palace; on the other hand, it reconfigures one of its main characters by linking him to the contemporary tradition of the *figurón*. What is more, the humor is reshaped in quite a specific manner, as it is used to comically present several courtly rituals related to social behavior and amorous courtship. If one takes these perspectives into consideration, *La fuerza del natural* emerges as an attractive and fresh play.

Peasants in the Palace

La fuerza del natural is actually a collaborative play by Agustín Moreto and Jerónimo de Cáncer (and maybe also Juan de Matos Fragoso),² although it seems possible that Moreto had a larger role in this play and revised the sections not penned by him, as Fernández-Guerra suggested based on the cohesive structure of language and themes (Moreto, *Comedias* xxxiv).³ In this sense, La fuerza del natural is an example of the type of successful collaborative playwriting that characterizes Spanish theater from the 1630s onwards (Alviti 15). Having multiple authors does not presuppose a lack of coherence in the play's structure, quite common in other collaborative texts (MacKenzie, *Escuela* 39), or—as we will have a chance to see—in the portrayal of its main characters. We do not know the exact date in which La fuerza del natural was written, as no dated autograph manuscript or news of its premiere has reached us, but it was composed sometime before 1655, the year Cáncer died.⁴ It is therefore situated in the first period of Moreto's theatrical production, which comprises the decade of 1644-1654 (Lobato, "Moreto" 34-35), and at the end of Cáncer's career. The play belongs to the subgenre of the comedia *palatina* (Lobato, "Dramaturgia" 61), as it presents a fictitious story set in a foreign country, whose main characters are a mix of aristocracy and peasantry, and the dramatic conflicts involve themes such as a problematic love triangle or the loss and recovery of identities, all of them traits that define this subgenre (Weber de Kurlat; Oleza, "Propuesta" 252-54, 266; Oleza "Comedia"; Vitse 330; Zugasti). The *comedia palatina* subgenre was not new for either Moreto or Cáncer as both had already written other plays following its conventions, such as El licenciado Vidriera, Primera es la hora or Industrias contra finezas, in the case of Moreto (Lobato, "Dramaturgia" 61), and La verdad en el engaño, Enfermar en el remedio or La razón hace dichosos in the case of Cáncer (Mata Indurain 1: 1074-75).

The plot of *La fuerza del natural* is as follows: Carlos and Julio are sons of Roberto, keeper of the estate that the Duke of Ferrara has outside this Italian city. Whereas Carlos is clever, alert, and ambitious, Julio constantly displays his

ignorance and only worries about eating well. However, it turns out that Julio is really the Duke's son and has been under Roberto's care since he was born, as Carlos and Julio discover when the Duke arrives to claim his son, officially name him his heir, and marry him to his niece Aurora. The conflict lies in the fact that Carlos had fallen in love with Aurora when meeting her in the forest some days ago, and so he decides to follow Julio to the court hoping to be able to see Aurora and talk to her. Once in Ferrara, Julio acts as a simpleton, and the Duke orders different teachers and courtiers to help with his education, but they fail to teach him princely activities such as dancing and fencing. The Duke becomes more and more impatient with his son Julio and asks Carlos to help him, since he has been pleasantly surprised by his gallant behavior. Carlos sincerely tries to help Julio, but at the same time desires to please Aurora, who refuses to marry Julio and is increasingly attracted to Carlos due to his good looks and manners, in spite of the social difference between them. When the tension reaches its limit—with the Duke giving up on educating Julio and deciding to marry his niece to another suitor, and with Aurora desperate because she cannot fulfill her love for Carlos—the plot has a happy ending thanks to a final anagnorisis: it turns out that the Duke's true son was not Julio, but Carlos, whose identities had been changed when both were babies. Thus La fuerza del natural, as Carlos's courteous spirit is shown to have been a manifestation all along of his natural noble blood.

When studying the sources of La fuerza del natural, Kennedy showed that Moreto and Cáncer based their play on Mira de Amescua's Examinarse de rey (Sources 370-72), whose exact date of composition is unknown.⁵ In this play, the King of Naples has to go through an ordeal similar to that of the Duke of Ferrara in La fuerza del natural: his son and his nephew have been raised together in the countryside, both with the name of Carlos and unaware of their real identities. When the king shows up to reclaim his son after over twenty years, the peasant who had been in charge of the youngsters has forgotten who's who, and the two Carloses are taken to court in order to determine their true identity through a series of tests. To dramatize the importance of this identification, it turns out that the King's nephew is son of a prince who had tried to take over the kingdom by force, so it is of vital importance that the son of an attempted usurper does not manage to inherit the crown. In the end, the royal blood ends up distinguishing the real heir to the throne from his cousin. Moreto and Cáncer's La fuerza del natural shares with Mira's Examinarse de rey the general scheme of the plot—a prince who has lived all his life in the countryside returns to the court and eventually becomes the heir to the land and the basic idea that true blood always emerges. The specific development of both plays is quite different, as Examinarse de rey focuses on the tests that the two cousins have to go through in order to prove their royal blood, whereas La fuerza del natural revolves around the failed attempts to turn Julio into a worthy heir to Ferrara and Carlos's secret love for Aurora. The theme of the mistaken identity present in Mira's text might have been one of the elements that made Moreto pay attention to *Examinarse de rey*, as we find this motif in other plays by him (Kennedy, *Dramatic* 73).⁶

Beyond direct debts to a single play, La fuerza del natural must be seen as part of a larger number of texts, as it is related to those plays that make use of the motif of the peasant who finds him or herself in court and has to navigate through this unfamiliar social space. More specifically, Moreto and Cáncer's play belongs to the tradition within the *comedia nueva* of those plays in which the peasant who arrives in the court is really a prince, as is the case of Carlos (and, until the end, supposedly Julio) in *La fuerza del natural*. The motif of the peasant in the palace goes all the way back to some of the earliest Spanish plays, such as Juan del Encina's second eclogue or the Auto del Repelón (Salomon 60-62), and its variant of the peasant-prince was used by a number of playwrights since the early development of the *comedia nueva*, with plays such as *Los* donaires de Matico, El príncipe inocente, La mocedad de Roldán (by Lope de Vega) or *El vergonzoso en palacio* (by Tirso de Molina) as some prime examples. This connection between peasants and the court was especially relevant in the comedia palatina since one of the traits of this subgenre is "la sorprendente movilidad social de los personajes, que se desplazan del espacio de la Corte al de la Aldea y viceversa, [de donde] brotan las intrigas propias del género" (Arata, "Comedia" 159). The motif of the peasant who turns out to be the heir to a throne and is taken back to court so that he can readapt to his true identity, and thus claim his rightful possessions and bring stability to the state, is present since the early developments of the comedia palatina (Arata, "Comedia" 163-67). The true noble nature of these plays' main characters might or might not be known by them at the beginning of each play: whereas in Los donaires de Matico the leading couple (Rugero and Juana) disguise themselves as peasants in order to hide their noble identity and be able to fulfill their love by fleeing their parents' kingdoms, in Tirso's El vergonzoso en palacio the peasant Mireno is unaware that he is really the king's cousin until the end of the play. Playwrights could therefore experiment with how the process of anagnorisis developed in each plot. It is no surprise to find that this motif was especially productive in plays belonging to the subgenre of the *comedia palatina*, which poets used to explore topics such as the nature of individual representation and the complexity of identity, lineage and power, all of which come into play in the motif of the peasant-prince.

Even though plays that belong to this tradition can tend to have a more serious tone by transforming the peasant-prince into a savage-prince, as studied by Fausta Antonucci ("Salvaje"; *El salvaje* 108-17), or by introducing elements closer to tragedy, such as tyrannicide in Guillén de Castro's *El amor constante* (Wilson 20-21), the relationship between Court and Countryside often presented

a more comic perspective. This humor usually revolves around the ignorance displayed by the peasant regarding the ways of the court, in the tradition of the "villano bobo," studied by Salomon (20-149), who becomes the object of the audience's laughter. In other cases the peasant's alien status within the court allows him or her to enjoy a type of freedom that the courtiers do not possess, and therefore to break certain rules. In these situations, laughter is much more complex as it is aimed both at the character and at the social space.⁷ They are texts in which notions such as cultural conventions, court interactions and ideas on inherent nobility come into play in a variety of ways, as they are presented in the context of the tension between the country and the court, nature and civilization. Stefano Arata has referred to this motif of the ignorant peasant in the palace in the following terms:

[es una] situación-tipo que podríamos definir como "el ingenuo en palacio." ... Ignorando las reglas culturales que rigen en el palacio, el héroe se comporta de forma impertinente con el rey y con los cortesanos, sacando a la luz las hipocresías y los complots de los ministros, ridiculizando la vanidad y la ambición de los consejeros del rey ... Al entrar en contacto con la Corte, el *príncipe salvaje* cumple un papel análogo al del gracioso, hasta el punto que el héroe llega a protagonizar escenas que en otras comedias desarrollan bufones, locos u otros personajes subalternos. ("Príncipe" 186-87)

In order to understand the original approach that characterizes the main elements of *La fuerza del natural*, we have to read this play in the light of this tradition. This motif is also related to certain social practices of the time in which the worlds of the Court and the Countryside would come into contact under specific circumstances, particularly when there was a festive element to this relationship. Using peasants as a form of entertainment was a practice common to European courts of the time. Baldassare Castiglione refers in his *The Book of the Courtier* to the joke played by several noblemen on some ladies of an Italian court:

Pocos días ha que llegó al lugar que yo agora entiendo un villano de Bérgamo, y, en llegando, tomáronle luego ciertos caballeros cortesanos, y vistiéronle tan concertadamente, que según le aderezaron bien, aunque nunca había hecho sino guardar bueyes, dixérades, si no le hubiérades visto antes, que era un muy honrado caballero y un muy buen galán. Y así, siendo dicho a aquellas dos señores que allí había llegado un español, criado del cardenal Borja, que se llamaba Castillo, hombre muy avisado y gran músico y buen danzador, y, en fin, el mejor cortesano que hubiese en toda España, en la misma hora desearon mucho hablalle, y así enviaron luego por él. Venido delante dellas, después de habelle muy bien recebido, hiciéronle asentar, y comenzaron a hablalle muy de propósito y casi los más de los que estaban allí presentes sabían que aquél era un vaquero de Bérgamo. Por eso, viendo que aquellas señoras le hacían tanta honra, no podían valerse de risa. ... En fin, tanto duró esta plática, que a todos les dolían ya las ijadas de risa, y él, al cabo, hubo de dar tan buenas señas de sí, que ya estas señoras hubieron de caer en la cuenta, aunque con trabajo pudieron desengañarse. (212-23)

This anecdote is not only a My Fair Lady-esque joke aimed at the unsuspecting *damas*. The contrast between courtly elegance and the peasant served as a way to highlight the *dignitas* associated with the world of the court by way of stressing the existing difference with a member of the countryside. The presence of dwarfs and fools hired as jesters and entertainers by European courts of the Early Modern period played the same ideological role, as the perceived greatness of the king and his courtiers was increased as they reasserted their superiority over those who were not like them (Bouza, Locos 46). One of these entertainers in the Spanish court of Felipe IV was Catalina del Viso, a peasant with slight mental impairment who initially worked as a servant for one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting. After an anecdote about Catalina's simplicity was heard by Queen Isabel de Borbón, she was hired to serve her as a donaire and ended up working in the palace between 1653 and 1664 (Bouza, Locos 44; Bouza, Corre 195-99). It is not a coincidence that Bouza, when examining the life of Catalina del Viso, associates her with the figure of the simple peasant, alien to the palace's courtliness, that appeared as a character in many comedia *nueva* plays of the time (Bouza, *Locos* 44). The paradoxical presence of these men and women in the royal palace, who were full members of the court and at the time were marginal to the values that organized this space (Zijderveld 113-15), also allowed them to break some of the rules that regulated the courtiers' lives: "[A]similados a los locos auténticos, los truhanes parecían vivir fuera de las convenciones protocolarias y, en buena medida, su gracia consistía precisamente en violar los rígidos usos de la sociedad estamental y de palacio" (Bouza, Locos 28). Similar dynamics of order and rupture, of aristocratic values and comic relief, based on the presence of a destabilizing figure in the court, will come into play in La fuerza del natural.

Reshaping Humor

Moreto and Cáncer took the plot of Mira de Amescua's *Examinarse de rey* as inspiration for their own play, but they redirected its main themes into a more humorous route. Mira's text is not extremely comical: the two main characters that compete against each other in order to prove they are the real heir to the throne of Naples do so very seriously, as the stakes are so high. This peculiar race for power does not allow for fooling around, and an important part of the plot's tension is based on the difficulty the King of Naples goes through in order to discover who his son is, as both youngsters show similar attributes privy to kingship. The comic relief of Examinarse de rey relies entirely on the character of a traditional gracioso, a peasant called Domingo who had lived with the two Carloses in the countryside and accompanies them to the court of Naples as their servant. Domingo is presented as a "bruto" (Act 1), an ignorant of the ways of the court whose comic role is based primarily on typical gracioso puns ("mi persona un nombre tiene / que tras el sábado viene / y es fiesta de la semana," Act 2) or on his lack of common sense, such as when he presents a series of petitions to be made a captain or "si eso no me viene bien, / un gobierno pido aquí" (Act 3). Domingo himself recognizes his eccentric-and therefore comic—position in the court, as he states not long after arriving at Naples:

> DOMINGO. Yo estoy fuera de mi centro. Yo estoy vendido en palacio. Las dueñas con alfileres, los meninos con sus mazos y con gargajos los pajes me tienen muy acosado. (Act 2)

The role of this character in *Examinarse de rey* is minor as Domingo has relatively few significant interventions, and he does not have a leading role in any scene central to the development of the plot. His role as comic relief is adequate with his interventions dispersed throughout the play, as Mira is more interested in focusing on the main characters' attempt to prove they are the real heir of Naples. It is also of importance to notice how, in spite of having been raised in the countryside, the two main characters do not display any trait typical of simple peasants. From the very beginning of the play, even before they discover their true identities, the two Carloses display attitudes associated with nobility, and their transition to the context of the court is free of any tension as they naturally assume that they really belong there. The idea that true noble blood always shines through is at the heart of *Examinarse de rey*, and Mira is not interested in any other elements that distract the audience's attention from the competition between the two cousins.

Moreto and Cáncer, on the other hand, expand the comic aspect of the motif of the peasant in the palace in *La fuerza del natural*. Previous playwrights

had explored the humorous possibilities of this motif. Lope de Vega's Los *donaires de Matico* is an excellent example, as the play's main characters, the peasants Sancho and Matico (masks that really hide prince Rugero and noble doña Juana), offer the audience a couple of comic scenes when they have to pretend to be ignorant in order to protect their real identities. For example, in the first act Sancho receives some armor so that he can begin to practice with weapons, but he feigns ignorance about how to wear it by asking if the neckpiece goes on his foot and if he has to carry the rest in his hand (Donaires 862-901). Cáncer and Moreto take this element a step further as they turn La fuerza del natural into a play in which humor is a central element. They do so mainly through one mechanism: by transforming one of the most relevant characters of the play into a completely comic one. Thus, the two serious and similar characters of Mira's *Examinarse de rey* who compete for the throne become two neatly different characters in La fuerza del natural: the gallant Carlos, who will turn out to be the Duke of Ferrara's real son, and the simple and ignorant Julio, who is believed to be the heir until the very end of the play. Here lies Moreto and Cáncer's most significant innovation: giving the peasant in the palace motif a leading role in their play and exaggerating its comic features through the character of Julio, therefore putting into motion a whole new set of humorous situations that do not appear in *Examinarse de rey*.

This increased importance of the comic role is consistent with the development of the gracioso during the seventeenth century, as Leoni has studied (15-17). However, Julio is more than a typical gracioso. The two playwrights created him by resorting to elements reminiscent of a quite modern type of characterization: that of the *figurón*. Critics such as Kennedy (Sources 369) or Arellano and García Ruiz (49) have actually considered Julio a figurón, an idea I can only partially agree with, as La fuerza del natural is not a comedia de figurón but a comedia palatina with echoes of the comedia con figurón.⁸ This subgenre began to take shape in the first half of the seventeenth century, especially with plays such as *Cada loco con su tema*, written by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza around 1619, and Entre bobos anda el juego, written by Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla in 1638, and would continue to enjoy the audience's favor well into the eighteenth century. The *comedia de figurón* represents a significant part of Moreto's own theatrical production (Mackenzie, Francisco 113-64), with El lindo don Diego as a prime example. Different critics have offered their own definitions of what constitutes a *figurón* or a *comedia de figurón*,⁹ although there are still problems regarding the limits of the subgenre and the classification of the different types of *figurones* (Lanot and Vitse 204-205). A functional definition is that given by Arellano and García Ruiz, who define the figurón as "[un] personaje fundamentalmente ridículo marcado por ciertas peculiaridades que lo separan de los demás y lo convierten inconscientemente en objeto de risa" (42); the *figurón* must also persist in his ridiculous attitude during the whole play and suffer a punishment for his foolishness at the end (Serralta, "Sobre" 86).¹⁰

By giving Julio an important role in La fuerza del natural, Moreto and Cáncer turn this character into something more than a stock gracioso, in the sense that he presents traits more common to figurones: He is a ridiculous figure to both other characters and the play's audience; he is an extreme simpleton who travels to the court from the countryside in relation to marital business; he is unable to act and speak correctly outside of his natural environment; and his role in the play is entirely comical, without the more serious overtones that often characterize a gracioso's relationship with his master. A reversed version of Carlos, Julio is an *antigalán*, which is the typical function of a *figurón* (MacCurdy132). However, there are other elements of the *figurones* that are not present in Julio: He does not show vanity for having a high economic status or for having only Christian and noble blood (a *linajudo*, as those obsessed by the purity of their ancestry were known); he does not wear old-fashioned clothes; and he is ridiculed, but other characters do not exactly conspire to teach him a lesson by making a fool out of him. Julio is therefore not a fully developed figurón, but he draws from this type and is indeed a figura, a character "definido básicamente a partir de una gestión intensificada de lo irrisorio o ridículo" (Rodríguez Cuadros 81). From this perspective, I see him closer to being a "bobo-figurón" than a "figurón-bobo," to use the dichotomy proposed by Serralta in relation to the character of don Cosme in Un bobo hace *ciento* ("Entre" 191). Julio is based on the type of the *bobo* (in the tradition of the simple peasant) and the gracioso, and acquires a more complex role by adopting elements and functions closely related to a figurón.

The case of *La fuerza del natural* is not unique in the way the comic character suffers a notable transformation in the process of revising an existing play. This technique of increasing the role of the comic figure is actually pretty common in Agustín Moreto, for he often made better use of different episodes related to the *gracioso* in order to integrate them into the main plot (Castañeda 32). An example of this practice is *De fuera vendrá*, a rewrite of Lope de Vega's *De cuando acá nos vino*, in which Moreto changed the original character of the aunt and turned her into a sort of *figurona* obsessed with finding a lover for herself (Gavela García 138-141). A similar process takes place between's Guillén de Castro's *El narciso de su opinión* and Moreto's *El lindo don Diego*, whose leading characters have been defined respectively as a "prefigurón" and an "auténtico figurón" (Fernández Fernández, "Comedia" 91).

Courtly Practices as Comical Performances

Noël Salomon has studied how, when Early Modern playwrights use peasants in their plays in humorous situations, laughter is based on "la disonancia social, la inadaptación al medio" (62), that is, the conflict between court

and countryside, and the incapacity of the peasant to act as he is expected to. This humor reinforces the aristocratic view of the world that permeates the *comedia nueva*, based on the urban and aristocratic audience of the plays (66-68). However, the presence of these same eccentric elements in the context of the court could sometimes serve as ways to break the rules and, therefore, draw attention to their own existence. In the case of seventeenth-century Spain, where social interactions between members of the court were highly structured (Noel 146-47) and etiquette presented a strong performative element in a way similar to other European courts (Elias 91-95), the act of showing the true nature of some of these relations on stage is meaningful. The connection between the performative nature of Early Modern courts and the roles played by both court jesters and the graciosos has been stressed by Leoni, especially in relation to Rojas Zorrilla and Agustín Moreto (Leoni 91-140). In La fuerza del natural, Moreto and Cáncer exploit the laughter generated by Julio's *figurón*-like attempts to act and talk like a gentleman (Hernández 198) and his educational deficiencies (Fernández Fernández, "Pervivencia" 337-39) in a similar perspective. Julio's inability to navigate through the court of Ferrara is articulated in such a way that the comic situations actually serve as a parodic reversal of different court rituals related to social behavior and amorous courtship, especially by humorously pointing out their performative nature and by ridiculously portraying the theme of the prince's education. Similar in this sense to a *figurón*, "un periférico con respecto al centro que es la Corte" (Lanot 136), Julio can comically disrupt these courtly practices as laughter is not only aimed to the simple peasant, but is also based on the artificial nature of life at court. After all, and in spite of the conventional ending of the play, until the very last moment a peasant—Julio—is thought to be the true heir to the throne of Ferrara, a misconception that plays with an unstable nature of identity.¹¹ The idea that fools and peasants hold a natural truth is also at work behind the action of La fuerza del natural.¹²

The mockery of courtly practices begins from the very moment Julio arrives in Ferrara. First of all, he is unable to follow the conventions regarding the etiquette of salutations, which are comically deformed due to Julio's simplicity. Thus, he wishes the Duke a good evening instead of a good morning:

JULIO.	Dios os dé muy buenas noches.
CARLOS.	Señor, ¿qué has dicho? ¿Estás ciego?
JULIO.	¿Pues ha sido bobería?
CARLOS.	¿Noches das, siendo de día?
JULIO.	Pues guárdenlas para luego. (Comedias 215b)

When Carlos instructs Julio to ask the Duke for his hand it is intended to be a sign of respect, which is performed through the act of Julio kissing the Duke's hand. However, Julio understands this idea in the literal sense, and he decides to be wittier that everybody else and asks the Duke for his glove:

JULIO. Dice que os pida la mano, mas yo soy tan cortesano que no os pido más que un guante, que no os hará tanta falta. (*Comedias* 215b)

By trying to prove that he is "tan cortesano," Julio ends up turning this gesture of submission into a joke. It is an embarrassing scene for the rest of the characters who are present, since Julio does not know how to act in the way he is expected to; it also points out the ritualized foundation of interpersonal relationships that dominate the court. The act of knowing how to greet your equals and—especially—your superiors was fundamental. These protocols were elements that helped manifest the royal *maiestas* through the performance of distinctive salutations, based on the specific rank within nobility of the speakers and the circumstances. In this case, the fact that Julio has been raised in the countryside acts as an excuse for his poor behavior. Following these initial greetings, Julio expresses his weariness and decides to sit down to rest, a gesture that also goes against courtly social practices as the Duke—the highest authority present—is still standing.

DUQUE.	¿Vienes bueno?
JULIO.	Algo molido,
	Siéntase
	mas yo os lo diré sentado.
DUQUE.	No te haga, Aurora, estrañeza, que es sencillez conocida la suya.
AURORA.	(<i>Ap</i> En toda mi vida no vi tan torpe fiereza.) Yo quiero sentarme y todo.
DUQUE.	Siéntate, pues se sentó.
JULIO.	No anden en eso, que yo estó bien de cualquier modo. (<i>Comedias</i> 215b-215c)

This scene would certainly provoke laughter among the play's audience, and it would do so because Moreto and Cáncer have their character go against the guidelines that rule the way courtiers must act—or I should say, perform in the context of the court.

Julio not only ignores how he has to proceed in front of the Duke, he also fails to control his own language and to interact according to implied conventions. This allows Moreto and Cáncer to play with the artificial nature of the rigid codes that regulated interpersonal relationships in the court. Julio is encouraged by the Duke to talk to his cousin and bride-to-be Aurora, a situation that, in normal circumstances, allowed a suitor to display his verbal ability to praise the beauty of his lady through the use of *conceptos* and the code of courtly love. However, Julio is no gentleman, and so this archetypical situation crumbles into a scene of pure jest, as the peasant is completely unaware of the expectations surrounding this type of conversation. In fact, Carlos had foreseen this possibility and had prepared a document for Julio to use when this moment arrived, a manuscript in which he had scripted Julio's answers based on probable questions he could be asked. Julio's simplicity makes him use the wrong answers, provoking the astonishment of those present and the hilarity of the play's audience:

DUQUE.	¿No le hablas a Aurora? Di.
JULIO.	No traigo qué habrar con ella, mas lo que he de respondella escrito lo traigo aquí.
	Saca un papel
DUQUE.	Pues háblate tú.
AURORA.	Sí haré:
	de veros alegre estoy.
DUQUE.	¿No respondes?
JULIO.	A eso voy; espérese y lo veré. [] Aquí dice a la primera: "perdonad, prima, por Dios."
AURORA.	¿Pido yo limosna? El juicio le falta.
JULIO.	Segunda, a eso dice: "que la mano us beso y vengo a vueso servicio." ¡No vengo tal! ¡Arre allá! Un puerco es quien lo escribió. ¿A vueso servicio yo?

AURORA.	Para servirme dirá, mas la obligación que veis siempre a serviros me obliga.
JULIO.	Tercera; a eso diz que diga: "vos, prima, lo merecéis."
DUQUE.	(<i>Ap</i> Corrido estoy del efeto que en él causa lo que ignora. Yo no entiendo cómo a Aurora le ha parecido discreto.)
JULIO.	¡Esto es saber responder! (<i>Comedias</i> 215c)

This comic scene is built on the artificiality of courtly interactions, which are humorously deconstructed by Julio's failure to understand both the script he has been given and the nonsensical nature of the dialogue with Aurora that results from this. Thus, when Julio answers Aurora's comment on her happiness of seeing him, he uses an erroneous apologetic expression—"perdonad, prima, por Dios"—that, out of context, is similar to the type of excuses that people gave to beggars when they would not give them any money, which explains Aurora's indignant and surprised reaction—";Pido yo limosna?". Julio then uses another of the answers provided by Carlos in the paper, which resorts to a series of common expressions of gratitude and amorous service—"que la mano us beso / y vengo a vueso servicio". Unaware of the coded nature of these words, Julio interprets the last sentence in a literal sense and believes that he is really going to be a servant to Aurora. The metaphoric nature of language, especially of ritualized expressions that help articulate interactions between members of the court, is lost to Julio, who has not been educated to decode and follow these conventions. That Moreto and Cáncer have Julio fail at this attempt to hold a conversation with Aurora is founded on the importance that conversation had in the Early Modern courts as part of every courtier's savoir faire. The relevance of this ability is manifested in the large number of courtesy treatises of the period that paid special attention to this matter (Burke, Hablar 115-53). What's more, the document drafted by Carlos and ill-used by Julio can be seen as a comic reference to the different courtesy manuals that circulated in European courts during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, following the success of Baldassare Castiglione's The Book of the Courtier (Chartier 246-62). Sometimes these guidebooks of courtly etiquette were not meant to be published, but circulated in manuscript form and were prepared for specific courtiers by members of their family (Bouza, Corre 215-32). Through the inclusion of advice, anecdotes, and models of social behavior, they were meant to instruct young courtiers in the manners of the palace by presenting different types of potential situations and teaching the reader how to succeed. This "papel" (*Comedias* 215c) assumes the same role in *La fuerza del natural*, as it is meant to help Julio talk by using the correct rhetoric through a series of scripted responses and to teach him how to act properly in different situations. This is why Julio refuses to give it to the Duke when he asks for it because he needs this guide of good manners in order to know how to perform after dinner:

DUQUE.	Déjame el papel a mí.
JULIO.	No, que también viene aquí para después de comer.
DUQUE.	¿Tanto incluye?
JULIO.	Es muy profundo. Con el papelillo puede andarse uno, si socede, viendo primas por el mundo. (<i>Comedias</i> 215c-216a)

The humor associated to this document allows Moreto and Cáncer to make fun of Julio at the expense of his ignorance—and therefore this laughter would respond to an aristocratic point of view. At the same time, they resort to a series of burlesque situations that reveal on the stage the performative nature of these courtly practices, as both the words Julio has to speak and the movements he can perform can and have to be scripted beforehand for him. Deviation from what is expected generates laughter, but it also exposes the true nature of what is considered normative in the court.

The ridicule of courtly language is developed further at the beginning of the second act, when Julio and Carlos meet Aurora in a room in the palace. Carlos is trying to help Julio adapt his behavior to his new princely condition and, at the same time, he wants to court Aurora without openly expressing his affection. Thus, when they see her, Carlos encourages Julio to talk to Aurora and tries to help him by acting as a prompter, but this attempt of verbal lovemaking is doomed to fail due to Julio's incapacity to understand the artificial nature of this language. Carlos's amorous concepts are ridiculously transformed by Julio into gibberish as he does not comprehend the words he is actually saying:

CARLOS.	Dila, Julio, por cumplir algo, que obligado estás.
JULIO.	Sóplame tú por detrás lo que tengo de decir.
CARLOS.	Dila: Señora, estas flores

JULIO.	Dila: Señora, estas frores
CARLOS.	dicen con mucha armonía
JULIO.	dicen con mucha albornía
CARLOS.	que esta verde monarquía
JULIO.	que esta verde mona cría
CARLOS.	os debe muchos primores.
JULIO.	os debe muchos priores.
CARLOS.	¡Todo a perder lo has echado!
JULIO.	¡Todo a perder lo has echado!
CARLOS.	Calla ahora.
JULIO.	Calla ahora. (Comedias 217c)

The idea of courtly language as something that can be rehearsed in order to perform correctly appears again after this comic scene. Julio tells Aurora that his words are all sincere, but immediately after this he contradicts himself as he tells her that he had actually learnt them by heart, just as if they were a prayer: "Yo, como el Ave María, / estodiado lo traía" (*Comedias* 218a). Just as any Christian needed to memorize the *Hail Mary* as part of his basic religious education, the courtier had to assimilate the basic premises of the language of love. As we see, Moreto and Cáncer constantly operate with this notion of the court as a world of social performance, in which love is also coded, and whose specific rhetoric can be memorized by the lover in order to achieve his desire.

Together with these aspects of courtly language and social interactions, Moreto and Cáncer also comically play with the motif of the prince's instruction, that is, the idea that the perfect prince must go through a process of education in order to conform to a series of social expectations and be able to correctly perform his role. The prince, like any other courtier, had to become "un hombre 'universal', tan hábil con las armas como con la pluma, capaz de cantar, bailar, pintar y escribir poesía, y galantear con las mujeres (o hacerles la 'corte') en el lenguaje de moda del amor neoplatónico" (Burke, "Cortesano" 146). I have already examined how Julio's failure to court Aurora is central to the first moments of the supposed prince in the court of Ferrara. The second part of the play focuses on Julio's incapacity to assimilate the other elements of his education, and humor once more serves as a vehicle to show the artificiality of these courtly practices.

The theme of the prince's education is present in other plays that use the motif of the peasant in the palace. For example, in Lope de Vega's *Los donaires de Matico*, the education of the shepherd Sancho becomes the priority for the Count of Barcelona when he decides that Sancho will marry his daughter

and inherit his title. This process is taken seriously in Lope's play, as Sancho studies Latin with a private tutor and successfully learns to conjugate verbs. Lope is more interested in how this situation can lead to a scene of an ingenious declaration of love, as Sancho conjugates the verb to love in such a way that he reaffirms his passion toward Matico/doña Juana (Donaires 1230-1262). Moreto and Cáncer, on the other hand, develop this theme of the prince's education with a completely comic perspective, and by doing so they highlight once more the artificiality of the whole situation. As in Los donaires de Matico, Julio's instruction is meant to cover the two basic elements of every princely education in Renaissance Europe: arms and letters. Julio tries to learn to dance and fence. Dance was an extremely appreciated activity at the time, as it was an essential part of court festivities (Burke, "Cortesano" 148). The dance professor attempts to teach Julio the pavana, a slow-paced dance that was popular in European courts at the time. Julio fails miserably as his clumsiness prevents him from being able to correctly perform the dance steps, and he even falls to the ground. Julio is so ridiculous when trying to learn this dance that another character even calls him a "figura" (Comedias 218c), a connoted term related to the figurón (Asensio 77-86; Fernández Fernández, "Comedia" 20-23) and which is used in this scene as a reference to Julio's extravagant and burlesque pose when attempting to learn the *pavana*.

Julio also fails when he tries his part in games based on verbal wit. At the end of the second act, the Duke asks Carlos, Julio, Aurora, and other courtiers to play a game, whose objective is to determine what type of person is the most passionate lover, in order to entertain him. In order to structure the game, Carlos, Julio, and two other participants are assigned one of the four elements, whereas Aurora has to tell the story of Icarus. When she mentions a property related to one of the elements, the person who has been assigned such element has to intervene and explain the relation of such reference to their element or face a penalty if they make a mistake. The game is thus an exercise of wit, meant to allow the participants to show their verbal ability. It is inspired in similar games that were common in courts and literary academies of the time, and of which Moreto was quite fond of, based on the number of plays that incorporate similar scenes (Kennedy, Dramatic 106). In the case of La fuerza *del natural*, the game is meant to serve as another occasion to portray Julio's ignorance. He is assigned the element of water, but when Aurora mentions the foam created by waves, Julio calls out "¡Vino!," arguing that "si hace espuma el agua / también hace espuma el vino" (Comedias 221b). Unable to understand the subtlety of the game, Julio fails in his attempt to take part in it and relates what he hears to his true desires—wine—, an archetypical trait of the *gracioso*.

This serves to make fun of another quintessential courtly activity: writing poetry. For having made a mistake in the game, Aurora punishes Julio by asking him to read out loud a poem he has written. Julio complies and proceeds to read out loud a "décima" he has written for Gila, the peasant he is really in love with. However, the poem is yet another verbal failure by Julio. The *dispositio* is completely wrong, as the poem is preceded by an expression that was used at the end of a text—"*Laus Deo*", and the expected praise of Gila turns out to be more damming that laudatory, as she is described as "un poco puerca / y otro poco lagañosa" and compared to a "tarasca" (*Comedias* 221c), the dragon-like figure used in the Corpus Christi procession.

We must be careful not to fall into the fallacy of thinking that such burlesque representation of courtly practices implies any sort of direct political or social satire. The extravagancy associated to a figure such as Julio generates a controlled type of laughter, which is aimed more toward the character than his circumstances,¹³ and the motif that true blood always shows reflects a static and predetermined view of the individual and society. Nature and culture, apparently at odds during the development of the play, are reintegrated at the end in a harmonious union with the discovery that Carlos is the legitimate heir. As Leoni has pointed out regarding the humor of court jesters and certain graciosos, "the feared subversive power of laughter was ... precisely the force by which the status quo was maintained" (103). Audiences, after all, enjoy seeing themselves on stage and being able to laugh at their own values and attitudes.¹⁴ In the case of *La fuerza del natural*, we know that it was performed by the company of Simón Aguado el Joven in February 1675 at the palace of the Alcázar, in Madrid (Ferrer Valls), most probably in front of the King and his family. The play's success continued well into the eighteenth century (Andioc and Coulon 724-25), when we know that it was also performed at least one other time in front of the Royal Family, this time in the palace of the Buen Retiro.¹⁵ Making fun of certain courtly practices did not mean that the court could not participate in the laughter or that it was perceived as subversive by the spectators. Courtiers were a particularly suitable audience of La fuerza del natural, since the social practices that are presented on stage were part of their own reality. After all, the simple Julio is the target of all laughs and his inability to become a real prince due to his ignoble origins reinforces the conservative values of the time. He acts as a reversed speculum princeps on the need of a prince's education.

All in all, Moreto and Cáncer's decision to rewrite Mira's *Examinarse de rey* in a whole new direction allowed them to explore certain aspects of court society that were not always exposed on stage.¹⁶ La fuerza del natural is therefore much more than a mere remake. It is a notable play that belongs in the *comedia palatina* subgenre but that draws some elements from the tradition of the *figurón* plays in the character of Julio. Through him Moreto and Cáncer rework the motif of the peasant in the palace and exploit its comical possibilities to a degree that is far beyond what we find in previous, similar plays. And what is more interesting, humor is not only used to make fun of a simple peasant in

line with an aristocratic view of the world, but it is also used as a mechanism to expose the conventional nature of several instances of life in the court. In the case of *La fuerza del natural*, laughter is aimed at the peasant and at the palace.

Notes

1. This article has benefited from my participation in the research projects funded by the Spanish MICINN with the references CSD2009-00033 and FFI2011-23549, as well as in the project *Manos Teatrales: An Experiment in CyberPaleography*, directed by Margaret R. Greer. The quotes from *La fuerza del natural* come from Luis Fernández-Guerra's 1856 edition, but have been revised according to the edition of this play that I am currently preparing for the research project *Moretianos* (www.moretianos.com).

2. Cassol has recently studied how Moreto often collaborated with other playwrights, especially with Jerónimo de Cáncer, when writing for the stage (170-171). Cáncer wrote only two plays by himself; the rest of his theatrical production was the product of collaboration with other playwrights such as Moreto, Calderón, or Vélez de Guevara (Mata Indurain 1: 1071). As for Matos Fragoso's involvement in *La fuerza del natural*, it is a supposition first proposed by Morley (168-69) when he studied the play's strophic system and later assumed without further inquiry by other critics (Kennedy, *Dramatic* 132-133; Lobato, "Moreto" 35; Cassol 170, 181). Matos collaborated with Moreto and Cáncer in other plays, so this hypothesis is possible, although it is yet to be proved beyond reasonable doubt. In this article I will consider Moreto and Cáncer as the authors of *La fuerza del natural* as their names are the only ones mentioned in the final verses of the play as those of the poets responsible for the text.

3. *La fuerza del natural* first appeared in the posthumous *Segunda parte* of Moreto's plays, published in 1676, where all references to Jerónimo Cáncer as coauthor were eliminated.

4. Since public theaters were closed in the kingdom of Castile between 1646 and 1651 due to the death of Prince Baltasar Carlos, it is probable that *La fuerza del natural* was written between the reopening of the playhouses in 1651 and Cáncer's death in 1655.

5. The play was published several times in the form *sueltas*, although all known editions lack bibliographical references (Valladares Reguero 73-74).

6. It is interesting to note that the motifs of the force of true blood and of the confused identities had already been explored in combination by Guillén de Castro in his play *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, where a final anagnorisis explains the reason behind the noble actions of the peasant Cardenio and the lustful desires of the noble Marqués, who had been swapped when they were babies (Wilson 79).

7. The episode of Sancho Panza as governor of the Ínsula Barataria in the second part of the *Quijote* is a well-known example of the complexity of laughter in relation to the motif of the peasant in the palace. Sancho is both the target of laughter and a voice of good sense during his time as fake ruler of the Duke and Duchess's town.

8. As Arellano and García Ruiz point out, "[A] nuestro juicio el figurón es un tipo, no un género. Su presencia no engendra una especie dramática diversa de la comedia de capa y espada. Sencillamente se integra en ella. De ahí que quizás sea mejor hablar de comedias con figurón y no de comedias de figurón" (42). Although Serralta's arguments in favor of the existence of the subgenre *comedia de figurón* are solid and must be taken into account ("Sobre" 86-88), the case of *La fuerza del natural* is closer to a *comedia con figurón*, as it is not set in the usual context of a *comedia de capa y espada* that characterizes the *comedia de figurón* (Hernández 193), but is a *comedia palatina* in which one its main characters draws traits from the *figurón* formula.

9. Some of the fundamental works on this matter are Lanot and Vitse; Lanot; Serralta, "Tipo"; Fernández Fernández; Arellano, "Generalización."

10. Serralta considers that this final punishment usually means that the *figurón* does not get married at the end of the play. This is not the case of Julio, who gets engaged to Gila, the peasant he was in love with before coming to the court of Ferrara, and he therefore does not entirely lose his dignity. Julio does suffer a different kind of punishment that excludes him from the triumphant closure that Carlos enjoys: the discovery that he is not really the son and heir of the Duke of Ferrara and, therefore, his *natural* place is back in the countryside.

11. Playing with social identities was one of the jests performed by real *donaires* in the Spanish court, as they would sometimes pretend to be clerics or noblemen. Bouza mentions the example of the jester Manuel Gómez, who in 1657 pretended to be the Marqués de Tábara when he visited the house of the Duque de Béjar, an impersonation that almost caused a rift between the two noblemen because of the misunderstanding (Bouza, *Locos* 29-30).

12. The idea that people from the countryside have a natural wisdom that can be useful for the government of the state and the development of the perfect ruler can be found, for example, in Saavedra Fajardo's *Empresa* 67, where we find statements such as "aprenda [el príncipe] de la misma Naturaleza, en quien, sin malicia, engaño ni ofensa, está la verdadera razón de estado" (Saavedra Fajardo 654).

13. Lanot points out the "utilidad social de la risa provocada por el figurón [y su] función de defensa de un grupo confortado en sus convicciones y certidumbres por la evacuación o la defraudación de toda clase de amenaza. La risa apuntala un código socio-estético en la cual estriba la cohesión ilusoria del grupo social dominante" (142).

14. An example of this is found in the great success of the *comedia burlesca* within the context of palace performances: making fun of aristocratic values could be assimilated by the audiences of the court, including the King himself. As Serralta has stressed in relation to the *comedias burlescas*, which quite often turned court society upside down, "muchos de los [valores de la época] que se niegan son más bien valores formales que reales. ... Al contrario, aunque parezca una paradoja, podría constituir un cierto reconocimiento de los mismos, una especie de homenaje que se les rinde" (Serralta, "Comedia" 106).

15. A *suelta* of *La fuerza del natural* published in Madrid in 1742 includes on its front page the subtitle "Fiesta que se ha de representar a sus majestades en el real palacio del Buen Retiro," together with the cast list of actors and actresses who took part in this performance (Moreto).

16. *La fuerza del natural* spawned its own remake, a play written by Francisco Leiva Ramírez de Arellano and titled *Cuando no se aguarda y príncipe tonto* (Kennedy, "Sources" 370). It is significant that this much inferior text does not present the playful use of courtly practices and focuses more on the leading female character's attempts to prevent her marriage to a daft prince, thus offering a conventional and less comic plot.

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de/desde lo pequeño y sus deslindes simbólicos. Desde la virilla de plata del Siglo de Oro, este ensayo realiza una cala interpretativa en un campo de estudio cada vez más pujante: aquel que recupera, teoriza e interpreta el impacto de la cultura material, su consumo y circulación en la producción textual y teatral de la temprana modernidad. (NC)

ABSTRACT

El presente artículo explora los valores sensoriales y visuales de algunos pasajes lopianos partiendo de la íntima relación entre *dulzura*, dicción poética y *enargeia* presente en la obra del Fénix. Se analizan diferentes pasajes, procedentes de *La viuda valenciana*, las *Novelas a Marcia Leonarda* y la *Égloga a Amarilis*, donde se privilegia el empleo y la viveza descriptiva de la *enargeia* a través de la recurrencia a la representación pictórica tizianesca de Venus. Dicho motivo se erige como denominador común de un corpus coherente de textos que codifican plásticamente una vivencia compartida con la receptora implícita (Marcia Leonarda, Amarilis). (MAFC)

ABSTRACT

Magdalena, the female protagonist in Tirso de Molina's *La celosa de sí misma*, suffers from a doubling of identity that is both externally and internally imposed. While her erstwhile suitor and husband-to-be Don Melchor initiates the creation of an unknown "mujer tapada," it is Magdalena who decides to extend the misunderstanding and who chooses to play the role of the fictional Countess of Chirinola. As she does so, Magdalena must confront Melchor's idealized image of female beauty, her own insecurities, and the very real danger that her playacting may threaten her own long-term happiness. This article focuses on how Magdalena's alternate identity is created, the struggle to control that identity, and the challenges faced as she attempts to compete with her own alter ego. Ultimately, Tirso indicates that identity is, to a great degree, the point at which imagination and playacting coincide, and that desire and imagination are as real as the physical form itself. (RLTIII)

ABSTRACT

La fuerza del natural, a play written sometime before 1655 by Agustín Moreto and Jerónimo de Cáncer, has been described by Ruth L. Kennedy as "one of the more attractive plays of Moreto." In spite of the interest and quality of this text, it has received little critical attention until now. In the first part of this article, I examine how *La fuerza del natural* is related not only to Mira de Amescua's *Examinarse de rey*, which served as a direct source for Moreto and Cáncer, but also to other plays that develop the theatrical motif of the peasant who finds himself in court and has to navigate through it. In particular, I show how Moreto and Cáncer expand the comic possibilities of this motif by resorting to the model of the *figurón*. In the second part of the article, I focus my attention on how the main character of *La fuerza del natural* not only serves as a comic element that articulates the plot, but is also used to put into motion a parodic reversal of court rituals related to social behavior and amorous courtship by humorously pointing out their performative nature and by dismantling the theme of the education of princes. (AG-R)

ABSTRACT

The essay analyzes the function of music in Agustín Moreto y Cabaña's El Eneas de Dios in order to explore how songs/song texts contributed to the overall performance. In addition, given the anomalous and intriguing situation of having two similar versions of the play attributed to the same dramatist, the study of the play's musical scenes contributes possible answers to which one of the versions is most likely the original and to whether or not both versions of the play indeed belong to Moreto. The first is the disseminated printed version, and the second is an unedited variant in manuscript form that some scholars believe to be the original work. Even though there are discrepancies, the printed and the manuscript versions seem to be interrelated not just because of various counterparts in the details of the action, but also since both versions appear to complement one another musically. Equally tantalizing is that some versions of music for certain song texts imbedded in the manuscript version of *El Eneas de Dios* appear to have been preserved in "Novena," an early eighteenth-century collection of music written for a number of popular and frequently performed dramatic works of the latter part of the seventeenth century. (GYP)

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Abstract

En 1671, Guillén de Castro publica *La gitanilla de Madrid*, su comedia inspirada por la novela ejemplar cervantina de título similar. El transvase genérico que tiene lugar en la dramatización parece dar lugar en la comedia a una reformulación ideológica del texto modelo. La obra del comediógrafo retoma el argumento de Cervantes, pero incorpora cambios de indudable importancia que tienen como resultado un texto mucho más conservador que la novela. Como parte de las necesidades de dramatización según los preceptos dictados por Lope para la "comedia nueva," se reducen los tiempos y los espacios, se adaptan los personajes a los modelos lopescos y se introducen personajes nuevos, como el gracioso, propios de los espectáculos del teatro. Estas adaptaciones conllevan cambios ideológicos: los personajes pierden la complicación que les caracterizaba en la novela. Preciosa, por ejemplo, abandona su discurso filosófico y la crítica social para convertirse en una primera dama típica de comedia, que no cuestiona el orden político-social. Se refuerzan

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