THE DRAMATIC ART OF MORETO

A THESIS
IN SPANISH
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Concerning 7 mss. linked with Moreto's name (reprint) 2-95
PREFACE

Fernández-Guerra's edition of Moreto's comedies, made for the Biblioteca de autores españoles, is of date 1856. In it are included thirty-three plays attributed to Moreto and fifty pages of preliminary matter. Of these fifty, only eight are given over to a general discussion of his dramatic art, although one finds in what the critic has designated as Catálogo razonado a few words of comment concerning each individual play and a résumé of the plot of those comedies of Moreto which he was not able to include in his collection. As subsequent works of importance, one may note Schaeffer's brief study of Moreto in his Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas (1890); Mr. S. Griswold Morley's Studies in Spanish Dramatic Verse of the "Siglo de Oro" (1918); Miss Mabel Harlan's The Relation of Moreto's "El desdén con el desdén" to Suggested Sources (1924); and Señor Cotarelo y Moro's La bibliografía de Moreto (1927). Important as these are in matters of bibliography, of authenticity of text, or of source study, they have, with the exception of Mr. Morley's monograph, added virtually nothing to the knowledge of Moreto's dramatic art.

Yet this dramatist was one of the six great playwrights of the seventeenth century, one who "stood nearest to Calderón in the favor of the theatrical public," and as such his art would seem to deserve careful analysis. In making my investigation I have limited myself to a consideration of his longer comedies; Mr. Robert Carner, at one time a colleague and now a graduate student at Harvard, is working with his entremeses and plans to edit some of them shortly.

The reader will find in a brief introductory chapter those historical problems which are inevitably linked with any author's literary art: (1) the dramatist's life and personality; (2) the authenticity of the various plays attributed to him, together with their classification; (3) the chronology of his theatre and his dramatic development. This material represents largely a reinterpretation of Fernández-Guerra's introductory pages, together with the information that has appeared since the publication of that work. At this distance from Madrid, it is impossible to clear up the mysteries that surround Moreto's life, to disentangle all of the questions of authenticity of text involved, or to bring to light further information on the chronology of his plays.

The reader will find also in this chapter a summary of Moreto's indebtedness to his sources. Accurate knowledge as to the changes Moreto has wrought in his materials has seemed indispensable in reaching any conclusions as to his dramatic art. As he revised the often formless plays of the earlier epoch, we see Moreto in his workshop; we are able to note his peculiar characteristics as a playwright and, at the same time, gain a clear idea of the change that was taking place in the dramatic public's demands since Lope's day. These comparative studies, supplemented by analyses of those plays for which no source has been found, make two facts stand out: (1) the consciousness of Moreto's art; (2) the modernity of his dramatic conception.

In the brief chapter on the dramatist's place in literary history, I have made no attempt to trace his influence, though I have, for the convenience of the reader, listed those works which have been said to show a relation to his theatre. For the validity of these assertions, I cannot vouch.

Investigations have been conducted along laboratory lines, but it is my hope that I have done more than present a mass of disintegrated information, that, in my effort to see Moreto, the man and the dramatist, I have synthesized my findings into a rounded whole. Those technical studies which deal with the authenticity of various plays and with the indebtedness of Moreto to his sources have been placed in the Appendix; these must serve as so much documentary evidence for statements made in the text proper.

I take pleasure here in acknowledging my deep gratitude to the Graduate Department of Spanish at the University of Pennsylvania: in particular, to Professor J. P. Wickersham Crawford, whose keen appreciation of my difficulties and whose readiness to help when need arose, were equalled only by his intellectual generosity in leaving me free to work out my own ideas where I felt equal to the occasion; and to Señor M. Romera-Navarro, my friend and teacher, to whom I am indebted not only for many illuminating suggestions on Moreto but also for a richly documented course on literary criticism of the Golden Age, which was invaluable as background for any study of the drama of that epoch.

My debt to my former professors of California, Mr. S. Griswold Morley and Mr. Rudolph Schevill, is patent. I have had occasion to
refer to the former's studies of Moreto's versification at each moment; from the latter's *Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega*, I have borrowed both title and general method of approach to my subject. I am, too, most grateful to my colleagues, Mr. Elliott M. Grant, Mr. Cortlandt van Winkle, and Miss Caroline B. Bourland, who were so kind as to read this study in manuscript and to offer many valuable suggestions. To Miss Bourland I am indebted, in addition, for the personal interest she has taken in the matter of its publication. Finally, my sincere thanks are due to another colleague—to Miss Elizabeth Foster, who has taken time out of a busy existence to read proof for me.
CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF MORETO AND HIS DRAMATIC PRODUCTION

1. Moreto’s Life and Personality

Fernández-Guerra’s study of Moreto1 appeared in 1856. Previous to that date, the cloak of mystery which surrounded the dramatist’s name had encouraged critics of a romantic turn of mind to novelesque flights. Don Juan Guillén y Buzarán,2 claiming to have found at Salamanca some documents yellowed with age, sketches for the playwright a life that was harried with strife and disappointment. He was the son of a Valencian actress, and in a redirected effort to free his mother from the annoying attentions of a persistent suitor, killed his good friend, Baltasar Eliso de Medinilla. There was deadly enmity between him and the haughty Conde-Duque de Olivares. In his relations with women he was equally unfortunate. Having fallen in love with a certain Doña Elena, who first attracted his attention by sending a note to his carriage, he found himself at the mercy of a vain and capricious coquette. Chivalry led him to take part in another duel at a masked ball. Weary of the fray of secular life, he eventually took orders. But, so penitent was he over the death of Medinilla, that when death at last came to release him, he asked to be buried in the Prado del Carmen with those criminals who had suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

The story is a pretty one but apparently without other foundation than the fertile imagination of the critic. At least when Fernández-Guerra sought the document less than a year after these disclosures were brought to light, he could find no evidence of its ever having existed. Moreover, Medinilla was killed when Moreto was only two years of age, and the dramatist had asked to be buried with the poor to whom he had devoted many years of his life, not with criminals.

1 Comedias escogidas de D. Agustín Moreto y Caballero, Biblioteca de autores españoles, Vol. XXXIX, Secretaría de Hacienda, Madrid, 1922. (Reprint of edition which carries a Discourse preliminar dated 1856. See p. xxviii.)


Yet, after all, Moreto’s life and personality remain a mystery, in part because of the paucity of data at hand, in part because the little we have is contradictory. From the dramatist’s own century, we have six references. Gracián characterizes him in his El crítico3 (1651–1653–1657) as the “Spanish Terence,” reserving his volume of comedies from the destruction accorded to most of the other books of the day because of its “mucha propiedad y donoso grácile.” In the life of Don Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandoval4 he is described as follows: “hombre bien conocido en el mundo por su festiva agudeza; que renunciados los aplausos que le daban merecidamente los teatros, consagró su pluma a las alabanzas divinas, convertido el entusiasmo o furor poético en espíritu de devoción.” Nicolás Antonio, who, as a contemporary of Moreto, must not only have been acquainted with the countless editions of his plays that had been printed but must also have witnessed the performances of many of them, devotes a scant fifty words to him; in these he makes the statement that Moreto ceased to write for the theatre when he entered the church.5 Besides these notices we have only the well-known anecdote of Cáncer, the story from Sulpicio’s apothegms, and the enigmatic observations of Barrionuevo from which to draw our conclusions as to the dramatist’s personality. As we shall see later, no one of the three is complimentary to the playwright. Dramatists of the day, loud in their praise of Calderón, no mention of Moreto, though in the decade of the fifties he must have held the place next to that playwright in the favor of the great dramatic public.

The well-attested facts of Moreto’s life are these. Born of Italian parentage in Madrid, April, 1618,6 he grew up with his seven

5 Señor César y Mori has published in the Boletín de la Real Academia (1914,
brothers and sisters in a comfortable, perhaps almost luxurious, home. At sixteen he entered Alcalá where, according to the official University record, he studied "súmulas, lógica y física," studies that were certainly more likely to develop his sense of order than to stir into flame any latent imaginative fires. Although it is definitely certain that our dramatist successfully completed the last of the three mentioned on May 3, 1637, for reasons unknown he did not take his degree of licentiate until December 11, 1639. Such a delay could find its explanation in an indifference born either of financial independence or of the rosy hopes which Moreto entertained at that time for a literary future.

The year 1642 finds him a cleric of minor orders in Toledo with a benefice under Archbishop Moscoso that was not obtained without legal difficulties. In January, 1643, his father died. Concerning this period of his life we have two anecdotes, neither of which is very well attested. The one, which paints him as a talented but vain young top, is from Lesage's *Gil Blas* (VII, 13) and must be discredited both because of a glaring discrepancy in date and because of the difficulty of reconciling it with the Moreto reflected in his theatre. Not improbably literary tradition has confused the author with his brain-child, the dapper Don Diego, thereby confirming the eternal truth of Campoman's well-known poem.

The second anecdote, which occurs in the *Apologias* of Pedro José Supplico, some three score years after Moreto's death, is even more at variance with the character of the man as revealed in his life and works. According to the story, he and other dramatists of the day, among them Calderón and Luis Vélez de Guevara (dead in 1644), were enacting an impromptu "Creation of the World!" for the pleasure of the king. Moreto is shown as impetuous and quick-witted, but so irreverent and obscene of tongue that Fernández-Guerra has declined the responsibility of disseminating his author's words.

Aside from a few literary notices which I shall reserve for later discussion, we have no further mention of the dramatist until 1652 when a certain Bartolomé de Lara rented a room in behalf of Don Agustín Moreto y Cabaña, "vecino de Madrid." From this date until 1654, he was probably at court. An enigmatic notice of May 5, 1654, which is taken from El averiguador (Vol. I, 1870, p. 201) reads as follows: "He visto lo que Vuestra Merced me avisa en su carta de lo que ha sucedido con los ugeiros por la comedia de..."
Life of Moreto

Don Agustín Moreto, de que di cuenta a S. M. y me manda diga a Vmd. dé cuenta al Bureau.13 It is not probable, then, that Moreto was out of Madrid in the following month when his volume of plays went to press: this in answer to Fernández-Guerra's suggestion that the slovenliness ("desaliño") and lack of artistic conscience which characterize the Primera parte (1654), may find a possible explanation in Moreto's absence from Madrid at that time.14 Furthermore, it confirms the idea that Moreto was associated in some capacity with the court.15

In the Avisos of Don Jerónimo de Barrionuevo, under date of February 21, 1657, there appears an even more perplexing notice than those already quoted: "Dícese se metió cartujo o capuchino en Sevilla D. Agustín Moreto, por huir de los vizcaínos, que le buscaban para matarle. Habrá escogido lo mejor, si lo ha hecho, si no es que volviendo a Madrid, cuélga el hábito. Todo puede ser." This notice is, as Cotarelo observes, further confirmed by two others. The first, found in the El teatro de Sevilla18 of Don José Sánchez Arjona, shows that Moreto was a resident of Sevilla on June 8, 1656, that he had written the "Iona" and "salmental" for the feast of Corpus Christi, and that he received 900 "reales de vellón" for these compositions. The second, taken from the life of Don Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandova, states that in 1657 Cardinal Moscoso put Moreto, "capellán suyo" in the charge of the "Hermandad del Refugio" in the city of Toledo and that he gave him lodging there "in order that his presence might be continuous."19

13 Fernández-Guerra denies (Op. cit., p. viii) that Moreto was an actor. His friend Cáceres, at least, did take part in theatrical representations before the king, for in a romance he asks the king for an "ayuda de costas en méritos de haber representado con los criados de S.M. una comedia en palacio delante del mismo rey, don Felipe IV." See La Barrera, Op. cit., p. 62. Did Moreto take part in these court performances?


15 Fernández-Guerra (Ruiz de Alarcón, p. 340) states that Moreto received his introduction to court through his uncle, Andrés Moreto de Cabrera "asiduo esclavo de la Divina Majestad desde 1610 y por ello camarada y amigo de Lope." Casual search has not enabled me to find anything of this Andrés Moreto de Cabrera. It is more probable, however, as we shall see, that the Cardinal (and Archbishop of Toledo) Don Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandova, stood sponsor for the young man at court.

16 Madrid, 1887, pp. 229-230.

The Dramatic Art of Moreto

In spite of Barrionuevo's doubts,20 there is nothing to indicate that Moreto was not an exemplary cleric, or that in the years that followed, Moscoso ever had reason to regret his choice—even though it is evident that the hospital and its work lay close to the heart of the good prelate. We read in these same excerpts from the life of the cardinal: "Saliendo a pasear en el coche, llevaba en él muchos vestidícos de niños; en encontrando a algún desahapado, le vestía" (No. 240). There are other citations which show the genuine love of Moscoso for his poor. Still others picture him as disapproving of the extravagant dress of the day (No. 1333); of priests who took part in profane entertainments (No. 1418); of youths who "teniendo memoria para novelas, comedias y otras cosas fútiles y aun dañosas, solamente para la doctrina cristiana no la tienen" (No. 1302). How can we explain that a man with such an outlook on life should appoint the dapper Don Diego of the anecdotc of Gil Blas or the brilliantly irreverent actor of the Apelegmor to care for his hospital? And how can we believe that he would put in charge of his beloved poor a man who was using the church purely as a cloak to cover his cowardice? Would he not, rather, have chosen one who shared his sympathy for life's unfortunate? In this connection, I may quote from La misma concepción acusa. Enrique, at the command of the king, is showing the riches of the palace to Carlos in order that he may excite his cupidity:21

ENRIQUE: ... quería preguntaros qué os parece aquella tapicería?

CARLOS: Aun mejor me parece, si, cuando entrando venfa, no encontrara algunos hombres rotos y en miseria esquila.

ENRIQUE: Pues ¿qué tiene que ver eso con lo que os preguntó?

CARLOS: Es hija deste afecto la razón pues me parece injusticia que estén los hombres desnudos y las paredes vestidas.22

20 Barrionuevo, himself a scapegrace priest, held no illusions as to the moral degradation of his day. His distrust, so cryptically expressed, may be a reflection arising from his pessimism toward humanity in general rather than from any specific knowledge of Moreto.
21 La misma concepción acusa, I, 14, p. 106.
That Moreto was sincere in the motives which prompted his entrance into the church and that he continued to be interested in the poor with whom he worked are also evidenced by the remaining notices we have of his life. In the Libro de rondas y entradas de pobrese, it appears that Don Agustín Moreto and Señor de Cobarrubias made “semana” together beginning the nineteenth of December, 1660; and in the Libro de cuentas of the year 1664, there is mention of certain sums of money which Moreto received “para la obra de la sala de las enfermas”...

On the twenty-eighth of October, 1669, Moreto died, leaving orders that he should be buried in the Fraydillo del Carmen with those humble people to whose care he had dedicated thirteen years of his life. He further ordered that his executors (his brother Julián and the licentiate Francisco Carrasco, Secretary of the Hermandad del Refugio) should, after paying all debts, divide what might remain (“y si sobrase algo”) among the poor. Moreover, such distribution was to be made “a su voluntad sin que ningún juez eclesiástico ni secular les pueda pedir ni pida cuenta de ello.” He left no masses to be said for his soul. The order concerning his last resting place was for some reason disregarded, and today Moreto lies buried in the vault of the Escuelas de Cristo in the parish of San Juan, Toledo.

2. TEXTUAL DIFFICULTIES AND PROBLEMS OF AUTHENTICITY; A CLASSIFICATION OF MORETO’S THEATRE

We are scarcely more fortunate with reference to the facts of Moreto's literary history. In the first place, the knowledge which we possess concerning his literary output is in a nebulous state. As Mr. Morley has pointed out: “It is certain that Moreto's title to many of the plays usually regarded as his can be shaken by those who desire to poke a finger into the card house of siglo de oro distributions.” On this same page he has remarked: “If one were to take the list of authentic comedies by Moreto, as printed by Fernández-Guerra (Bibl. aut. esp., Vol. XXXIX, p. xlvi), and

exorcise all but those which have no shadow of doubt upon them, there would remain, apparently, only those printed in the Primera parte de las comedias de Don Agustín Moreto, 1654 (the only collection of his works that the author lived to see); those which bear his name in the final verses; those which have never been attributed to any other than to him; and those which exist in autograph manuscripts.”

The matter is even more complicated than Mr. Morley's words would indicate. Señor Cotarelo, who adds seven plays to the list of those rejected by Fernández-Guerra, has classified fifteen plays in all as apocryphal. The authenticity of twenty-two others is questionable on the grounds of external evidence. On the strength of internal indications, Schaeffer doubts Moreto's title to four more. In justification of his conclusions, this critic proves that Moreto's plays were popular and, therefore, of pecuniary value to booksellers; then he adds: “Es ist deshalb kein Wunder, dass gewissenlose Leute dieser Art auch aus dem Druck der Stücke anderer Autoren unter dem Namen Moreto's Kapital zu schlagen suchten, und der Leser wird in diesem Umstande eine Erklärung dafür finden, dass es der Verfasser gewagt hat, in der Einzelbesprechung aus feinen Gründen die bisher kaum bezweifelte Autorschaft einiger unserer Diöchien zugeschriebenen Dramen in Frage zu stellen.”

These conditions are due in part to the evident unreliability of both the Segunda and Tercera partes and to the unscrupulous procedure of the various editors of the Excogidas collection. As for the Segunda parte, it may be pointed out that La fuerza del natural and La fingita Arcadia, here printed as by Morley alone, have elsewhere been attributed to Moreto and collaborators. Moreover, the authorship of El Caballero del Sacramento (El Eneas de Dios) which forms the tenth play in this volume, is, in my opinion, doubtful. From the Tercera parte of Antonio de Zafra, Las travesuras del Cit, La tracción vengada, and El secreto entre dos amigos have already

8 Cotarelo y Mejía, Emilio, La bibliografía de Moreto, Madrid, T. de la Revista de Archivos, Bibli. y Museos, 1927.
83 Madrid, 1681. Listed by Cotarelo (Op. cit., pp. 9-10) as the “authentic” third part. It is “authentic” only in that it was printed as one complete volume and at the date given on the title page. Other collections of Moreto's plays have a false title page and are composed of “shells,” separately paginated.
been removed to the respective theatres of Cáncer, Lope de Vega, and Mira de Amescua; La cautela en la amistad has elsewhere been ascribed to Felipe Godínez; Los hermanos encontrados, to Lope de Vega; Nuestra Señora del Aurora, to Cáncer and Moreto as well as to Moreto alone; La confusión de un jardín shows the handiwork of a collaborator according to Fernández-Guerra’s opinion; finally, Schaefer finds no traces of the author of El desdén con el desdén in El esclavo de su hijo, Hacer del contrario amigo, and La fortuna merecida.

Nor is the so-called Verdadera tercera parte much more reliable. It contains La ocasión hace al ladrón and El marqués del Cigarrai, both excised from the theatre of Moreto by Cotarelo; Nuestra Señora del Aurora and La confusión de un jardín, each of which gives evidence of a collaborating pen; En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza and Sin honra no hay valentía, which must be considered plays of doubtful authenticity.

Unfortunately, we cannot depend even on those plays which bear his name in the final verses. As Mr. Morley points out in his study of Moreto’s versification, only four of the Fernández-Guerra collection are signed in this way: En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza and El Parecido en la corte, both signed by Moreto alone; Caer para levantar, attributed to Matos, Moreto, and Cáncer; and La fuerza del natural, given under the name of Cáncer and Moreto. In addition to these, we may add: El Parecido (primitive version); El mejor por de los doce (Matos and Moreto); No hay reyón como el de Dios (variously attributed to Moreto and collaborators under this title and others, among them Dejar un reyón por otra); and La mejor luna africana (signed by nine authors, one of them Moreto). Yet of these seven, there are, for at least four, variant editions which do not contain the names: En el mayor imposible, No hay reyón como el de Dios, La fuerza del natural, and La mejor luna africana.

Plays of the first volume (1654), which bears Moreto’s own dedication, can, of course, have little doubt attached to them.

And the autograph of El poder de la amistad is indisputable. Moreover, the manuscript of El príncipe perseguído in the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 2735), though the play is attributed in printed suelas to Pérez de Montalbán, is, according to Paz y Melía, an autograph copy of Belmonte Bermúdez, Moreto, and Martínez de Meneses. La Barrera states (Catálogo, pp. 276–277) that those of El Parecido en la corte and Oponerse a las estrellas “have the appearance of autographs.”

Such is a very general statement of the textual difficulties that confront the student of Moreto. There are other problems of authenticity, however. The dramatist followed the practice of his day in the matter of collaboration, and the intervention of one to eight other pens makes it virtually impossible at times to say which portion should be ascribed to him. On occasions, the playwrights of the century seem to have made a mechanical division of their labors, each taking a half, a third, a sixth, or a ninth, according to the number at work. In El mejor por de los doce, each author indicates within the verse of the play itself just which portion he composed.

As we have seen, there is a manuscript of El príncipe perseguído in which the three acts are signed respectively by Belmonte, Moreto, and Martínez de Meneses.

But there is no assurance that such was always their practice. It requires no stretch of the imagination to hear Matos Fragoso say “Here, Agustín, you write these blessed quintillas,” and even less to picture Agustín with his “instinct for perfection” setting himself to the task of revising some of those miserable concoctions which he and his friends had so hastily thrown together for the consumption of a public which knew not satiety. Perhaps herein may lie the explanation of the widely differing versions of El Ensay de Dios or of the characteristically Moretean atmosphere that pervades each act of a collaboration such as Caer para levantar or Hacer remedio el dolor.

In attempting to solve these problems of authenticity, it has been necessary (1) to study the individual comedies from the of Lope de Vega’s works, feeling that it must be very close to the lost play of Lope which was mentioned in the second list of El peregraín.
standpoint of plot, characterization, versification, dialogue, etc., and (2) to link these facts with every available scrap of historical information, textual and chronological. These studies will be found in the Appendix divided into three separate groups: (1) those plays whose authorship is open to question on the basis of external evidence; (2) those works which are, to judge by internal evidence only, doubtfully attributed to him; (3) those comedies written in collaboration which do not fall in either of the groups just mentioned. However, for the casual reader’s convenience, our conclusions will be given here.

The first group includes 22 plays, and in my opinion 11 of them should be excised from Moreto’s theatre: *La cautela en la amistad* (Godínez?); *Dejar un reino por otro y martires de Madrid* (Monroy and Silva?); *En el mayor imposible, nada pierda la esperanza* (Juan de Lemos?); *Escarramón* (San Martín? Cáceres?); *La fortuna mercédida* (Some inferior playwright of Moreto’s day); *El principipe prodigioso* (Montalbán?); *Los hermanos encontrados* (Some minor dramatist of the Lopean school); *La milagrosa elección de San Pío V* (Montalbán? Godínez?); *El rostazo perseguido* (Dramatist writing around the year 1600); *San Luis Beltrán* (Gaspar Aguilar); primitive version of *Travesuras son valor* (Some dramatist of 1623).

The nine* which follow give evidence of having been written by Moreto in collaboration with one or more authors:

1. *La adúltera penitente*: The first act is probably by Calderón; the second by Cáceres or Matos; the third by Moreto.

2. *La fanguda Arcadia*: The evidence is conflicting, but I am inclined to think the three acts were written respectively by Calderón, *Don N. N.*, and Moreto.

3. *La fuerza del natural*: Attributed ordinarily to Moreto and Cáceres, it is more probably the work of Cáceres, Moreto, and Matos; or of Moreto and Matos. The first act is perhaps by Cáceres, the second by Moreto, the third by Matos, if there were three collaborators; if only two, then the first two acts are by Moreto; the last by Matos.

4. *Hacer remedio el dolor*: This could, in its entirety, be the handiwork of Moreto, though it has always been attributed to him in collaboration either with Cáceres or with Cáceres and Matos. If Cáceres wrote any portion of the play, it was probably the last half of Act III. I doubt Matos’ intervention.

5. *No hay reino como el de Dios*: The order of authors for the three acts should be, perhaps, Matos, Cáceres, and Moreto.

6. *Nuestra Señora del Aurora*: Probably Moreto collaborated with Cáceres in this comedia, though only the last part of Act I and the first half of Act II seem characteristic of the author of *El desdén con el desdén*.

7. *Ponerse a las estrellas*: This play shows traces of Moreto’s pen in all three acts, though it is the second which seems peculiarly his.

8. *El principipe perseguido*: Though printed in a suelta as Montalbán’s work, this is correctly attributed to Belmonte, Moreto, and Martínez de Meneses.

9. *Travesuras son valor* (later version): I doubt that the play is by Moreto alone because the second act is not characteristic.

Those plays whose authenticity has been questioned on the strength of internal evidence are nine in number. In my opinion,

1. *La confusión de un jardín* gives some evidence of a collaborating hand, though it is far from conclusive.

2. *El Cristo de los Milagros* (El Santo Cristo de Cabrilla) is probably not Moreto’s; if it be his, it must be classified under the juvenilia.

3. *El Enes de Dios y Caballero del Sacramento* is not characteristic of Moreto. If he wrote it, it is surely a youthful production.

4. *Los engaños de un engaño y confusión de un papel* is probably one of Moreto’s early plays of intrigue.

5. *El esclavo de su hijo* is wrongly attributed to Moreto. It is quite in the manner of the Lopean school.

6. *La gola del nadar es saber guardar la ropa* could possibly be Moreto’s, written in his early years, though there is much in its characterization that is not representative. In its structure, it belongs to the late Lopean school.

7. *Hacer del contrario amigo* is not Moreto’s. It is probably the work of an imitator of Calderón.
8. La negra por el honor could not be the product of Moreto's pen.
9. Sin honra no hay valentía shows no trace of Moreto's handiwork.

The plays that Moreto wrote in collaboration which have not been previously analyzed are five in number:
1. *El bruto de Babilonia*: The three acts were, in my opinion, written respectively by Matos, Moreto, and Cárdenas.
2. *Caer para levantar*: Though attributed to Matos, Cárdenas, and Moreto in the closing verses, this play seems to show traces of Moreto’s workmanship in every act; the first and third appear particularly characteristic of him.
3. *El mejor por de los doce*: The first half was written by Matos, the last half by Moreto.
4. *Nuestra Señora del Pilar*: The three acts are ordinarily assigned to Villavicencio, Matos, and Moreto in the order named, but it is difficult to see the hand of Matos or Moreto in this deadly dull comedy.
5. *Santa Rosa del Perú*: The first two acts are probably Moreto’s; the last Lanini’s.
6. *La vida y muerte de San Cayetano*: I shall not attempt to say which sixth of this play was written by Moreto.

It will be convenient at this point to reclassify Moreto’s comedies. For my purpose I shall divide his theatre into (1) religious

Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit., p. xivii) has arranged the longer comedies of Moreto under the two general headings: (1) sagradas y devotas and (2) profanas. The secular plays he has subdivided into (a) históricas y tradicionales, (b) doctrinales y de caracteres, (c) de enredo y puro entretenimiento, (d) burlescas. The sub-grouping, for my purpose, is unsatisfactory: (1) because there is no real difference between the dramatic art of the alleged historical and the non-historical plays; (2) because the division is often arbitrary. Such a play as *La fuerza de la ley*, while dealing with historical characters, differs very little in general tone and in method of development from *Primeras en la honra* or *El mejor amigo el rey*. Moreover, one finds the absurd comedy, *En el mayor imposible, nadie pierde la esperanza*, classified under the same heading as *Las fuerzas de Castilla*, apparently because the *graciosos* assures the audience in the last lines that the history is a “true” one. On the other hand, *El principito persiguido*, which has to do with the historic fact of Demetrius' usurpation of the throne of Russia (See Británnica), was placed under “comedias de enredo y puro entretenimiento.” Finally, I cannot explain on what ground Fernández-Guerra classified as historical or traditional such plays as *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso* and *El defensor de su agravi.*

1. RELIGIOUS COMEDIES, HISTORICAL OR TRADITIONAL

1. *Addéteria penitente* (La): Act III (?)
2. Antes morir que pecar
3. *Bruto de Babilonia* (El): Act II (?)
4. *Caer para levantar*: Act I (?) and last half of III (?)
5. Cena del rey Baltasar (La)
6. *Dejar un reino por otro y mártires de Madrid* (El)
7. *Esclavo de su hijo* (El)
8. Más dichosos hermanos (Los)
9. Más ilustre francés (El)
10. *Milagrosa elección de San Pío V* (La)
11. *No hay reino como el de Dios*: Act III (?)
12. *Nuestra Señora de la Aurora*: 1st half of play (?)
13. *Nuestra Señora del Pilar*: Act III (?)
14. *Rosario persiguido* (El)
15. San Francisco de Sena
16. *San Luis Beltrán*
17. *Santa Rosa del Perú*: Act I and II
18. *Santo Cristo de Cabrilla* (El)
19. Vida de San Alejo (La)
20. *Vida y muerte de San Cayetano* (La): (?)

The classification just given does not take into account *Escaramúndos*, which is a burlesque on the cabo y espada play of this time. In my opinion, the work is not Moreto’s. If it should be his, then it would form a subheading (c) under this 117. The classification of Antes morir que pecar and *La mejor luna africana* has been based on a knowledge of their general content.

I have placed in the Appendix, pp. 201–205, full bibliographical information concerning the editions of Moreto used in this study. In each case I have given, too, divided into scenes.
II. SECULAR THEATRE

A. Plays of plot

1. Amor y obligación
2. Eneas de Dios (El)
3. *Fingida Arcadia (La): Act III (?)
4. Fingir y amar
5. *Gaia de nadar es saber guardar la ropa (La): (Not known to Schaeffer, apparently)
6. Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso
8. *Negra por el honor (La)
10. *Principe prodigioso (El): last half (?)
11. *Sin honra no hay valentía
12. Travesuras de Pantoja (Las)
13. *Travesuras son valor (primitive version)
14. *Travesuras son valor (later version): (?)

b. Plays of intrigue

1. Caballero (El)
2. Cautela en la amistad (La)
3. *Confusión de un jardín (La): (Collaboration questionable)
4. *En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza
5. *Engaños de un engaño (Los)
6. *Fortuna merecida (La)
7. *Hacer del contrario amigo
8. *Hermanos envidiados (Los)
9. *Ocasión hace al ladrón (La)
10. Parecido (El)
11. Parecido en la corte (El)
12. *Secreto entre dos amigos (El)
13. *Todo es enredos amor
14. Trampa adelante

B. Plays of character and idea

1. Antíoco y Seleuco
2. Cómo se vengan los nobles
3. Defensor de su agravio (El)
4. De fuera vendrá

5. Desdén con el desdén (El)
6. *Fuerza de la ley (La)
7. *Fuerza del natural (La): Act II (?)
8. *Hacer remedio el dolor: (?)
9. Jueces de Castilla (Los)
10. Industrias contra finanzas
11. Licenciado Vidriera (El)
12. *Lindo Don Diego (El)
13. Lo que puede la aprehensión
14. Mejor amigo el rey (El)
15. *Mejor luna africana (La): (?)
16. Misma conciencia (Las)
17. No puede ser
18. *Oponerse a las estrellas: Act II (?)
19. Primero es la honra
20. *Rey Don Enrique, el Enfermo (El): (?)
21. *Valiente justiciero (El)
22. Yo por vos y vos por otro

3. THE CHRONOLOGY OF MORETO'S PLAYS AND THE LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE DRAMATIST

The few chronological facts which I have been able to collect in regard to Moreto's theatre will be found tabulated in the pages that follow. Much remains to be done in this regard. Only a dozen plays can be dated with certainty.

*The following plays have also been linked with Moreto's name but were excluded by Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit., p. xlvii): La condesa de Belhor (Lope's El perro del hortelano); La discreta venganza (Lope); El hijo de Marco Aurelio (Zabaleta); El marqués del Cigarral (Castillo Solórzano); El mejor representante; San Ginés (Cancer, Martinez de Moneus y Rosete Nito); La más verdadera copia del mejor original (Juan Sain Moreno); El premio en la misma pena (Lope); Quitar el fendo a su patria (Alonso de Alfaro). Cotarelo adds to this list seven others: (1) Fingir lo que puede ser (Montero de Espinosa); (2) No puede mentir el cielo (Don Rodrigo Enriquez); (3) La ocasión hace al ladrón (Matos Fragoso); (4) El secreto entre dos amigos (ill-gotten secret of Don Antonio Mira de Amescua); (5) El segundo Moisés; San Frédin (Matos Fragoso); (6) Todo es enredos amor (Don Diego de Figueroa and Córdoba); (7) La traição vengada (the Tanto hagas cuanto pagas el Lope de Vega). Cotarelo (Op. cit., pp. 40-43) does not list El mejor representante, San Ginés, mentioned by Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit., p. xlvii) as incorrectly attributed to Moreto. Several of those classified as apocryphal by Schor Cotarelo had previously been listed as doubtful by Fernández-Guerra. El hijo obediente, classed as doubtful by Fernández-Guerra, is probably Beneto's.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life of Moreto</th>
<th>Written in year</th>
<th>Written before year</th>
<th>Year of first publication</th>
<th>Reasons for dates assigned</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Addlteras penitentes (La)</td>
<td>1651 (?)</td>
<td>1655</td>
<td>1657</td>
<td>See p. 123 of this study for date of 1651 (?). Cández died 1655.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amor y obligación</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1658</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Antes morir que pecar</td>
<td>1656 (?)</td>
<td>Ms.</td>
<td></td>
<td>See p. 27 of this study for date given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antíoco y Seleuco</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Bruto de Babilonia (El)</td>
<td>1655</td>
<td>1668</td>
<td></td>
<td>Probably written after 1652, date of publication of Guillén de Castro’s <em>Las maravillas de Babilonia</em>, from which Moro’s play was drawn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caballero (El)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1652</td>
<td></td>
<td>Published in <em>Porte seguido de varios</em>, Madrid, 1652 according to La Barrera (Op. cit., p. 704) who had not seen volume but who gives Fajardo’s analysis of it. This volume not mentioned by Cortezco or Fernández-Guerra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* César para levantar</td>
<td>1655</td>
<td>1662</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>† Cautela en la amistad (La)</td>
<td>1635</td>
<td>1630</td>
<td></td>
<td>See p. 124 of this study for date assigned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cena de Baltasar (La)</td>
<td>1648 (?)</td>
<td>undated suelta</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mentioned in <em>Entrémate del doctor Carline</em>, written between March, 1642 and Juste, 1648. See Restori, <em>Píeza de títulos de comedias</em>, p. 129.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cómo se vengan los nobles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1668</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Confusión de un jardín (La)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1681</td>
<td>Probably written after Castillo Solórzano’s death (1649).</td>
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<tr>
<th>The Dramatic Art of Moreto</th>
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<th>Written before year</th>
<th>Year of first publication</th>
<th>Reasons for dates assigned</th>
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<tr>
<td>Defensor de su agravio (El)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1671</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De fuera vendrá</td>
<td>1653</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
<td>The siege of Gerona (1653) is mentioned as a piece of news.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Dejar un reino por otro y mártires de Madrid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1678</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Desde con el desdén (El)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Enca de Dios (El)</td>
<td>1651</td>
<td>1661</td>
<td></td>
<td>See p. 144 of this study for date given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† En el mayor imposible, nadle pierda la esperanza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>undated suelta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Engaños de un engaño y confusión de un papel (Los)</td>
<td>1640 (?)</td>
<td>undated suelta</td>
<td></td>
<td>The rebellion in Portugal (Nov. 1640) is mentioned as a bit of news.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Escarramón</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1671</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Esclavo de su hijo (El)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1670</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Fingida Arcadia (La)</td>
<td>1664 (?)</td>
<td>1666</td>
<td></td>
<td>See p. 131 of this study for date given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Fortuna merecida (La); Merecer para alcanzar</td>
<td>1637</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td></td>
<td>See p. 132 of this study for date given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE DRAMATIC ART OF MORETO</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Written before year</td>
<td>Year of first publication</td>
<td>Reasons for dates assigned</td>
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<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
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<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lo que puede la aprehensión</strong></td>
<td>1653</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td>Imitated by Thomas Corneille in <em>La charme de la veill</em> (1653). Probably written after 1648, date of Tirso's death.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Más dichosas hermanos (Los)</td>
<td>1662</td>
<td>1659</td>
<td>There was a comedy, <em>Bernarde</em>, given by Francisco Gareta's company in Madrid between Sept. 10 and Nov. 26, 1657. See Pérez Pastor <em>Nuevos datos, Bulle</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Más ilustre francés, San Bernardo (El)</td>
<td>1657</td>
<td>1659</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mejor amigo el rey (El)</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td>Probably written after 1648, date of Tirso's death.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Mejor luna africana (El)</td>
<td>1643</td>
<td>undated</td>
<td>Attributed in one edition to El maestro Alfonso Alfaro, who died in 1643, and others.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Mejor par de los doce (El)</td>
<td>1673</td>
<td>1673</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Milagrosa elección de San Pío V (La)</td>
<td>1622-1623</td>
<td>1673</td>
<td>See p. 135 of this study for date given.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Mismas enseñanzas (La)</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>† Negro por el honor (La)</td>
<td>1668</td>
<td>1668</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* No hay reino como el de Dios</td>
<td>1670</td>
<td>1670</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No puede ser</td>
<td>1659</td>
<td>1661</td>
<td>Played as a new comedy in Nov., 1659. Cotarelo's <em>Sebastián de Prado</em>, p. 121.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
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<td>Written before year</td>
<td>Year of first publication</td>
<td>Reasons for dates assigned</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
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<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Nuestra Señora de la Aurora</td>
<td>1648</td>
<td>1653</td>
<td>1653</td>
<td>See p. 220 of this study for date given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuestra Señora del Pilar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Oponerse a las estrellas</td>
<td>1649</td>
<td>1653</td>
<td></td>
<td>See p. 220 of this study for date given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parecido (El)</td>
<td>1652</td>
<td>1653</td>
<td></td>
<td>See p. 220 of this study for date given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parecido en la corte (El)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poder de la amistad (El)</td>
<td>1652</td>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
<td>See p. 220 of this study for date given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primero es la honra</td>
<td></td>
<td>1662</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Príncipe persiguido (El)</td>
<td>1650</td>
<td>1651</td>
<td></td>
<td>See p. 220 of this study for date given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†† Príncipe prodigioso (El)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1651</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rey Don Enrique, el Enfermo (El)</td>
<td>1655</td>
<td>1657</td>
<td></td>
<td>See p. 220 of this study for date given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‡ Rosario persiguido (El)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1652</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Franco de Sena</td>
<td></td>
<td>1652</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‡ San Luis Beltrán</td>
<td>1608</td>
<td>1616</td>
<td></td>
<td>See p. 220 of this study for date given.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While considering matters of authenticity and chronology, the student of Moreto must also ask: do the few chronological facts...
which we possess, when taken in connection with a careful analysis of his individual comedies, indicate that Moreto's work falls into certain periods. If so, what growth was there in his dramatic technique? Are the different epochs sufficiently marked to enable us to place his undated plays? The critic must even make the problem a more specific one: how explain such wide divergences in content and development as exist between the early plays—plays of intrigue such as *La cautela en la amistad* (before 1635) and *El acer del contrario amigo* (before 1637–38)—and his later well-known comedies such as *De fuera vendrá* (1653) and *No puede ser* (1659)? Are those early comedies which are so far removed from Moreto's usual manner (and others of the same ilk for which we have no date) to be explained by haste? Or should they be considered products of a period of immaturity,—of years when Moreto was blindly imitating Lope de Vega and his late school? Or finally, is it that the plays are wrongly attributed to him?  

By my classification given above, I have already indicated my preference for the third interpretation. If haste can never explain to me differences that are so basic as those which exist between the two groups. For the same reason I must reject the hypothesis of a Lopean apprenticeship. Yet, one must grant that the latter possibility has all the charm of the logical, and out of fairness to the suggestion, I shall sketch here the arguments in its favor. Moreto throughout his lifetime continued to use Lope's theatre as a warehouse from which to draw his plots. Such a late play as *No puede ser* is taken from Lope's *El mayor imposible*, and *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, which probably belongs to the middle or late sixties, is a revision of Lope's *El testimonio vengado*. Again, the proponent of such a theory might urge that the fact that Moreto finished his course at Alcázar in May, 1637, but did not take his degree until December, 1639, could find explanation in a literary success which left our author indifferent to the possession of the title of licentiate. He might point out further that already in September, 1639, Moreto is numbered among the panegyrists of Montalbán and that this Lopean  

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*APPENDIX A*  

In this connection one wonders if the cousin of Moreto, also named Agustín Moreto (See p. 3, n. 6 of this study), was inclined to things literary. If so, there is the possibility that some of the plays which are so far removed from the manner of the dramatist of *El desnudo con el desnudo* should be attributed to him.

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Type No. I of *síntesis* is that regularly preferred by Lope, which is found but rarely in well-attested plays of Moreto. (See Morley, *Op. cit.*, p. 166. For the application of the term *lira* to the six-line strophe, see Morley, *Op. cit.*, p. 165.  

*All* of Moreto's well-known plays of intrigue may be placed before 1652.
of Cáncer, which we shall have occasion to quote in connection with our comparative studies, shows that Moreto was already well known as a borrower of earlier plots. 42

There is abundant evidence that from 1650 to 1654 Moreto was writing steadily 43 and that by the latter date he had reached his literary stride. The collection of 1654 includes such works of art as El desdén con el desdén, De fuera vendrás, Trampa adelante, and El poder de la amistad. Yet when the weak play, Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso, is included, and the masterpiece, El Parecido en la corte, omitted, one must wonder on what basis the selection was made. 44

From 1654 to 1657, Moreto published nothing with the exception of the majangana, El rey Don Rodrigo y la Cava. This break, which at first glance occasions interest in the light of the curious notice of 1654 and of the Avisos of Barrionuevo (1657), 45 apparently means nothing. No volume of the Escogidas collection was published from 1654 to 1657, and Moreto probably did not have the material for a second volume of plays. But that he was writing is evident, for one remembers in this connection that he was in Sevilla with the loso and entremeses which he composed for the feast of Corpus Christi. It seems probable, too, that Moreto was chiefly concerned with religious dramas and entremeses 46 in the years around his entrance into the church: two religious plays, La vida de San Alejo and El más ilustre francés, San Bernardo 47 (both comedies in which the protagonist renounces his earthly love for that of the church), were published respectively in the Escogidas of 1658 and 1659.

42 See pp. 28-29 for this anecdote.
43 See the quotation from La fuerza de la ley, quoted on p. 104 of this study.
44 These plays were apparently gathered together to send to his "Macecanas," Don Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, Durge de Albucqueque and Margue de Cufilar, who in 1651 was Vicerey and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain. It is possible that his taste may in some measure have determined the contents. See Cotarelo (Bibl., p. 4) for a copy of the dedication of Moreto.
45 See pp. 4-5 of this study.
46 El alcaldé de Alcudia is represented in the palace celebrations on Nov. 28, 1657, and Las festas de palacio was acted on the "día de Reyes," 1658. See Cotarelo and Mur, Colección de entremeses, N.B.P.., Vol. XVII., p. xcll.
47 San Alejo was presented Feb. 10, 1657, at Osorio. See Pérez Pastor, Doctr. para la bibl. de . . . Calderón de la Barca, p. 245; Doct. num. 146; and a comedy, entitled Bernardo, was given by Francisco García's company in Madrid between Sept. 10 and Nov. 26, 1657. See Pérez Pastor's Nuevos datos, Bibl. Hist., Vol. XV, p. 441.
though carrying approbations of July, 1657, and May, 1658. If Antes morir que pecar, San Casimiro was inspired by the miracle mentioned in Barrionuevo’s Avisos under date of April 8, 1656, wherein San Casimiro appears to aid Poland against the Muscovites, then we have a third.

That Moreto continued to write secular plays to the end of his life seems fairly certain in spite of the statements of Nicolás Antonio and Juan Pasano to the contrary. As we have seen, No puedo ser can be definitely placed in 1659. (See p. 20 of this study.) There is reason to think that La fingida Arcadia, published in the Escogidas of 1666, was represented before the King in 1664. After 1662 and before Moreto’s death, there were printed in the Escogidas such worthy plays as Primero es la hora, Industrias contra fincas, and Cómo se vengan los nobles. In 1671, El defensor de su agrafo was first printed. Perhaps he wrote secular plays only for the court and not for the public theatres.

Do the later plays of Moreto (those published after 1654) show any changes if compared with those that preceded? It is perhaps worthy of note that there is, in the four dramas last mentioned, a seriousness of tone, a broad sympathy, a tolerance for human weakness not found in the comedias of the early fifties. In the last mentioned of these four, there is more stress on the lyrical than in the earlier plays.

As regards the versification, there seems reason to think that the redondilla was gradually decreasing in popularity, the romance increasing. Taking fifteen representative plays written before 1654 and ten published between that date and the end of the playwright’s life (1669), one has for the first group 54 per cent romances as against 63 per cent in the second and in redondillas 29 per cent against 21 per cent. Moreover, a growing fondness for pareados and décimas with a corresponding decrease of octava rima and quintillas may be noted.

Briefly summarized, the few facts which we possess in regard to the chronology of Moreto’s plays point to the following conclusions:

Moreto, in all probability, began his literary career with plays of novelese interest such as Las travesuras de Pantoja and with works of intrigue such as Los engaños de un engaño or El Caballero. All of the latter type were written by 1652. His romantic comedies, such as Oponerse a las estrellas, seem to have been “pot-boilers” that for the most part belong to the decade of the forties. However, there is evidence that in the late fifties and early sixties he returned to this type.

His historical dramas should perhaps be ascribed to the years immediately preceding and following 1650, though El valiente justiciero was seemingly finished in 1656 and Cómo se vengan los nobles about 1667.

His religious plays were apparently written throughout his whole life. Those of hagiographical nature belong largely to the fifties and those in which the hero renounces the world for the church, to the years 1655 to 1660.

His comedies of character apparently extend from the late forties to his death. Some of his masterpieces were written in the last years of his life.

4. MORETO AND HIS SOURCES

It was September of 1649 and the Academia Castellana was in

El Caballero, Tronpa admite, El Licenciado Videira, La censa de Balasar, La fuerza de la ley, San Francisco de Senna, El poder de la amistad, El Paredon en la cortes, Lo que puedo la aperición, De fuera yendo, El mejor amigo el roy, El desdén con el desdén, La misma consciencia acusa, Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso, Antioque y Seléucia.

El valiente justiciero, Amor y obligación, La vida de San Atajo, El más ilustre francés, No puedo ser, Pintor y amar, El lindo Don Diego, Primero es la hora, Industrias contra fincas, and Cómo se vengan los nobles.

Various dates are assigned to the Vejames de Cáncer; La Barrera (Op. cit., p. 62) and Hurtado y Palencia (Op. cit., p. 735) give 1640 (?); Bonilla y San Martín
session. Every member was in place, for Don Jerónimo Cánceor, who enjoyed no mean reputation as a wit, was to take his seat as secretary that day and all knew that in honor of the occasion he had prepared a burlesque on his co-workers. It was even hoped that he might succeed in pleasing the not easily ruffled composure of the young Moreto. Don Jerónimo rose to his feet, there was the hush of expectanty, he began:

"I had a dream in which I saw Parnassus besieged by the Latins and the Italians. In great alarm, Apollo called upon the bands of Castile to come to his rescue. They all rushed forward and the battle began. But in the midst of all the danger, I saw that Don Agustín Moreto had kept his seat and that he was examining some yellowed papers which apparently were old, forgotten comedies. He was saying to himself: 'This is worthless.' 'One might use this by changing it a bit: it would fit in right here.' I grew angry at his unconcern: every one else had a weapon in his hand. I asked him why he didn't go fight like the rest. To this he responded: 'I am fighting harder here than any of you, for I am 'mining' the enemy.' "But sir," I replied, 'it looks to me as if you are searching for something that you can take from these old comedies.' 'Just so,' he answered, 'that is why I say that I am 'mining' the enemy. Listen to this copla:

Remember that I'm mining
When you complain of me,
For in these comedies of old
I've found a mine, you see!"

The investigations of literary critics since Moreto's day would indicate that Cánceor's dart was admirably chosen and precisely aimed, that our dramatist did find a "brava mina" in the comedies of his predecessors, particularly in those of Lope de Vega. There is no unanimity of opinion as to the interpretation of the facts, however. Schaeffer states that the more dramas of the old Spanish stage that one comes to know, the more sources one will find for the comedies of Moreto; furthermore, if we had before us all the lost plays of the Siglo de Oro, we could trace his inspiration for each

(L'emphases literarios... por el Bachiller Mantuano, Biblioteca Ateneo, Madrid, 1909, pp. 13-14) accepts Fernández-Guerra's date of 1649 as logical. The latter date seems probable to me.


and every play. Schack, while readily granting Moreto's indebtedness to his forerunners, feels inclined to pardon him in the light of the happy results that he ordinarily attained. Gassler, on the other hand, has made a most eloquent defense which lines up the plagiarists of all ages and nations to come to his rescue. Fernández-Guerra denies the charge that Moreto had no creative talent. In explanation of his many borrowed plots, he quotes the aviso of 1644 which forbade the representation of "original comedies" ('de inventiva propia de los que las hacen') except of historias or "lives of saints" and points out the effect of such an edict must have had on Moreto, who was at that time just starting his literary career. Moreover, why should the mantle of charity which has been accorded most willingly to other borrowers of the day be denied our dramatist alone? Fitzmaurice-Kelly sees in Moreto a genius of excellent taste who was too lazy to fashion his own plots whereas Señores Hurtado and Palencia feel with Menéndez y Pelayo that one must find the explanation of his plagiaristic policy in an "instinct for perfection which was only too rare among Spanish dramatists of the Golden Age!"

* * *

It has not been my primary purpose to study the sources of Moreto's theatre. Nevertheless, in order to arrive at a clear comprehension of his virtues and limitations as a dramatist through the contrasts which such comparisons must afford, it has been necessary to weigh the accuracy of the many analogies that have been pointed out between his comedies and those of his predecessors and contemporaries and thus to reach a fairly precise estimate as to the extent, nature, and cause of his indebtedness. I shall summarize here my opinion as to the extent of this debt; but all discussion of its nature and cause will be embodied in the chapter on the playwright's dramatic art.

1. *La adorlara penitente* has the same general situation as Rojas' *La Magdalena de Nápoles* as well as the triangle of charact-
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Guevara (Encontraronse dos arroyuelos). I have found no source for the male protagonist of El desdén con el desdén except in another play associated with Moreto's name, *Hacer remedio el dolor, which may be considered an embryonic study of the playwright's masterpiece. The other essential elements of Moreto's comedy may be found in Lope's three plays: Los milagros del desprecio, La hermosa fea, and La vengadora de las mujeres. The greatest debt is to the first and third.

8. *El Enca de Dios y el Caballero del Sacramento takes its situation and at least fifty lines from Lope's El Caballero del Sacramento. The changes made are not, for the most part, characteristic of Moreto's usual methods.

9. *La fingida Arcadia has borrowed from Lope's play, La Arcadia, the names which the characters assume while playing a pastoral role and has vaguely paralleled the Arcadian story in the love tangles of the characters. The dénouement has been changed. If the comedy associated with Moreto's name owes anything to Tirso's play of the same name, it is for a mere detail of motivation. There are no verbal borrowings from either of the suggested sources.

10. *La fuerza del natural has the same general situation as Leyva Ramírez de Arellano's Cuando no se aguarda y principio tanto. There are, also, three scenes in Moreto's play which have corresponding ones in Leyva's comedy, though without verbal parallels. The historical facts are such as to lead me to believe that Leyva was the borrower, not Moreto.

11. *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso is an unsatisfactory reworking of Guillén de Castro's Los hermanos enemigos. Twelve of Moreto's forty-two scenes find virtual parallels in the play of the Valencian, but there is no borrowing of dialogue.

12. Industrias contra fincas is reminiscent of Tirso's Palabras y placas, but the evidence for indebtedness is too shadowy to warrant one in assuming it. The play of Moreto's in question is nearer to his own El mejor amigo el rey than to Tirso's comedy.

13. *El licenciado Vidriera owes virtually nothing to Cervantes' novel of the same title except the name, the conception of a "protagonist of glass," and the general theme of human ingratitude.

There is no question of indebtedness on Moreto's part to either Lope's La necesidad del discreto or Matos' El yerro del entendido.

14. *El lindo Don Diego is a happy revision of Guillén de Castro's El Narciso en su opinión with which it has five scenes in com-
mon. Moreto has borrowed the main outlines of the plot and the characterization of the protagonist.

15. Lo que puede la aprehensión is a mosaic which has derived its subplot from Lope's Mirar a quien alaba'its; its title and the general conception of a romantic protagonist who falls in love with a lady whose fate he has never seen, from Tirso's La colosa de su misma; one of the songs and the suggestion for a slight modification of the general situation from Calderón's La desdicha de la voz.

16. El más ilustre francés has one humorous scene that recalls Belmonte's El diablo predicador, but in my estimation, the character of the gracioso is nearer in type to Cervantes' Sancho than to Belmonte's Fray Antolin.

17. El mejor amigo el rey owes its theme, its plot and order of events, its characterization, and one or two conceits and phrases to Tirso's Cautela contra cautela.

18. *El mejor par de los doce is an unsuccessful reworking of Lope's Las pobres de Reina, in which Moreto and Matos have not only followed the plot, and at times, the sequence of events, but have also paraphrased the dialogue and, now and then, borrowed consecutive lines.

19. La misma conciencia acusa has taken the situation from Lope's Despertar a quien duerme while changing the theme and the dénouement of the story. Thirteen of Moreto's 53 scenes have complete or partial parallels in Lope's play, but there is only one where the dialogue shows any resemblance to the original.

20. *No hay reino como el de Dios has borrowed the outline of the plot from *Déjar un reino por otro y mártires de Madrid. It is independent in matters of dialogue and characterization.

21. No puede ser looks to Lope's El mayor imposible as its source. The later dramatist has taken the theme, the essential characters. On occasion, he has paraphrased the dialogue.

22. El Paredón has the same initial situation as Tirso's El castigo del pensamiento, but Moreto changed the dénouement, eliminating the subplot and transforming the characterization. In one scene the dialogue of El Paredón is reminiscent of its source.

El Paredón en la corte, which is ordinarily considered a revision of Moreto's El Paredón, differs in its first half from its source only in minor details; in the second half, a new character has been introduced, the order of scenes shifted, and the dialogue changed at times. Neither version shows the influence of Cervantes' La ex-

irendida, nor of Plautus' The Menanchu, nor of Alarcón's Quién engaña más a quien.

23. *El príncipe perseguido is indebted to Lope's El gran Duque de Mascardi y emperador perseguido for the plot, the layout of characters, and three fragments of dialogue.

24. *El príncipe prodigioso is a shortened version of Lope's Príncipe prodigioso transilvano. The latter half of the play, which is attributed to Moreto, owes virtually nothing to its source.

25. San Franco de Sosa shows a certain analogy with Tirso's El condenado por desamado in its theme of repentance and in its characterization of the protagonist. I doubt that there is any relationship between San Franco de Sosa and Lope's La mal casada. The play is much nearer to Moreto's *Cuer para levantar (and therefore indirectly to Mira de Amescua's El esclavo del demonio) than to either Tirso's or Lope's work.

26. *Traseras son valor (revised version) is a reworking of an old play that was probably called *Don Sancho el Malo. It is indebted to the source for the plot and cast of characters. The dénouement has been changed and the characters transformed. The last part of Act II has borrowed 130 lines out of a possible 400.

27. El valiente justiciero is an adaptation of Lope's El rey Don Pedro en Madrid y el infantón de Illescas, which in the last half of the third act is so near the original as to be termed plagiaristic. Twelve of the eighteen scenes of Moreto have close parallels in content; seven have borrowed the dialogue (a total of some 100 lines) and its assonance. Act II is indebted only for the general outline of the story; Act I for this and, in addition, some 50 lines of dialogue.

I see no reason for relating one of the scenes of Moreto's play to Lope's Los novios de Hornachuelos.

28. Los jueces de Castilla, La fuerza de la ley, and Primero es la honra give evidence of being taken from sources now lost to us. Schaeffer suggests that Industrias contra finesas be included in the same list, but his proof is not convincing to me.

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We may sum up briefly the extent of Moreto's indebtedness to his predecessors and contemporaries by saying:

1. *La adúltera penitente *La fingida Arcadia, Industrias contra finesas, El Licenciado Vidriera, El más ilustre francés, and San
Franco de Sosa owe so little to their indicated sources as to make censure impossible.

2. On eleven occasions, the dramatist has borrowed the general situation and the dramatic personae essential to its development. In the case of Como se tengan los nobles, De fuera vendrá, El desdén con el desdén, El lindo Don Diego, La misma conciencia acuda, No puede ser, and El parédeco en la corte, the results are happy enough to make Moreto's action a meritorious one; the revisions of La confusión de un jardín, Lo que puede la aprehensión, and Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso are so weak, by comparison with their sources, as to be self-condemnatory.

3. The plays wherein the author has appropriated the dialogue as well as the situation (and sometimes even the sequence of events) are eight in number. The percentage of lines borrowed in *El Eneas de Dios, *El mejor par de los dos, *El principio perseguido, and *Travesuras son valor (second version) is so small as not to bring censure on Moreto; the results, however, do not justify the author in the effort expended.

*El bruto de Babilonia, *Caer para levantar, and El valiente justiciero have retained so many lines of their sources as to make it impossible to defend the dramatist against the charge of plagiarism.

El mejor amigo el rey, though the actual number of lines appropriated is negligible, is so near the original in its sequent of events as to be open to the same indictment.

4. There are two other plays, La fuerza de la ley and Los jueces de Castilla, for which the sources have been lost. It is not impossible, too, that Primero es la honra borrowed its plot from a lost comedia of Lope's.

Thus out of the six religious plays which are attributed to Moreto alone, two only have slight parallels. Eight others were written in collaboration and three of these are revisions.

Of the five novelesque comedies ascribed to our dramatist alone, sources have been found for two; all three of those written in collaboration are reworkings of older plays.

Two of his four plays of intrigue have derived the general situation from earlier works.

Of the 17 comedies of character or idea attributed to Moreto alone, ten have definite sources, and there is reason to believe that in the case of three others, the model has been lost. Five others were written in collaboration, and at least one is derived in part from an earlier play.

Thus of the 32 plays which Moreto wrote by himself, definite sources are known for 15; analogies have been pointed out in the case of 6 others. Of the 16 written in collaboration, 8 have known models. There are three plays, *La ocasión hace al ladrón, *El esclavo de su hijo, and *El Eneas de Dios which are reworkings of known plays, but these three do not in my opinion belong in Moreto's theatre. *La fuerza del natural is probably the source of Leyva Ramírez' Cuando no se aguarda, not a revision of it.

Such facts do much to justify Schaeffer in his assertion that if we had all of the comedies of the Golden Age, we should have a source for each and every comedy of Moreto. But, had our dramatist always worked alone and had he invariably limited himself to comedies of character, one should only regret that he did not revise more of the formless comedies of the Lopean period.
CHAPTER II

THE THEATRE OF MORETO

1. His Religious Theatre

Before discussing Moreto's secular plays, I shall first dispose of his religious theatre. To the modern reader this offers no interest other than the indirect light it sheds on the dramatist's temperament or the contrast it affords his secular comedies. It consists of (1) hagiographical material, drawn for the most part from the Plas sanctorum; (2) of episodes taken from Holy Writ, at times through the medium of an earlier play; and (3) of comedies written in honor of some particular shrine. In the first group one may mention *La adúltera penitente, Antes morir que pecar, *Cae para levantar, *Nuestra Señora de la Aurora, San Franco de Siena, *Santa Rosa del Perú, *La vida de San Alejo, and *La vida y muerte de San Cayetano; in the second, *El bruto de Babilonia and *La cena del rey Baltasar; in the third, *Dejar un reino por otro, *No hay reino como el de Dios, *Nuestra Señora de la Aurora, and *Nuestra Señora del Pilar.

In developing the materials of his sources, Moreto has not given evidence of the taste that he ordinarily displayed in reworking secular plays. For his failure in this regard, one must seek an explanation that is fourfold: (1) the haste with which they were so obviously written; (2) the dramatic ideals of the day; (3) the playwright's deep respect for religious tradition; (4) the limitations of his own character. He has not used the poet's prerogative of selection, and as a result the unpoetic and the ludicrous are indiscriminately patched together into a wearisome chronicle: San Casimiro (Antes morir que pecar) dies rather than yield to inconstancy; San Alejo (La vida de San Alejo), returning to home in disguise, takes humble lodging in a corner beneath the stairs; Nebuchadnezzar (*El bruto de Babilonia) appears on the stage as a beast of the fields accompanied by his keeper Alcõcer.

If from his sources Moreto subtracted little, he often added much. To relieve monotony, he elaborated the love story, or if not present in his source, he invented one. This subplot ordinarily takes one of two forms. In such plays as Antes morir que pecar, El más ilustre francés, and La vida de San Alejo, the devil tempts the

saintly protagonist with the love of a beautiful but unscrupulous woman. One hardly need add that Satan is never successful in his plans, for all of the cohorts of Heaven rally to the aid of the saint. The other situation common to Moreto's religious plays is that of a young rebel who, following first the primrose path of pleasure and love in defiance of God's wishes, is later directed by the Divine Will into the road that leads to Salvation,—usually through the prayers and offices of some saintly character that affords effective contrast in characterization. *La adúltera penitente, *Cae para levantar, *Nuestra Señora de la Aurora, San Franco de Siena, *Santa Rosa del Perú, *El Santo Cristo de Cabrilla, *La vida y muerte de San Cayetano, all present this situation. Its recurrence is interesting primarily because in his secular plays Moreto studiously avoided as protagonists the philandering hero and the indecorous heroine incident to a theme of this nature.

In reworking his religious sources, Moreto did not fail to develop all hints of the supernatural, though he made little or no use of it in his secular theatre.1 Practical craftsman that he was, our dramatist inevitably paid tribute to the taste of a public which demanded elaborate stage machinery2 in its religious plays. One reads in *Nuestra Señora del Pilar (Act III, p. 33): "de arriba bajará Santiago en un caballo hasta alcanzarlo a renifar con la espada y así pasará hasta el otro lado. Hase de obscurecer el teatro y caer rayos con estruendo de truenos." In *La vida de San Alejo (Act II, p. 19), the devil would tempt the protagonist by bringing before him a picture of home and of the events that were taking place within but, "al decir Jesús, desaparece todo (the vision of Rome and his fireside) y los que están en él, unos volando y otros hundiéndose, y queda el teatro como de antes." With the protagonist of *Santa Rosa del Perú (Act II, p. 20), which is of date 1669, the very trees sing hymns of praise to God: "los árboles han de estar puestos en

1 He has eliminated it completely in *El mejor por de los dos and *El Licenciado Vidriera, and in *El volante justiciero he has reduced it to a minimum.

2 For the enormous sums which were expended in the production of autos, see Perea Pastor, Documentos para la historia de Calderon, Vol. I, pp. 166-167, Madrid, 1905. For a description of their production, see the extract which Rennert (*The Spanish Stage, pp. 325-328) has taken from the English version of Francis van Aerssen's Journal of date 1654-55.

Would this not indicate that plays were sometimes given at night? See Rennert (*The Spanish Stage, p. 111): "Dramatic performances in the public theatres always took place in the afternoon."
forms que se puedan mover a compás." The stage directions for the representation of the fiery furnace ("El bruto de Babilonia, Act II, p. 23) are as follows: "Abre el horno ardiente por abajo, y por arriba será todo jardín, y en una elevación de gloria van subiendo los tres mancebos y en ellos (sic) el ángel." In this stress on stage mechanics for his religious plays, Moreto followed a method quite in accord with that of other writers of the day, but one which is contrary to what we might expect from his secular comedies.

The third and most important change which Moreto has made in the use of his sources is in the addition of the comic element. The gracioso's rôle is an indispensable (and at times inharmonious) one in his religious plays. The author has, however, succeeded in making the comic character an integral part of his drama. This he accomplished either by having him take direct part in the action of the play (as in his La cena de Balthasar), or by making him, materialistic that he is, stand in constant contrast to his idealistic master (as in La vida de San Alejo). In this latter rôle the master hungry for spiritual grace; the servant for the unattainable fleshpots. The master is humble, hardly daring to believe the spiritual favors which a life of service has merited; the servant is comically himself satisfied with his virtue, laboring not infrequently under the illusion that he is a saint, and therefore capable of miracles. The master is an example of moral and physical courage, fearless in the pursuit of good; the servant is a coward, a hypocritical one at times, willing at every moment to renounce his spiritual aspirations in order to save his skin. He is, in this rôle, almost invariably a lay brother (ego or donato), and it is this fact, no doubt, which leads Guillén y Buzarán to make the statement that he serves as Moreto's mouthpiece in satirizing those who are in the church.

Workers of miracles are hidalgo ("Santa Rosa del Perú), Pablo ("Nuestra Señora de la Aurora), Pasquín (La vida de San Alejo), Gonela ("La vida y muerte de San Cayetano), Colín (El más illustre francés), Dato ("San Franco de Sena). Workers of miracles are hidalgo ("Santa Rosa del Perú), Pablo ("Nuestra Señora de la Aurora), Morondo ("La adúltera penitente), Pasquín (La vida de San Alejo), Godelo ("Cas para lavar). Cowards are Mastuerzo ("No hay reina como el de Dios), Pablo ("Nuestra Señora de la Aurora), Morondo ("La adúltera penitente), Colín (El más illustre francés), and Alcór ("El bruto de Babilonia)."

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without any real vocation for religious life. It is an interesting interpretation of the facts, but I am personally inclined to think that this relationship of master and servant, as well as the contrasts afforded, grew out of the exigencies of dramatic realism and technique rather than out of any desire on Moreto's part to satirize certain elements of the church.

The gracioso's religious plays afford sources of laughter other than the contrast indicated. Frequently their rôle differs little from that of the comic figure in a secular play, Dato ("La cena del rey Balthasar") with his rustic pronunciation, his mixups in vocabulary and titles, his airs of ambassador, can find a close parallel in Tirso of La misma conciencia acusa. Dato ("San Franco de Sena") in his advocacy of cave-man methods toward women and in his predilection for puns, is related to the many clever servants of Moreto's secular theatre.

While the additions that Moreto made to his sources explain the popularity of his plays in their own day, they must likewise explain in part the small admiration that modern readers feel for his religious comedies. Taken in themselves, his graciosos are delightful. Indeed, at times they offer the only relief from the utter boredom of the religious chronicle, but it must be granted that their jokes and puns are frequently out of place, robbing the situation of what little passion and dignity it might otherwise possess. The cape and sword episodes, needless to say, tend in the same direction.

However, for the complete explanation of Moreto's failure in his religious comedies, one must look deeper: neither haste, nor respect for religious tradition, nor his concessions to the public in the matters of the comic and the romantic can in my opinion suffice to explain the dissatisfaction which the modern reader feels on perusing Moreto's religious plays. For the answer, I feel that we must look to the dramatist's own character. His work shows clearly that he had not that appreciation of the mystical, that understanding of the sublime, nor that comprehension of the tragic depths of life which enabled his great contemporary to transform pictures of the commonplace into scenes of moving beauty and grandeur. One has only to read Calderón's La cena de Balthasar and compare it with Moreto's La cena del rey Balthasar to realize the chasm that

separates the temperaments of the two men. In general, our playwright has exalted the virtues of charity, humility, temperance in food and drink, of penance, of submission to the Higher Will—above all of chastity and repentance, but there is little evidence of any mystical fervor in his makeup. San Bernardo (El más ilustre francés) and Don Diego ("Nuestra Señora de la Aurora"). to be sure, use the vocabulary of the mystics, but they are not convincing.

If one may judge by his plays, Moreto was a loyal son of the Church, on the whole uncritical of its doctrines, its conduct, or its ministers. Monastic life finds its defense on more than one occasion. To one who would win renown on the field of battle, Moreto would say that "to conquer self is the greatest of victories." To those who would gain earthly riches, he would urge the undeniable fact that they cannot carry them to the grave and that life is so brief that it often seems as if "tomorrow's door stands on the threshold of tonight." In fact, Demetrio asks:

¿Hay vida de tanta suerte como ésta? En que a la partida vuelva el rostro el varón fuerte y se encuentre con la muerte sin que le asuste la vida.

Nadie se compare, pues, a quien vive en este estado pues, aunque pobre los ve, están mirando a sus pies todo lo que han despreciado.

There are two passages in Moreto's theatre which are satirical at the expense of the clerical profession. One, which is found in the second act of La adúltera penitente, satirizes (in the character of the gracioso) the hypocrisy and false devotion of certain members of the Church. To me, it is doubtful that this part of the play is Moreto's handiwork, though Fernández-Guerra felt otherwise. The other passage, which is likewise to be found in a work written in collaboration, El príncipe perseguido, satirizes the glutony of certain friars. Pepino remarks:

4 El mes ilustre francés, Act I, p. 141b.
7 El príncipe perseguido, Act II, p. 18.
4 Op. cit., p. xxi, under heading "La adúltera penitente."

It is in answer to this criticism that Demetrio makes the defense given above. Although the versification of this act is not entirely characteristic of Moreto, I am inclined to think that this passage is the product of his pen. Both the aesthete and the churchman in Moreto must have protested against glutony. As we have seen, many of his lay members never see spiritual values because of their interest in food. Our dramatist would probably have altered Emerson's words on Montaigne to read: "Would you be tender and scrupulous, you must eat less mince pie."

In his secular theatre Moreto was, as we shall see, ahead of his time. In the religious comedia he is entirely of his own day. Moreover, if put in comparison with other dramatists of his time, he cannot, in this genre, be said to rise above the level of mediocrity.

2. HIS SECULAR THEATRE

A. THE MECHANICS OF HIS PLAYS

a. Plot Structure

Opening scenes of Moreto's theatre ordinarily fulfill all the technical requirements of models. As a rule they give the setting, present the chief characters, and outline the situation in clear, straightforward fashion. Not infrequently they declare the thesis
and foreshadow the action that is to follow. Let *La fuerza de la ley* serve as an example. Seleuco, presented with a petition in which a certain Cintio (charged with adultery) asks for remission of the law which would put out his eyes, angrily refuses the request, saying:

que la ley de una ciudad
es base de sus murallas. 10

Scenes follow immediately wherein we are apprised of the king's intention of marrying his niece Aurora to Alejandro, victorious commander of his squadrons, even though the former is adored by his son Demetrio and the latter by his daughter Nise. The drama proper is the tragic result of this arbitrary marriage: the monarch is forced into the position of condemning his own son Demetrio by the law which he had enforced against Cintio. In similar fashion the opening lines of *La cena del rey Baltasar* and of *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso* outline the story that is to follow. Yet, Moreto's exposition does not offer the charm that Lope de Vega's affords. The variety as well as the freshness which characterizes that of his predecessor are lacking. Nowhere is it more evident than in the opening scenes that Moreto's is a reflective theatre, Lope's one of plot. The earlier dramatist not infrequently begins his comedy with action; the latter with explanatory dialogue 11 in which long speeches of two and three hundred lines are not uncommon. Such monologues more often than not follow the request for news of one who has been absent, a request which frequently takes the specific form of "Why so sad?" In these long relations of expository nature, Moreto was but catering to the taste of the day. 12 They have, in a measure, replaced the flights of lyrical fancy which the audiences of Lope enjoyed so greatly. This tendency toward order and clarity may be seen, not only in the opening scenes, but throughout the development of the play.

10 *La fuerza de la ley*, I, p. 81.
11 *No hay reino como el de Dios* and *San Francisco de Sera*, however, start with action. Moreover, in *El mejor por de los dos* and *El valiente justiciero*, expository speeches of the source have been expanded into scenes of action, contrary to Moreto's usual custom.
12 This may be seen in the introduction of the long expository speech of Fernando in the second version of *El Parecido en la corte* (I, I, pp. 311-312), lines which were lacking in the primitive version. The discourse of Fenisa on love and its phenomena in *Lo que puede la aprehensión* (I, I, pp. 167-168) is likewise so undramatic that one can but see in it a concession to the literary tastes of the day.

Moreto's plots ordinarily fall into great blocks. *El Licenciado Vidriera* (written before 1648), wherein Carlos' hopes of winning the fair Laura are dependent on financial preferment, may be charted as follows: At the end of Act I, the protagonist has every reason to hope for a rosy future, for has he not won for the Duke of Urbana a battle which assures the latter his crown and his bride? Those hopes not realized, he has by the end of Act II decided to play the rôle of the Licentiate of Glass. By the close of Act III the ruse has proved successful and Carlos wins both preferment and love. Most of the comedies of Moreto could be charted in the same fashion.

How have such order and economy been obtained? In the first place one sees it repeatedly demonstrated in the comparative studies 13 that the playwright has carefully eliminated every subplot which he could not tie up closely with the main thread of interest. 14"Cear para levantar, Cómo se vengan los nobles, *La confusión de una noche, Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso, No hay reino como el de Dios, No puede ser, El principio persevera, El principio prodigioso, and others illustrate conscious effort to this effect. So invariably was the dramatist's method one of simplification that the departure of *El valiente justiciero* in this regard immediately suggests the possibility of a collaborating hand. Lope's plays have five, six, seven, even eight clearly defined plots. Moreto's seldom have more than two or three, and these are almost invariably bound together with neat compactness. This is a statement that holds true whether the relationship be that of *No puede ser*, wherein it is virtually that of a play-within-a-play; or that of *Yo por vos y vos por otro*, which, from the standpoint of technique, affords almost a perfect example of the double plot; or that of the great mass of Moreto's comedies in which the subplot serves only to effect a contrast in characterization and to help, first, in the complication, and later, in the resolution of the main story.

When the rôle of the servants attains to the dignity of a third subplot, the interlinking is accomplished in various ways. At times it is brought about by a parallelism which parodies the action of the main characters, as in *Amor y obligación, Fingir y anar*, and

13 See pp. 152-201 of this study.
14 As a result, Moreto's comedies usually are from 300 to 1000 lines shorter than their sources of the Lopean school.
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El mejor amigo el rey. At other times, as in La misma conciencia acusa, the gracioso is the go-between for opposing forces and as such is an essential part in the resolution of the main plot. Still more frequently, as in Trampa adelante, No puede ser, or El desdén con el desdén, he is the stage director who in part or in whole directs the destinies of the protagonists. And no matter which of the three roles may be his, he usually serves as an ironic commentator on the romantic tendencies of his master. He frequently marries the maid of the heroine, but this “pairing-off,” it seems to me, is not so inevitable as in Calderon’s plays of intrigue.

Moreto has given genuine care to climactic effects. Seldom are they forced. Chance, of course, plays an important part in his comedies of intrigue, but in his plays of character, it is rare that action is more than justly dependent on fortuitous circumstances. El Licenciado Vidriera is the notable exception. Moreover, the technical climax of the play (that is, the point where the fate of the protagonist begins to change) will often be found to coincide with the exact middle of the play. Such is the case in El desdén con el desdén, El lindo Don Diego, No puede ser, Trampa adelante and others. Still again, hasty, unforeseen endings, are rare in Moreto’s theatre, the exceptions being *Travesuras son valor, El valiente justiciero, and Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso.*

Nor has the dramatist been content to work for a forceful climax of interest at the end of the play: he has, as well, sought climactic effect within each act. Each of the great blocks into which his comedy falls must close with a “big scene” which is ordinarily followed by a few words that foreshadow the events of the next. El poder de la amistad (1652) will serve as an example.

Act I: Alejandro, his fortune wasted in vain endeavors to please the Princess Margarita, can, in competition with other suitors, offer nothing more than the loyal friendships of Luciano, the scholar, and Tebandro, the warrior. This offering scorned, the friends set to work to reduce the fair Margarita to terms and thereby to demonstrate the power of friendship.

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Act II: Luciano, by making Margarita jealous of her cousin Matilde and by having Alejandro thrust in prison, forces the capricious heroine to admit to herself her love for Alejandro. It is hinted that Tebandro from without will come to the rescue of his friend.

Act III: The fortunes of war force the beautiful heroine to acknowledge to the world her love for Alejandro and thus to confess the powers of friendship.

It may be noted, in conclusion, that in this play also the technical climax (effect on Margarita of Alejandro’s pretended courtship of Matilde) may be found by opening the comedy at its middle page.

Of those technical details which make for realism of effect and unity of tone, I shall have space to say but little. His use of parallelism and contrast, both in characterisation and episode, has already been noted. Not infrequently symbolism has been used effectually. Baltasar (La cena del rey Baltasar) drops his crown at the feet of Ciro and thus foretells the loss of his crown to the latter. Ramiro (Como se vengan los nobles) is, in the game with his rustic companions, crowned king; by this method the dramatist foreshadows his rule as king of Aragon. *El principe prodigioso,* El mejor par de los doce, La fuerza de la ley, *La adúltera penitente, and La negra por el honor also contain interesting examples of the use of symbolism. Again, one may point out as one of the factors which make for unity of effect the great care which Moreto takes to insure perfect comprehension in the mind of the spectator. However much the poor characters may struggle in the maze of circumstances which surround them, the audience is not at a loss as to the true state of affairs. Thus does the author induce in the consciousness of his listeners that feeling of superiority which comes from a discreetly flattered vanity.

Such perfect understanding is often accomplished, however, by the abuse of asides or by the still more undramatic monologue. Anteoco y Seleuco and Industrias contra finanzas are cases in point. In El defensor de su agravio, in his anxiety to keep listeners informed of the true state of mind of his characters, Moreto has used no less than thirteen monologues which range in length from ten to one hundred lines. On the other hand, such a play as No puede ser (of

18 The dénouement of El Esequio de Dios, La gala de nadar, En el mayor imposible, nadie pierde la esperanza, La fortuna mercedida, Sin honra no hay valentía, and La negra por el honor, is so utterly ridiculous as to afford one of the strongest arguments against Moreto’s authorship.

19 The consciousness of this effort is revealed in the changes Moreto made in reworking Act II of El Parecido.
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date 1659) does not offer a single one. Rarely do such monologues serve as an excuse to inject the lyrical (as with Lope) or as mere "fillers" by which the author prevents the stage from being emptied. 18

b. Setting

As another technical detail which makes for realism of effect, one may point out the careful motivation of the entrances and exits of Moreto's characters. Unlike most of those of Lope or of Guillén de Castro, they do not rush on or off the boards at the caprice of the author; and since their entrances seem inevitable, Moreto usually dispenses with those brief scenes wherein servants announce the arrival of each new character. 19 Any consideration of this subject, however, involves the examination of his settings, inasmuch as it is evident that an empty stage in Moreto's day was the ordinary signal for a shift of scene; and if the same characters were to occupy the stage after the change was effected, the shift was indicated by their departure through one door and their entrance through another. Rennert 20 considers La española de Florencia, which offers an example of this simple convention, as of "especial Interest" because it was written between the comparatively late dates of 1630-1635. Yet, in Trampa adelante (1650), Casilda and Millán are by this same expedient transferred from the street to the interior of Doña Ana's house.

CASIlda: Esa es la casa.
MILLÁN: ¿Tan cerca?
CASIlda: Y en aquesto cuarto bajo
(Entránsese por una puerta y salen por otra.)
MILLÁN: Muy grande jaula es aquésta. 21

And in La jugida Arcadia which was, there is reason to believe, played before the king in 1664, the scene clearly shifts from the seashore to the interior of the palace, for Filiberto declares to Federico (I, p. 541):

18 Scene 10 of Act II (p. 502) of El defensor de su agravio is, however, nothing but a "filler."
19 Cf. Tirso's Cautil contra cautila and Moreto's revision of it, El mejor amigo el rey. See p. 182 of this study.
20 The Spanish Stage, p. 88.
21 Trampa adelante, I, 4, pp. 143-146.

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Este es el sitio más retirado de palacio.

Yet, that shift was apparently accomplished without change of scenery, for the stage directions are: "Vanse y salen Filliberto, Federico y su criado." 22

As Rennert 23 has pointed out, this device was often avoided by the use of doors or curtains. With these aids, a portion of the stage, in front of which another scene was arranged, could be disclosed to the eyes of the audience at the proper moment. El defensor de su agravio offers a setting (III, 8-11) which can hardly be explained otherwise. The king, in his sitting room, enters first the room of the tower in which his wife is imprisoned and holds with her a lengthy conversation; from there he goes into that of his rival, Alejandro. The first change of locality is accompanied by the following remarks (III, 8, p. 506):

Llave tengo; esta puerta al de mi esposa
jasa, por ella entro;
(Abre la puerta y dice al entrar):
Mas ya abrio y ya estoy dentro.

As he leaves her room to enter Alejandro's, he declares (III, 10, p. 507):

Cerró quiero aquesta puerta
y abrir la de su prisión
que divide al otro cuarto

Esta la puerta ha de ser
y con más seguridad
de poderme conocer,
podré saber la verdad
porque aquí luz no ha de haber.

(Entránsese cerrando la puerta y sale por otra.)

Yet that Moreto did not like to overwork this convention may be seen in his revision of Lope's El rey Don Pedro en Madrid. Here the humiliation of Lope's protagonist consists in his transfer from room to room—a change of scene that must have been accomplished by departure and re-entrance. Moreto has reduced the three shifts to one.

22 One may find other examples of this convention in El Caballero (II, 20, p. 303), No puede ser (1, 1, p. 180), etc.
23 The Spanish Stage, p. 90.
There is good reason to think that the use of simultaneous scenery was still common in Moreto's day. How can one explain otherwise the change from the picturesque mountain scenes of Antón y Selencio (I, 1–5) to the elaborate court setting that follows? Or that of the wild hills of Las travesuras de Pantaja (wherein steep paths and lofty hills are specifically mentioned) to the interior of a palace in which tables and chairs are indispensable equipment? (See II, 12–13). And to effect this shift, the author says simply: "Entrán los dos por un lado y salen por otro." It is difficult to say to what degree the use of light affected such shifts.

One could easily give further examples to prove that stage conditions in Moreto's day had apparently changed little from those of the days of Lope de Vega, and that consequently one still finds that same vagueness of localization which characterized the earlier days of the Spanish drama as well as the British stage of that time. And yet, those conditions were hardly to be expected in view of the well-known predilection of Philip IV for the stage and the enormous sums that were spent in the presentation of some of the comedies.

The simplicity of stagecraft which is indicated by Moreto's stage directions would necessarily have a positive influence on his exits and entrances and a negative one on his choice of locality. If an emptied stage meant a change of setting, then the careful technician would try to avoid leaving his stage bare on other occasions, and such is the case in most of Moreto's comedies. In his better plays, I have noted only one instance (La fuerza de la ley, II, 8–9) where the stage is apparently emptied though there is no change of scene indicated. Here, the passing of an hour of time is filled in, awkwardly enough, by the arrival of the servant Irene who begs permission of the audience to soliloquize on the discomforts and disadvantages of "this code of honor which so preoccupies her bidders." It may be the case which Moreto had to exercise in making an emptied stage coincide with a change of scene that held him down to the modest two or three shifts per act which ordinarily characterize his comedies. A well-constructed drama such as El...
eration and simplicity have already pointed out in connection with his plots. On one occasion, at least, Moreto poke's fun at the artificial lexicon of the gongorists. Greguesco (La fuerza de la ley, I, 10, p. 86) has written a piece of poetry, as he explains to the king,

... un epítalamo
que le escribí en un andamio,
por que no hay más consonante.
Hicen eclesiásticas radiantes,
coloran, celajes, rumbos,
serúas y otros retumbos
de poetas relumbrantes
que en vacuidad poco a poco
trocar la lengua pretenden;
los que lo oyen no lo entienden
ni el que lo escribió tampoco.8

Neither so broad nor so specific a vocabulary as that of Lope de Vega, it makes, once the reader is acquainted with it, very few demands on the dictionary.

Nevertheless, one who reads Moreto must be on the alert, for he was an inveterate punster and found such delight in juggling words that he could not, even in moments of passion and dignity, forbear putting a quip into the mouth of his gracioso. No better example of a trivial use could be found than that of "casimiro" (Casimiro) in Antes morir que pecar, nor of a happy one than that of Comino (El defensor de su agravio, I, 1) who, having received orders from Alejandro that he 'speak only of Nisa,' answers every rhapsody of his master with "ni sea."

This delight in juggling words leads him (as it did Tirso) to coin verbs at will. From the proper names of his characters, Diana, Casilda, Lidor, Franco, Tarugo, Danta, Fernando, Lisardo, Bato, Mocín, and Morondo, he has made the respective verb forms: dianar, casildar, lidoare, franquear, taruguedar, dantear, fernandear, lisardar, batear, mocinar, morondea. In similar fashion, Mosquito assures Don Juan (El lindo Don Diego, II, 1, p. 357):

8 It is impossible for me to believe that Moreto wrote the highly gongoristic iHacer del contrario amigo, much less that his pen is guilty of that literary atrocity which is put into the mouth of the "'clever"' child Diónisio in Sín honra no hay valentía (I, pp. 10-11). See also El lindo Don Diego (I, 12, p. 353) for Moreto's opinion of Gongora.

In Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso (I, p. 7) we have "volanticida" humorously fashioned to mean "pérdida de un volante."

Occasionally, Moreto's love of words took the form of jingling repetitions. In lines that are noteworthy for their paucity of thought, Guifarro sings against Justice in the following fashion:

Pues ¿no es ésa una injusticia
de la justicia más sino
que sin justicia hubiera
a la inocencia? ¡Oh, justicia
de la justicia divina!89

I cannot, however, persuade myself that Moreto was, even at the age of seventeen, guilty of the lines which are put into the mouth of Carlos in tLa cautela en la amistad (III, p. 340):

No se si amaros o amarme
o amar a un amigo vuestro,
pues solícito que os ame;
y amós a quien os merece
es amarme, pues se parte
entre mí y él la fortuna,
y os pierdo, porque él os gane
es amarme, porque en nada,
cuanto más eso me amaste,
pudiera yo amarme tanto
como en amaros y amarme.

In dialogue, Moreto is at times thoroughly concise. The Marqués, in Primera es la honra (I, 1, p. 229), tries to dissuade the king from his courtship of Porcia, daughter of the Almirante:

... no le está bien a un rey,
que es custodia de la ley,
publicar un galanteo
de una hija de un almirante
a quien Sicilia pregonó
que debe más tu corona
que el cielo al nombre de Atlante.

80 Las transversas de Pantofla, II, 1, p. 396.
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Y este recato, señor, que mi advertencia te mueve, más a la reina se debe que al respeto a su honor; pues siendo en la sucesión de Nápoles heredera, por ella Sicilia espera destos dos reinos la unión.

Don Juan's account of his encounter with Doña Ana (Tráfico adelante, I, 1, p. 143) is another excellent example of economy.

What is more, Moreto is clear. His references are not obscure (there is no vain show of learning), nor is his construction involved. In ṚLa gala de nadar (II, p. 176), Ramón complains of the inverted sentence order of the gongorists:

No has visto aquella figura que poetas cultos llaman transposición, que con ellos se transponen las palabras, que para hallar el sentido son menester dos semanas?

It will be remembered, too, that Mosquito advises Beatriz, the maid, to impress Don Diego by talking "crítico", although he at the same time specifically states that it has gone out of fashion (El lindo Don Diego, II, 7, p. 361):

Habla crítico ahora, aunque no es uso, porque si tú el lenguaje le reservas, pensará que es estilo de condesas; que los tontos que traen imaginado un gran sujeto, en viéndole ajustado a hablar claro, aunque sea con concejo, al instante le pierden el respeto.

Those antiphonal dialogues, so frequent in Calderón, occur but rarely in Moreto's theatre. Occasionally the reader finds one:

GELÓIRA: ¿Qué dices, Señor?  
RAMIRO: Agravios.
GELÓIRA: ¿De qué los tienes?  
RAMIRO: Rigor.
GELÓIRA: ¿Quién te los hizo?  
RAMIRO: Crueldades.
GELÓIRA: ¿En qué las sientes?

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RAMIRO: Traición.
GELÓIRA: ¿Hete ofendido yo?  
RAMIRO: Afrenta.
GELÓIRA: ¿Quieres matarme?  
RAMIRO: Dolor.44

Even less frequently did Moreto employ the exclamatory parenthetical asides that often mar the dialogue of his great contemporary. Such a fragment as is found in "La singida Arcadia" (I, 2, p. 538) is for me a strong argument in favor of a collaborating hand:

Cobróle y buscóme, (hay cielo!) que medrosa (fuerte lance) enojada (¡jarro susto!) me retiré; (¡pena grandel!) y dándome (acción valiente!) mi prenda (¡atención notable!) desta suerte (¡horror terrible!) sobre mis brazos se cae.

If Moreto is but rarely declamatory44 or gongoristic, he is all too frequently conceitistic, and intentionally so as the lines quoted above from El lindo Don Diego show. The nobleman should speak with conceits. The modern reader grows weary indeed trying to follow such fine reasoning over love and lovers as is to be found in many of Moreto's comedies. Let the argument between the two brothers of Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso (I, 3) serve as an example:

GARCÍA: Quien calla amando, no intenta obrigar con el amar; quien no ama para obrigar los méritos se acrecienta. Yo, pues, si ahora callando, merezco en lo que padezco, no por callarlo merezco, sino por callar amando, luego si en mí, de este amor méritos no diferencio

44 Las Juces de Cistella, II, 14, p. 470.
45 See discussion of this problem of authorship, p. 131. The only other similar bit of conversation I have noted is found in "La adúltera prudente" (II, p. 15). It is interesting that these are the only two that have ever been attributed to Calderón. See pp. 123-126 of this study.
44 See in El Licenciado Vidriera (I, 5, p. 232) the passage beginning: "Por vos, mi patria dejé." The greciero straightway parodies it.

There is a satire on these "duos" in El Licenciado Vidriera, I, 6, p. 235.
cuanto merece el silencio
merezco en fe de mi amor.

Consideration for the reader will not permit me to print Sancho's
involved answer of twenty lines. 88

Moreto's gallants ordinarily speak in character. While observ-
ing that gravity and decorum which Lope89 recommends as be-
fitting royal blood, they can at times attain to the realist of a
Velázquez. I doubt if a more lifelike picture of court life could be
found in the drama of the Golden Age than the argument which
takes place in Doña Ana's Academy as to whether or not it is pos-
sible to guard a woman against her will (No puede ser, I, 2, pp.
188-189). From the standpoint of the modern reader, the courtly
conversation of Moreto's characters is often marred by the conceits
(at times hackneyed ones) which Mosquito would require of them.
These metaphors may be worked out with all detail, and in ex-
re form, may give rise to those long analyses of which I have just
spoken, 90 or they may take the epigrammatic tone of one of Cam-
poamor's 'humoradas':

Que quien por un vidrio mira,
que hace algún color distinto,
todo cuanto ve con él
está del color del vidrio. 91

His gracioso speak the language of the people. 92 Ordinarily

88 One might ask if these were early plays of Moreto. Certainly, El Parecido en
la corte (ordinarily considered a revision of Moreto's earlier play, El Parecido) is
less given to conceits than the earlier version.


90 Schaeffer (Op. cit., II, p. 170) points out as more characteristic of Lope than
of Moreto such lengthy and involved metaphors as that of Industrias contra fáneos
(III, 10, p. 285) wherein the protagonist's heart is a "palace with hangings of hope,
servants of courtesy," etc. And while I agree with Schaeffer that they are much more
common with Lope than with Moreto, they are, nevertheless, to be found elsewhere
in our author's theatre. See, for example, that of "love as a storm at sea" in La
fuera de la ley (I, 13, p. 87) or that of the lover who likens himself to one ill with
the dropsy (Yo por vos y vos por otro, I, I, p. 374). There are others.

91 Defensor de su agravio, II, 8, p. 301.

92 One comes to expect certain recurring phrases in their dialogue: Súmase
pasiones a las de Dios; echas por esos trigos; de contenido brisco y saludo; ni te
llames, ni se lames; no, sino humo; otra ahí; beneficiado; pues a mi linaje; pues
yo; palo; puedas en alba; toca sus huertas. There are, too, several exclamations which are charac-
teristic: Allo! (allo), arroga (==the German Soll!), according to Schaeffer, Op. cit.,
p. 175), sus (also pus), ensalzar, ménula, sapel

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their figures take the shape of pertinent stories or of homely com-
parisons that are epigrammatic and aphoristic. To illustrate the
power of preconceived ideas, Laura quotes this story to her mis-
tress Fenisa:

Uno que a su dama hablaba
a escuras, y no la vía,
mirando por curiosa,
que era tuerta imaginaba.
Del defecto hizo apreciación,
y mirándola otro día
vió que dos ojos tenía
con hermosa perfección.
Desgraciadamente la cosa
y dijo por el alijo:
"Si usted se sacara un ojo
fuera mucho más hermosa." 93

Concerning adornments of women, Polilla cautions his master:

Mira, éstas son como el cardo,
que el hortelano adverido
le deja las pencas mañas,
que aunque no son de servicio,
hablan para venderle,
pero después de vendido
solo se come el cogollo;
pues las damas son lo mismo:
lo que se come es apestoso,
que el moño y el artificio
de las falsas son las pencas
que se echan a los horrores. 94

And how shall we explain the many follies of the lovesick, asks this
same "Galenus of love" (II, 6, p. 11), unless,

las locuras son
como un plato de cerezas
que en tirando de la una
las otras se van tras ella?

"The hungry man always thinks that his neighbor's plate is the better
served than his own," says Tortuga (*Hacer remedio el dolor, II,
p. 52a). "He went more quickly than the son-in-law who goes in
search of a priest for his wife's mother" (Amor y obligación, III, p.
93 94)

93 La que puede la aprehensión, II, 3, p. 175.
94 El desdén con el desdén, II, 9, p. 12.
22), Zancajo assures the Prince. "The heart of a disdainful beauty is like the apple which seems sound on the exterior but which within is worm-eaten" (by jealousy); such is Motril's opinion as expressed to Don Inigo (Yo por vos y vos por otro, III, 7, p. 389). "The kiss is the cheese of the rats of love," Polilla tells Diana in El desdén con el desdén (I, 5, p. 5).

The general trend of these figures, which are drawn from the garden, the house, the give-and-take of every-day life, is distinctly sententious in tone and didactic in purpose. They reveal that Moreto was at heart a teacher, and, in the moderation which they encourage, a practical teacher. In them may be seen the common sense of a man of the people. It is this trait of Moreto which often recalls Cervantes to his reader.

In conclusion, the dialogue of Moreto is not lyrical. This is at once evident in the transformation that he has wrought in the plays of Lope. The revision is invariably less poetic than the source: those long lyrics of love, those elaborate and colorful praises of fair women, which Lope's gallants of the court utter with such graceful Jauntiness, are gone—their place taken in Moreto by conceptistic analyses of love or by long speeches of expository nature; gone also those delicately embroidered pastorals and those magnificent panoramas of country life which Lope so often spread before the eyes of a jaded city audience, to make way for the comic chatter of the omnipresent gracioso. If one would realize just what lyrical wealth was Lope's to command and just how slender was the veil of Moreto when put by its side, let him compare the glowing description which the earlier poet paints of Don Tello's possessions in El rey D. Pedro (I, 6, p. 595) with the corresponding picture in El valiente justiciero (I, 10, p. 335). One comprehends, too, just how keenly alive to the beauties of nature was every sense of Lope's, how much a thing of the intellect was Moreto's appreciation.

With this, I would not say that the latter was completely lacking in the lyrical or that he had no appreciation of nature. But na-

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4 Many are from the card-table; a few, from the chase.

4 This may be observed in almost any of the comparative studies. Let the length of Carlos' speech in Mirod a quien alaba (I, 4) and that of his counterpart in La que pide la apercibición (I, 6) serve as a concrete example.

4 The changes effected in Lope's El testimonio vengado or El gran Duque de Moscúvía y emperador perseguido illustrate the conscious efforts of Moreto in this regard.
Moreto tried to remedy his deficiencies in the lyrical by frequent use of songs and music. Yet, within those very songs are clearly seen his limitations as a lyric poet. They are almost invariably made to serve a dramatic purpose, and as Mr. Morley has pointed out in his careful study of Moreto's versification, they are usually limited to four lines of romances or occasionally to a redondilla. "In the thirty plays of Moreto, there are but three examples of songs of more than four lines in length." These are, I suppose, La misma conciencia acusa, whose version of "Carpe Diem" is made up of two quatrains of six-syllable assonanted verses separated by a refrain of two lines; Cómo se vengan los nobles, which has a reaper's song in popular form; and El valiente justiciero, which contains a strophe composed of five lines of syllables 7,7,7,7. Besides these, I have noted in the plays not analysed by Professor Morley:

* La adúltera penitente, III: Latin songs of 6 and 11 verses.
* El bruto de Babilonia, I and III: songs of 8 lines, 6 syllables.
† El Cristo de los Milagros, I: quintillas.
† El escudo de su hijo, I: antiphonal song of 22 lines.
* Hacer remedio el dolor, II: song of 8 lines.
Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso, I: song of 8 lines.
† Los más dichosos hermanos, III: song of 8 lines.
El más ilustre francés, II: song of 8 lines.
* El mejor par de los doce, I: song of 12 lines, 6 syllables, blank verse.

* Nuestra Señora de la Aurora, I: song of 7 lines; II and III, songs of 6 lines.
* Oponerse a las estrellas, II: song of 6 lines; quintillas.
† † El Príncipe prodigioso, I: song of 10 lines, 6 syllables.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Total number of lines</th>
<th>Per cent age of redondillas</th>
<th>Verses of quinilllas</th>
<th>Verses of decimas</th>
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<th>Verses of siflas</th>
<th>Verses of porades</th>
<th>Verses of actanas</th>
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| Hermanos encontrados                      | 1929                  | 47                   | 70                     | 33                     | 194              | 16                | Lira: ababcC.................................... 24  
Blank verse..................................... 25  
Refrain........................................ 6 |  
I: Quinella  
II: Francesco  
III: Romanceo |
| Más dichos hermanos                     | 2289                  | 35                   | 100                    | 54                     | 44               | 35                | Prose........................................... 18  
Songs of 2 or 9 verses........................ 11  
Undecimulated lines................................ 19 |  
Romanceo |
| Más fuerte francés                      | 2289                  | 17                   | 50                     | 68                     | 194              | 42                | Lira: of varying rhyme scheme............. 24  
Songs of 4 or 8 lines associated............... 12 |  
Romanceo |
| Mejor luna africana (not accessible to me) |                       |                      |                        |                        |                  |                   |                                        |                |
| Mejor par de los doce                     | 2285                  | 7                    | 115                    | 79                     | 219              |                   | Lira: aBaBCC...................................... 30  
Prose letter..................................... 11 |  
Romanceo |
| Negra por el horno                       | 2285                  | 18                   | 342                    | 58                     | 466              | 60                | Lira: aBaBCC...................................... 60 |  
Romanceo |
| No hay reino como el de Dios              | 2272                  | 21                   | 65                     | 67                     | 78               | 104               | Songs of 4 lines each........................ 12  
Assonants of varying syllable length......... 12 |  
Romanceo |
| Nuestra Señora de la Asunción              | 2272                  | 28                   | 50                     | 56                     | 62               |                   | Songs of 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7 verses.......... 60 |  
II: Estafa song  
III: Romanceo |
| Nuestra Señora del Filar                  | 2273                  | 29                   | 10                     | 65                     | 57               | 42                | Prose........................................... 19  
Songs of 3 and 7 syllable verses annotated 4  
Lira: ABAABC.C.................................. 112  
Latin song...................................... 3 |  
I: Romanceo  
II: Latin song |
| Oponese a las estrellas                   | 3216                  | 32                   | 201                    | 150                    | 63               | 91                | Songs of 2, 5, 6, 8 verses.................. 21 |  
Romanceo |
| Parecido                                   | 3166                  | 32                   | 40                     | 62                     | 136              |                   | Prose letter..................................... 8 |  
Romanceo |
| Príncipe perseguido                       | 3183                  | 39                   | 195                    | 45                     | 66               | 20                | Prose letter..................................... 9 |  
Romanceo |
| Príncipe prodigioso                       | 2286                  | 52                   | 75                     | 50                     | 36               | 119               | Songs: asonants of 4 verses................. 16  
Song: 6-syllable asonants of 10 lines........ 10  
Prose........................................... 21 |  
Romanceo |
| Ray Don Enrique [Only a mutilated copy accessible!] |                |                      |                        |                        |                  |                   |                                        |                |
| Rosario perseguido                        | 2777                  | 61                   | 125                    | 30                     | 29               | 37                | Lira: aBaBCC...................................... 18  
Prose letter..................................... 13  
Free-ryhming verse of 8 syllables............ 76 |  
I: Redondilla  
II: Free-ryhming  
III: Blank verse |
| San Luis Beltrán                          | 2794                  | 27                   | 6                      |                        |                  | 32                | Canción de 7 lines................................ 56  
Blank verse...................................... 96  
Trento........................................... 24  
Latin song...................................... 4 |  
I: Quinella  
II: Quinella  
III: Blank verse |
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falling below 40% which may be classed as doubtful, as apochryphal, or as collaborations are: *San Luis Beltrán (6%), *El esclavo de su hijo (23%), *El rosario perseguido (29%), *Los hermanos encontrados (33%), *La confusión de un jardín (35%), the primitive version of *Travesuras son valor (37%), and *La gala de nazar (39%).

As for those comedies wherein percentages of redondillas are above the maximum average of 33% quoted by Mr. Morley, we have: El valiente justiciero (36%), *Nuestra Señora de la Aurora (36%), Trampa adelante (36%), *El príncipe perseguido (39%), *La gala de nazar (41%), *Los hermanos encontrados (41%), *Sin honra no hay valentía (42%), San Francisco de Sena (42%), the primitive version of *Travesuras son valor (44%), *En el mayor imposible, nadie pierde la esperanza (48%), *La confusión de un jardín (50%), *El príncipe prodigioso (52%), Los jueces de Castilla (67%). All with the exception of Los jueces de Castilla, Trampa adelante, San Francisco de Sena, and El valiente justiciero are either works written in collaboration or doubtfully attributed.

Below the minimum of 14% redondillas quoted by Mr. Morley for No puede ser, we note: *El mejor por de los doce, (7%), *El Enca de Dios (10%), La vida de San Alejo (11%), Amor y obligación (11%), and *Hacer remedio el dolor (12%). I consider only La vida de San Alejo and Amor y obligación as exclusively his.

As having unusually large percentages of quinilllas, I may mention La cova del rey Balasar (28%), *El esclavo de su hijo (38%), *San Luis Beltrán (60%). Only the first mentioned is Moreto's, in my opinion.

Mr. Morley points out that Moreto displays a variety of metre that ranges from four to eight (Op. cit., p. 171), that he uses estrías iricas not infrequently though neither enéadas (of six or seven syllables) nor blank verse nor the Hra of form aBabC are found in his work (Op. cit., pp. 163, 166). In this statement concerning enéadas, the eminent critic excludes the six-syllable asonated songs that appear in various plays. Aside from these, I have noted short-line assonants of seven-syllables in Primero es la honra, (I, 8, pp. 232-233), of six-syllables in *El bruto de Babilonia (III, p. 29), *El esclavo de su hijo (I, pp. 40-41), and *La adúltera penitente (II, pp. 20-21). Only Primero es la honra is, in my opinion, exclusively his.
Blank verse is found in †Los hermanos encontrados (III, p. 306) and †San Luis贝尔德-none. Neither play is, in Schaeffer's opinion (nor in mine), Moreto's. The same may be said of the four which show examples of the lira of form aBaBCe: †El esclavo de su hijo (II, pp. 53-54), †La negra por el honor (III, pp. 37-38), †El rosario peregrino (II, 6), and †Sin honra no hay valentía (I, I). There are three other examples of the lira in plays attributed to Moreto: El más ilustre francés (II, p. 145, of varying rhyme scheme), *El mejor par de los doce (III, p. 22, AABCCB); †Los hermanos encontrados (I, p. 282, ababCB); but only the first is, in my opinion, rightfully attributed to Moreto.

In many of the silvas, liras have been incursed. Those plays which contain the strict aAbBC type of silva (or I according to Mr. Morley's classification, Op. cit., pp. 141-143) are rare. I have noted only †La negra por el honor (I, p. 4), †Sin honra no hay valentía (I, pp. 9-10), †En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza (III, 8, p. 635), *La confusión de un jardín (I, 9, p. 514) and Cómo se vengan los nobles (II, 13, p. 437). The first three are, in all probability, not Moreto's; the fourth, in Fernández-Guerra's opinion, is a collaboration; and the last contains only ten lines. Types II, III, and IV occur with sufficient frequency to make them of no interest. There is in the silva, as Mr. Morley has pointed out, a tendency toward the long lines joined in couplets and even to strict pareados de endecasílabos. One may point out that the silvas of the following doubtful plays show an appreciable number of seven-syllable lines: †El Cristo de los Milagros (II, pp. 99-102), †Hacer del contrario amigo (I, p. 112; II, pp. 123-124; and III, pp. 136-139), †Los hermanos encontrados (III, p. 312), †La negra por el honor (I, pp. 4-5), and †Sin honra no hay valentía (I, p. 10; II, pp. 21-22; III, p. 27).

"All of his plays and nearly all of the acts of each, end in romance." The exceptions to Mr. Morley's statement (Op. cit., p.165) are as follows:

Caballero (El)—Acts I and II: redondilla
†Cautela en la amistad (La)—I and III: redondilla
*Confusión de un jardín (La)—I and II: redondilla
†Engaños de un engaño (Los)—II: silva
†Escaramuñón—I: strophe of 5 lines of 7 syllables each with rhyme aabb
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que puede la aprehensión, Primero es la honra, and Las travesuras de Paniyía. The first two comedies are doubtlessly attributed to him; the next three have laissees separated by a song; the last gives every evidence of being a youthful effort. Of those plays not examined by Mr. Morley, the following show two or more laissees coming together: *El bruto de Babilonia (Act I), *No hay reino como el de Dios (I and II), *Nuestra Señora del Pilar (I), †El rosario perseguido (III), *Nuestra Señora de la Aurora (I), †El Encaíns de Dios (I and II), † El Santo Cristo de Cabrilla (III), El Parécido (I), †Los harmsob encreamados (I), and El más illustre francés (II). In this list, El Parécido and El más illustre francés are, in my opinion, the only ones which should carry any weight, and in the later version of the former, El Parécido en la corte, Moreto made conscious effort to break up this double laisse.

"There are plenty of ... evidence that Moreto was not a finished versifier despite his small output and his lifting of other men's plots. Frequent faulty rhymes indicate that he deserved the epithet of *poesosse* which Fitzmaurice-Kelly bestowed upon him." This is a point which I do not feel I can discuss without having at hand the original manuscripts and without collating them with the various printed editions. The little I have been able to do in this respect inclines me to believe that the faulty rhymes are usually misprints. In this connection one may remember Fernández-Guerra's remarks concerning the edition of 1654: "y está impres la colección por el maestro Diego Díaz de la Carrera, que tal se le llamaba entonces a causa de su desaliento y falta de conciencia artística." The care which Moreto exercised in other matters and the general ease with which he versified make it seem improbable that he should be guilty of faulty rhymes.

D. THE SPIRIT OF HIS THEATRE

a. Situations

Moreto's love of decorum and his dislike of the bizarre are evidenced in the situations which he has chosen for stage-representa-
tion, and still more in those which he has avoided. The conflict of

4* I have ordered photostats of Moreto's autograph manuscripts, but they have not reached me before this study must go to press.

his plays, if we except that of *Cómo se vengan los nobles, is over that of young love in its fight for happiness, but there are certain variations of this theme which are conspicuous by their absence. Among these is that wherein the mother occupies the undignified position of rival to her own daughter. It is a situation which Lope used on more than one occasion, but proof that Moreto consciously avoided it may be seen in the transformation of the mother of Lope's *De quando acás nos vino* to the aunt of *De fuerza vendrá*. Rivalry of father and son occurs only in the historical play of *Antено y Seleuco*, and here each would renounce his love that the other might find happiness. In reworking Lope's *El testimonio vengado as *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, Moreto rejects the triangle of father, son, and stepmother.

The theme of the unfaithful wife, recurrent with Lope, is found only once in Moreto's secular theatre. *De fuerza de la ley* (a his-
torical play), Aurora has been forced by the king to marry Alen-
dro, although she has from childhood loved (and been loved by) her cousin, the Prince Demetrio. It is worthy of note that even here she is a minor character who stands in contrast to her stronger-willed cousin, Nise, and furthermore that she has sinned in intention only. The situation occurs in *La adúltera penitente*, but this play is a collaboration and the poet was but following the story as outlined in the *Flòs Sanctorum*. In Moreto's entire secular theatre, there is likewise no instance of betrayal through force, nor even a frustrated attempt. Yet Lope's Calderón, Tirso, Rojas, and even Alarcón have all employed it. In revising Lope's *El rey Don Pedro en Madrid*—here the peasant girl, Elvira, succumbs to force—Moreto has seen fit that Doña Leonor should voluntarily yield her honor to Don Tello's pledge of matrimony.

The wife who is unjustly accused of disloyalty is, on the other hand, a not uncommon theme, nor is that of the faithless hus-
bond. Notable examples of this latter situation are to be found in *Primero es la honra* and *El defensor de su agravió* where in the one

41 For instances, see "Quien ama no ha sido acor. y De cuando acás nos vino.
41 For this situation, see Lope's *El principe desposeído*, *La estrella de Sevilla*, and *La fuerza lastimosa*; Tirso's *El burilador de Sevilla*; Alarcón's *Gamar amigos*; Calderón's *El alcázar de Zuñiga* and *El pintor de su deshonra*; Rojas' *Del rey abajo ninguno*.
42 See *Cómo se vengan los nobles*, *El defensor de su agravió, †El Encaíns de Dios*, and *No hay reino como el de Dios.*
case the essential sineness of the wife and in the other jealousy of an imaginary rival brings the husband to his senses.

The plight of the young girl who must force a faithless lover to marry her occurs only in the historical drama El valiente justiciero, in the subplot of La negra por el honor, and in Hacer remedio el dolor. It is extremely doubtful that La negra por el honor is Moreto's and in the case of Hacer remedio el dolor, the heroine's reputation is in no way involved. In his religious theatre, it is found only in El Cristo de los Milagros, which must be classed among his doubtful plays. There are, on the other hand, several instances where fate or misunderstandings have separated two lovers, among others in El Parecido en la corte (subplot), Trampa adelante, La gala de nadar, and Los hermanos encontrados.

The concomitant of the faithless-lover situation with Lope or Tirso or Calderón is frequently that of the girl who trails her eternally. She not infrequently takes service with the lady to whom he has transferred his affections (or even with the faithless one himself) in order thereby to keep him under surveillance. The general situation is not unknown in Moreto's theatre, witness Hacer remedio el dolor and El Parecido en la corte, but in neither situation does the woman dress in man's clothing. Indeed, there are only two of Moreto's secular comedies in which his women don man's apparel. These are La misma conciencia acusa and El mejor por de los doce, and in both instances the episode is a mere detail. In his religious theatre, the disguise of man's clothing is a fairly common one, occurring in San Franco de Sena, Caer para levantar, and La adúltera penitente. The thought may occur to the reader that Moreto's avoidance of this situation finds explanation in the royal decree of 1646 which forbade actresses to appear in man's clothing.44 There seems reason to believe, however, that the force of this law lasted for a short time only45 and that Moreto's custom in the matter sprang from personal disapproval. Certain it is that

44 In Sin honra no hay valentia, Eugenia dresses as a "letrado" and in La negra por el honor, Doña Leonor takes the disguise of man's clothing to save herself from her pursuer, but it seems impossible that either play should be by Moreto. See pp. 171, 148 of this study.
45 Renner, The Spanish Stage, p. 248.
46 Another law very similar to that of 1646 had to be enacted on January 1, 1653. See Renner, The Spanish Stage, p. 250.
of Guevara so that Don Tello, haughty descendant of Pelayo, will not be forced to marry a peasant.

This same poor but unassuming hero is, not infrequently, triumphant in another situation, which Moreto, likewise, shares with all the dramatists of the Golden Age: that of the heroine who loves in one direction, but is pledged in another. The ogre of the tale is always the father or brother who, as a devotee to the cult of the pledged word, cannot be persuaded to break his pledge to the unfavored suitor. This tangle is best exemplified in Moreto's theatre in his three plays of intrigue Trampa adelante, El Parecido en la corte, and El Caballero, but it is found also in such comedies as El lindo Don Diego, La misma conciencia acusa, La fuerza de la ley, and others.41

Mistaken identity is a never failing dramatic motif in Moreto's theatre. There are comedies in which the protagonist bears such a remarkable resemblance to an absentee that he can usurp the rôle of the latter. This situation, used so happily in El Parecido en la corte, is found also in *No hay reino como el de Dios. There are fairy tales, too, wherein the noble young protagonist, who has been reared in comparative obscurity, turns out to be the son of the king. Such is the good fortune of Ramiro (Cómo se vengan los nobles), of Carlos (*La fuerza del natural), of Sancho (Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso), and of Lidoro (Amor y obligación). In still other cases, as in Los jueces de Castilla and *El príncipe perseguido, royal protagonists (their throne usurped) have chosen to lead the simple life of peasants. These are, of course, conventional situations which had been used many times by Lope and his school. The same may be said for the balcony scene wherein the rival under cover of night usurps the conversational favors intended for another or for the situation of a king, who in the disguise of a courtier, seeks to ascertain the loyalty of his subjects, etc.

41 Moreto's fathers are seldom moved by mercenary reasons, though there are exceptions such as Pompeyo in El licenciado Vidriera.

42 In the development of plays such as these, there is the usual confusion arising from a mixture of letters or photographs, from ambiguous phrases ill understood, from veiled ladies and muffled gentlemen. However, Moreto did not abuse the use of disguise, as did Calderón, and, moreover, he invariably showed delicacy and good taste when he had occasion to employ it. On the other hand he unquestionably overworked eavesdropping as a device in the plays, El mejor amigo el rey and El Caballero.
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ward ten scenes from Moreto's entire output that give proof of any great creative ability on his part. There are those in Lope de Vega's theatre which refuse to be forgotten, little gems which for their freshness and vigor find no equal in our poet's works, but alas only too often their setting is unworthy. The reverse is true in Moreto's theatre: the stone is seldom of startling beauty, either for its novelty or its perfection, but its setting is almost invariably adequate. One has at times developed the part at the expense of the whole; the other, the whole at the expense of the part. The one is a vagabond art which is rarely concerned with its own destination, one in which the author's inspiration of the moment is its only guide. Of such an art, it is as useless to ask consistency as it is the observance of the unities, and these, as Mr. Schevill points out in his admirable study of the art of Lope de Vega, were "raras aves which never lodged on Lope's branches." Moreto's is, on the other hand, a thoroughly conscious one,—one which, after excluding all that is extraneous, carefully marshals its materials and with consummate stagecraft directs them to an appointed end.

b. Characters

That same love of harmony and decorum which is to be seen illustrated in Moreto's versification and dialogue, as well as in his choice of situations and his development of plot, may be observed even more clearly in his characterization. The cast, which is ordinarily reduced to a minimum, invariably includes six characters: the hero and his servant (the gracioso), the heroine and her maid, a second gallant and a second lady. Not infrequently, in addition to these, the plot calls for an old man (usually father to the heroine), and one, two, or more gallants besides those already specified. The innumerable courtiers that surround the main characters in Lope de Vega's plays are lacking in Moreto's. Comparative studies of the two men show that the later dramatist invariably eliminated some of Lope's dramatis personae; in the revision of El gran Duque de Moscovia y emperador perseguido, nineteen were excluded; in that of No puede ser, a king and his retinue.

Nowhere is there a greater contrast in the art of these two men than in some of their male protagonists. Those of the earlier drama-

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84 See p. 25, note, for a brief summary of these conditions.
85 See pp. 29-30 of this study.
86 It should be remembered also that no source has been found for Trampa adiante or El Caballero.
tist offer infinite variety and many of them are delightful; but these are others who shock the sensibilities of modern readers by actions that are both inconsistent and in violent contrast to what we expect from the hero of romance. These are either mercenary in their intentions, or they are swayed more by their desire for social and political preeminence than by sincere affection for the heroine. There is, on their part, a stress on money and on worldly ambition which is perhaps in a measure a reflection of the disappointed social aspirations of the author; and, like their creator, they are at times capable of abject fawning, of insufferable boasting, or of direst cruelty. On the other hand, they are on occasion equally capable of great generosity, both spiritual and financial. And their physical valor cannot be questioned. They are creatures of emotion who are at once a projection of the virtues and vices of the author's character in all of its strange duality.  

Moreto’s protagonist is, on the other hand, the courteous gentleman whose morals are as irreproachable as his manners, regardless of the rôle he may play. He is loyal to his friends, faithful to his monarch, unswerving in his devotion to his lady. If the dramatist ever felt the strong pricks of worldly ambition, his heroes in no way give evidence of that desire. There is in them a singleness of aim, a lack of strife which seems a reflection of an existence unhindered by emotional conflicts, by financial worries, or by dreams of social success. They, too, are valiant and generous in spirit, but without the tendency to vainglory or the love of the limelight that characterize Lope’s valiant. They can fight when occasion demands it, but such a malamoros as Horacio of El honrado hermano (Lope) is unthinkable as a hero in Moreto’s theatre.

On the other hand, they have a quiet dignity which proclaims their spiritual independence, one which is ordinarily evidenced even in the protagonist’s rôle of lover. In the conflict which arises between his spiritual independence on the one hand and his generous desire to give all to the object of his love on the other hand,

77 See Laurencio’s La dama boba; Leonardo’s De cuando aci nos vemos; Fernando’s La Dorotea, Ricardo de El perro del hortelano.
78 Cf. César in Mirad a quien abaláis (Lope) with his counterpart, Carlos, in Lo que pue día la aprehensión.
79 For a striking analysis of Lope’s “disconcerting moral personality,” see Señor Roman-Navarro’s Historia de la literatura española, Heath and Co., N. Y., 1928, p. 300.

I am inclined to find partial explanation of Moreto’s predilection for the theme of disdain. Alejandro (El poder de la amistad) has risked his life and wasted his fortune in an attempt to please Margarita, but he has succeeded only in boring her. Only when his dignity and independence assert themselves does he interest. Carlos (El desdén con el desdén) is shrewd enough to see that he can never break down the wall of Diana’s indifference by humble submission. Casandra (Hacer remedio el dolor) even finds some justification for her lover’s fickleness in that she had merited his disdain by having too readily granted her favors and even more by her complaints, for

... es sacrificio amar, 
y en mandándole que quiera 
no puede haber sacrificio 
donde se pide obediencia.  

Carlos will not have his independence of soul shackled even by love. But the psychology of love and disdain forms such a complex subject in Moreto’s theatre that it must be reserved for more complete analysis under the heading of ideas.  

Even though Moreto’s heroes display dignity in their love affairs, yet “amor omnin vincit” is the banner under which all of them march to victory. Poor they may be, as I have had occasion to note in another connection, but the motives which actuate their love are never unworthy, and if we except Carlos (*Hacer remedio el dolor), whose disloyalty is occasioned by satiety, there are no gay deceivers, no philanderers in Moreto’s secular theatre. In the study of his sources one sees repeatedly that the playwright felt it necessary to transform Lope’s or Tirso’s mercenary and ambitious protagonists into paragons of undesigning loyalty. A comparison of Sancho (Hasta el fin nadie es dicho) and Felix (No puedo ser) with the prototypes of their sources will show Moreto’s conscious efforts in this regard. Moreover, the Don Rodrigo of El castigo del peseque or the Ricardo of El perro del hortelano who would, in a moment, cast aside their true loves in order to accept the favors of capricious noblewomen: these are characters who could find no place in Moreto’s calendar of the faithful.

80 Hacer remedio el dolor, 1, p. 37.
81 See pp. 110–111 of this study.
82 See comparative studies, pp. 174, 188.
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This attitude on the part of his heroes is, I feel, more than a convention. It is a reflection of Moreto's deeply ingrained respect for womanhood, a respect which finds perfect expression in La gala de nadar (II, p. 174), if that play be the work of our dramatist:

RUGERO: A las mujeres, señor, terrible cosa es mandarlas que contra su honor se rindan.
RICARDO: ¿Qué importa, siendo villana? ¿Qué gran señora conquisto?
RUGERO: O sean altas o sean bajas, desde que tuve discorso me precio de respetarlas.

And finally, Moreto's hero is "discreto." The term implies more, however, than the English cognate of "circumspect," for it includes a thorough acquaintance and compliance with the proprieties of the Court as well as a nimbleness of wit which would enable him to make a creditable showing in the mental gymnastics that characterized the academies of the day. In a word, he must be the polished gentleman. Nowhere is this stress on the courtly more clearly seen than in the contrast of the "discreet" Carles and the boorish Julio of *La fuerza del natural*.

And nowhere is Moreto's ideal protagonist better summed up than in the conversation between Margarita and Luciano of *El poder de la amistad*. In answer to the lady's query, "¿qué tiene ese hombre de bueno?" Luciano answers:

No tener nada de malo.
¿No es en sus galanterías discreto sin presunción, galán sin afectación, cortesano sin porfías, liberal sin vanidad, pues lograr sabe esta gloria, sin que sepa la memoria lo que da la voluntad? ¿No usa prudencia y virtud, sin ser sufrido su aliento? que hay caso en que el sufrimiento hace infame la virtud. ¿No tiene en su cortesía medida sin gravedad, agrado sin humildad, llaneza con bizarria? ¿Todos por esto a su nombre

mil aplausos no le dan? Pues para ser buen galán ¿qué ha menester más un hombre?"

He is above all, then, a temperate hero who is a product of reason,—one who is not far from the idealized "decent chap" of the past century, so dear to the hearts of Victorian readers.

It might be concluded from the generalities of the above paragraphs that Moreto's male characters, though consistent, are lacking in variety and virility; that they are all cut from the same cloth, and that the dramatist has not troubled himself to vary the pattern. And, indeed, the virtuous hero, as outlined above, is not often lacking in a comedy of Moreto; the playwright has even recast Lope's epic figures in this mould: the changes of characterization effected in Reinaldos (Las pobres de Reinaldo) and Segismundo (El príncipe prodigioso transitano) show this. There are others, however, who, if of inferior virtue, are of superior interest. Such are Don Diego of El lindo Don Diego, Carlos of El desdén con el desdén, the King of Sicily in Primero es la hora,* and the Alférez de De fuera vendrá—characters which I shall outline in some detail as among the best portraits of Moreto's theatre.

The protagonist of El lindo Don Diego is a figurón, a caricature painted with such bold strokes and in such vivid colors that he fills the center of the picture and throws into shadow every other character in the play. He is the personification of but a single quality: human vanity. With him, self is a cult, and with all the zeal of a religious fanatic he interprets the world around him in terms of his own faith, indeed adjusts the world to that faith. It is unbelievable that others should deny his god; hence his unwavering conviction that every woman is smitten with his charms the moment she is permitted to gaze upon his god-like figure. He is miserly in dealing with others but extravagance itself in all that concerns the object of his adoration. It worries him not at all that in making his toilette he has missed mass; indeed, in so carefully dressing himself, he has already made his devotions. When Don Mendo remonstrates with him over the undue importance that he attaches to dress and the base taste he exhibits in praising himself, Don Diego exclamifies:

*El poder de la amistad*, II, 2, p. 27.

* I have omitted Don Pedro of El valiente justiciero because Moreto has changed the characterization so little that the figure is essentially Lope's.
He relates, then, sufficient sense of justice to rage at his own inconsistency and sufficient clarity of vision to analyse his predicament, to plan his method of attack, and to execute his plan with the energy and precision of a well-trained officer. Carlos is, as one

"El lindo Don Diego, I, 8, p. 354.
"El desdén con el desdén, I, 1, p. 2.

The king of Primero es la honra, who bears a marked resemblance to the Duke of Athens of El defensor de su agrado in both temperament and rôle, has transferred his affections from a wholly admirable wife to Porcia, daughter of the man to whom he owes the throne and fiancée of his most loyal courtier, Federico. In his portrayal of the conflict of love and loyalty which Federico suffers, Moreto has been entirely conventional, but in his characterization of the king and queen he has attained a sincerity of emotion and a depth of pathos (accompanied by a beautiful restraint) that make the conventionalized happy ending all the more unpardonable. The king remains, in spite of the suffering which he brings to both Porcia and the queen, a sympathetic character. Caught up in the whirlwind of passion, he is the plaything of a force against which he is a helpless child. He tells the Almirante, Porcia’s father:

Yo estoy sin mí, yo no mando
mi razón, yo no la rijo;
poder superior me arrastra,
sin ser dueño de mí mismo.
Yo perdí el entendimiento
y a mi voluntad me rindo;
y mirad si estoy sin mí,
pues esto a vos os he dicho."'7

And when he would explain to the queen his desire to avoid her, his sincerity and frankness compel our understanding:

Señora, mi sentimiento al veros no es adversión
que os tengo, sino pesar
de ver mi delito yo,
debiéndome tantas fechas
como reconozco en vos.
El verme ingrato me obliga
a que os mire con horror;
ni el serlo ni el enmendarlo
esté en mi mano, pues son
acciones de un albedrio

"Primero es la honra, I, 10, p. 234."
Finally, his pride and his appreciation of the noble generousity of his wife come to his aid:

¿Yo no he de poder vencerme, y ella sí?...

The colors for Moreto's pallet from which he drew the Alféres of De fuera vendrá are all to be found in Lope de Vega's Beltrán (De cuando acd nos vino): his predilection for serving maids, his appreciation of the physical comforts of life, his not too active conscience, his love of gambling. But in the original the outlines are dim, and the harshness of Beltrán's gross materialism is unrelieved by the keen wit that redeems Moreto's character. With the later dramanist, his rôle is that of the Greek chorus. His daily amusement is to stand on the steps of San Felipe and compete with the town's most adept llars:

Aquí del Rey saben más que en Palacio...

Aqui está el Archiduque más que en Flandes:

Hago testigo a los cielos que, conociendo mi error, hasta romper las cadenas he probado la razón.

Más yo no puedo, yo muero...

que yo soy.... Pero tampoco sé yo de mi lo que soy, ni que hay en mí. Finalmente, es tanta mi confusión, que si algo sé cierto es sólo que no sé entenderme yo.

He is the commentator, then, the onlooker of life who is perfectly content to stay on the outskirts and watch humanity perform, an-

... hermano mío
no enamoro princesa; mi terrero
hago en tiendas, placuelas o en el río,
donde hallo proporción a mi dinero;
porque la más hermosa y entonada
no pide más que aloja o limonada.
Vos habláis damas de tan alta esfera
que la tercera palabra es la pollera.

And no women should be taken too seriously! What a fool Lisardo
is to worry over a love affair!

¿Que no sepa un majadero
querer con comodidad
como yo! No sé qué tengo
que si cada tercer día
no me mude y me renuevo;
el amor y la camisa
me ensucian al momento.

He feels strongly only on the subject of "dueñas." They do not
even fall within the classification of women! Imagine, then, his
protest when Lisardo asks him to make love to Doña Cecilia:

¡Vive Cristo, que primero
me eche por una ventana!
¿No sabéis que yo a una dueña
no la tengo por mujer?

And his head remains unbowed to the end! His joys in the weddings
that close the play will, as he tells the audience, be gastronomic.

Moreto's graciosos are among the best of the Golden Age. They
have justly commanded the admiration of the critics, not only
because of the skill which the author has exhibited in making them
serve a dramatic purpose in the play as a whole, but also because
of the "plenitude of comic force" which they represent. In reworking
earlier plays, it is evident that he made conscious effort to de-
velop this force. ¿Cómo se vengan los nobles. Ha\ta el fin nadie es
dichoso, El mejor amigo el rey. No puede ser, El lindo Don Diego,
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*El mejor por de los doce, *†El príncipe prodigioso, all show an increase of the comic when compared with their sources.

There are at least two clearly defined types of the graciosos in Moreto's theatre: the clever Plautian type who directs in part or in whole the fortunes of his master, and the rustic Sancho type, who is the inseparable companion of the protagonist. The one is a product of the city and its trickery; the other is rooted in the soil and simplicity of the country village. The one is given to Latin phrases and constant punning; the other to colloquial pronunciations and to felicitous malapropisms of speech. The one secretly rejoices in an intellectual power which enables him to direct the destinies of those who are his social superiors; the other plumes himself on an importance in this world which he in no wise possesses. The one is frequently satiric at the expense of humanity in general and of lovers in particular; the other knows little of people and is, in some instances, at the mercy of a capricious young serving girl. The one annoys his master with his impudent manners, his grasping ways, his opportunistic philosophy; the other, by his rusticity and extreme stupidity.

One or the other type may be a coward or a glutton, whose thoughts do not rise above food and the wine bottle. Either may enjoy the gaming table. Either may coin verbs out of proper names, may possess (usually does possess) a fund of homely metaphors and pertinent stories which are ordinarily in good taste. Like the graciosos of his religious comedies, either type may have an inexhaustible store of saint's names on which he may call in moments of stress. Finally, both are, as a rule, loyal.

As best representatives of the clever group, one may name Millán and Tacón, whose empty stomachs lead them to assume the rôle of master of ceremonies in Trampa adelante and El Parecido en la corte and thereby bring the love affairs of the protagonists to imminent shipwreck; Polilla, who, as a "moth," works his way into the confidence of the haughty Diana and as a "doctor of love" succeeds in curing that young lady of her disdain toward Carlos; Moclín of El poder de la amistad, who shares with Polilla a philoso-

44 For Polilla of El desdén con el desdén, love is a "sarna insana" (I, 5, p. 4).

... quit-raon,
planta-rojo, quit-rojo,
quita-pelillos también,
que hará calvo a un motillo.

... un montañés más simple
que Pero Grullo y Panarra.

The women servants of the theatre of the Golden Age must serve as confidants and advisers, and in that rôle they can be faith-

† Op. cit., p. xxii. Gracián had already used the phrase in El criilidas, as we have seen.

44 De fuerre vendr, I, 5, p. 61.


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phy of "treat-em-rough" and who demonstrates to his master the practicality of that philosophy by bringing the maid of the heroine to object to slavery; Tartufo (No puede ser), Mosquito (El lindo Don Diego), and Motril (Yo por vos y vos por otro), who are equally indispensable in uniting the love tangles of their respective masters. These have given us the composite picture sketched above; they are, however, at the same time individualized characters who offer great variety among themselves.

It is this clever graciosos that is ordinarily considered typical of Moreto, the one which leads Fernández-Guerra to compare Trampa adelante to a play of Terence. Nevertheless, the dramatist has rare success with the contrasting type in such characters as Bato de La cena del rey Balasar, Tirso de La misma conciencia acusa, and Chichón de De fuera vendr, Sancho de No puede ser, Julio de *La fuerza del natural, Buscón de Cómo se sengan los nobles, and Gerundio of El Licenciado Vidriera offer deviations or variations from the same general type.

Chichón is one of the most delightful graciosos I have met in the comedy of the Golden Age. Of "mountain" stock, it goes without saying that he is a hidalgo who takes great pride in his ancestry:

Que soy yo de la Montaña
el gran Chichón de Barrientos,
mas antiguo que la sarna. 44

Accompanying this pride in his ancestry is that in his "virtue." This "grandson of Laín Láinez, great grandson of Sancho Sánchez, and great-great-grandson of Méndez Mendo" has taken the vows of "bestial virginity" and when Doña Cecilia applies to him the term, "go-between," his indignation knows no bounds. By another felicitous confusion of vocabulary on Chichón's part, a "notario" becomes a "perdulario," a "voltario" and an "almerio" in turn. Indeed, the Alférez is entirely justified in describing him as

... un montañés más simple
que Pero Grullo y Panarra.
ful or disloyal, romantic or cynical, moral or otherwise. Inés (in El Caballero) is blood kin to Millán (Trampa adelante) in that her avarice furnishes the key to the whole situation. Flora, Irene, and Celina, the graciasas in *Hacer remedio el dolor, El poder de la amistad*, and *Industrias contra finanzas*, retain no illusions concerning men. Into the mouth of Irene of *La fuerza de la ley*, Moreto has put a speech that could serve as inspiration to Goya. She is comforting her mistress, Aurora, who has, against her will, been married to Alejandro:

¡Ay, señora! Esa pasión
 tendrá remedio, si quieres;
de las comunes mujeres
 aprende astra lición.
Mujeres hay de tal masa
 que los diera con cadena
 menos susto un alma en pena
 que su esponsa entrando en casa;

. . . . . . . . . .

Más remedios no han ángido
 las viejas para la cara
 que ella al venir tiene para
 las caras de su marido.
Si es triste, dice: "¿Qué tienes,
dueño mío? ¿Qué dolor,
pues no te alegra mi amor?
¡Ay, Dios, qué triste que vienes!
Hijo mío, así no estás,
mira que me das pesar;"
y si le viera ahorrar,
le tirara de los pies.
Si le ve venir sereno,
dice: "Bien mío, ¿te atrae?
no quiero estés enojado;
templa ese enojo cruel."
Y al cuello le echa los brazos,
y para apretar los lazos,
imagina que es cordel.28

On the contrary, Sol of *Cómo se vanqan los nobles*, Lucinda of *Pegir y amar*, and Leonor, of *El Parecido en la corte* are born sentimentalists. Among those whose moral codes could hardly be called impeccable, one may mention Celina of *El Licenciado Vidriera*, Lesbia of *San Franco de Sena*, and Elvira of *Los jueces de Castilla."

"Recato," "decoro," "respeto," "discreción": these are terms which are as indispensable in the portrayal of Moreto's heroine as is "brío" in the description of Lope's. She is, in every way, a fit mate for the "decent chap" of the Victorian era. In the comparative studies, one may see that the playwright felt it incumbent on him to transform the animated, and at times flamboyant, heroines of his sources to characters of reserve and dignity. The notable exception to this statement is Doña Francisca of *De fuerza vendrá*; the nature of the thesis, however, easily accounts for Moreto's departure from his usual practice.

We have also seen how this same ideal has led him to avoid certain situations, such as that of the rivalry of mother and daughter, the triangle of the unfaithful wife, the heroine in search of a faithless lover and the concomitant disguise of man's clothing which Tirso's heroines so often affect. We shall see how Moreto's women exhibit this decorum in every relationship of life: as sweetheart or wife, as daughter or sister, even as feminine rivals. Indeed, this sense of the proprieties is so fundamental with the female protagonists of his theatre that I am inclined to call into question any play wherein the heroine does not exhibit it.

It is not primarily a conventional code enforced from without; it is personal. It is a decorum which has its root in that same innate dignity and self-respect which explain the ideals and actions of his male protagonists. Its essential premises are that man is master of his fate and that to command the respect of others, he must first command his own. Humanity then must be decent. Reason must prevail over emotion; decorum over love. Astrea, faced with this choice, asks herself:

. . . pero ¿cómo al sentimiento
 rindo mi entendimiento?
¿no soy yo más que todas mis pasiones?
¿yo mis obligaciones
por un dolor olvido?
¡Arrastre mi razón a mi sentido!!

Inés confesses that the discretion of Don Fernando has attracted her, but

28 Such are Rosaura of *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso*, Inés of *El Parecido en la corte*, Susana of *El bruto de Bobilonia*, and Margarita of *La misma conciencia acusa.
29 Amor y obligación, III, p. 30.
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En la que su honor prefiere
a su deseo, este amor
ha de ser, como la flor,
que en un día nace y muere.**

Moreto's heroine is, consequently, most circumspect in her relationship with her lover. Of the battle she is waging in her heart, he usually knows nothing: Indeed, she hardly admits it to herself.

Força tells her maid:

que pasiones del deseo
en mujeres como yo
se criaron para el pecho,
y cuando para mi vida
sólo esto fuera el remedio,
antes que mi vida es
mi pundonor lo primero.**

Her conduct is ordinarily irreproachable; she discourages serenades at her window; she does not encourage conversation at the church door with gallants whom she does not know—much less make secret appointments with them or accept gifts from their hands** she is seldom found in the apartments of her lover, and he even less frequently in hers. If either situation occurs, she is always his pledged wife. 'Her honor comes before life itself.'

With Moreto's women, this circumspection is often carried to the extremes of disdain, and in this form it is difficult to say what are the proportions of dignity and vanity that actuate the heroine in her treatment of her lover. She is convinced that favors too easily won mean loss of dignity on her part as well as loss of interest on his.

... si no le tratan mal
no hay hombre que quiera bien.**

** El Parecido en la corte, I, 9, p. 316. Leonor's answer to these elevated sentiments shows the contrast which is often typical of Moreto's graciosas:

Yo también mi honor prefiero,
y muere también mi amor
en un día como la flor;
pero la huelo primero.

** La Sagrada Arcadia, II, 3, p. 545.

Moreto's women are never mercenary in their relationship with men. They marry for love and ask only that love be happy. See De fuera vendrá, II, 14, p. 71.

** La gala del Nadar, I, p. 174.

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Humanity is so perverse as to want only that which it has not; many characters of Moreto illustrate this thesis. And yet, as Martinenchec has pointed out, woman's beauty is her honor, and any insult to that beauty must be avenged. It is the vanity of Diana (El desdén con el desdén) which leaves her a prisoner in the trap of love; the wounded pride of Casandra (Hacer remedio el dolor) which spurs her on in her determination to win back her ungrateful lover. Fenisa, hurt by the lack of appreciation which the duke shows for her charms, concludes that:

Las damas con su hermosura
han de tener el estilo
que los hombres con la honra,
que probarla es desatino.**

Because she is the mirror of decorum in her actions, she resents interference from without. If she is to preserve the dignity which arises from the right of choice, she must zealously guard that right. Denied the privilege in De fuera vendrá and No puede ser, she openly rebels. Inés of the latter play tells Manuela:

La mujer es como el vidrio,
que el que le quiere guardar
le ha de poner en seguro;
mas si por guardarla más,
con el que guardarla piensa
suele venirse a quebrar.

No hay mujer tan neca a quien
el más discreto y sagaz,
si ella no quiere guardarse,
piense que la ha de guardar.
Y es fuera de nuestro honor,
porque si fuera verdad
que el hombre guardara la puede,
aunque le intente agraviar,
consistiendo esto en el dueño,
a quien sujetas están,
ni en la honra no hubiera honor,
ni en la libre liviandad.
Y mi hermano ha de saber

** Martinench, Ernest, La comedia espagnole en France, Paris, 1900, p. 103.

** Lo que puede la aprehensión, I, 1, p. 168.
Nevertheless, Inés is circumspect by comparison with Tirso's women. If she admits her lover to her oratory, it is only after he has made pledge of marriage before the audience and because the force of circumstances seems to demand it. Of this character, Fernández-Guerra comments (Cardillo razonado, p. xxxvii): "—a intervenir doña Inés de otra suerte en las invenciones de Tarugo, tendría suma importancia filosófica el drama de nuestro poeta." The observation is valid, but the rôle suggested would call for a character like María la Pladosa, and Moreto was incapable of painting such a feminine portrait.

In her relationship with her father, filial respect serves, on the part of the heroine, as a deterrent to action but not to dignified protest. Inés (El lindo Don Diego) tells her sister:

> Yo a mi padre no tengo resistencia,
> mi decoro es la ley de mi obediencia,
> a esta atención, aun del correspondida
> por no faltar, perdiera yo la vida.

But at the same time she does not fail to tell her father that he is unjust:

> Contigo también, Señor,
> es mi voluntad ajena:
> solo tu gusto es mi amor;
> más este mismo primor
> tu resolución condensa.
> Porque cuando yo he de estar
> pronta siempre a obedecer,
> no me debieras mandar
> cosa en que puedo tener
> licencia de replicar.
> Y si me da esta licencia
> el cielo, y tu autoridad
> me la quita con violencia,
> casarías mi obediencia,
> pero no mi voluntad.

> Op. cit., I, 8, p. 192. Compare with this energetic protest that of Franchisa in De fuera vendrán: "Señora, tanto apurar, etc."

Yet, this possibility of tragedy which Inés points out is one which is only realized in Moreto's theatre on one occasion, partly because fathers are usually reasonable, partly because the same inner respect which makes the conduct of his women irreproachable before their marriage makes them loyal and dignified wives in the marriage relationship. Nor can the infidelity and injustice of a husband in any way alter that conduct. Aurora, unjustly condemned to prison for disloyalty by her own faithless husband, indignantly rejects the suggestion of flight with Alejandro:

> DUE: Señora, mirad que yo
> tengo ya libre a Alejandro,
> y os está esperando a vos
> para llevaros a Creta.
> AURORA: ¿Qué decís? ¿Sabéis quién soy?
> Yo para librar la vida,
> poner a riesgo mi honor
> de hacer cierta la sospecha,
> la imaginada traición?
> ¿Yo con ese hombre? Aunque el medio
> de reducir a mi amor
> al Duque, a quien tanto adoro,
> y restaurar mi opinión
> fuera ése, no lo emprendería.

In her generous attitude toward Nisca, the unwilling recipient of the king's favor, Aurora is characteristic of most of Moreto's heroines. They are never vindictive in their relationship to each other as are Lope's women. At times, the reader of Lope feels that his duchesses and princesses are at heart fishmonger's wives who on the least possible provocation would tear each others eyes out.

> El lindo Don Diego, III, 6, 367 and I, 11, p. 355.

> The case is that of Aurora in La fuerza de la ley, and here the king takes the responsibility for the tragedy that occurred when he says to Alejandro (III, 21, p. 100):

> y pues yo te debo dar
> el honor que te quité
> dando ocasión a tu afrenta .

> El defensor de su agravió, III, 9, p. 307.
They would prove admirably Mr. Kipling's thesis as to the kinship of the Colonel's Lady and Judy O'Grady. But the bristling aggressiveness of Julia in *El honrado hermano*, the spitefulness of Gracía in *El Caballero del Sacramento*, or the dog-in-the-manger attitude of Diana in *El perro del hortelano* find no parallel in Moreto's theatre, except in doubtful plays. The queen of *Primero es la honra*, one of the noblest figures of the dramatist, cannot blame Porcia for unhappiness; it is her own ill star. She only asks her rival sadly:

Sólo quisiera saber
con qué me excedes a mí.
¿Cómo al Rey tanto enamoras,
si con tu llanto le llamas?
Las lágrimas que derramas
¿por qué camino las lloras?
... ... ...
¿Con qué donaires envuelves
los desdones que le hases?
Yo le ofiendo con mi amor,
tú con rigor le trae ciego;
es, Porcia, acaso un despego
más airoso que un favor?213

And when she finds that she cannot win back her husband's thoughts from Porcia (supposedly dead), she brings forth her rival from her hiding place and declares:

Cásate, Señor, con Porcia;
que para que hacerlo puedas,
yo elijo una celda sola
donde viviré contenta
de ver que tu gusto logras,
y que por él lo hecho
la línea más costosa.215

In the heroines, as well as in the heroes who people the theatre of Moreto, I can but see a reflection of the personality of the author. In them are mirrored the immense respect which Moreto felt for womanhood, the stress which he put on those virtues of cour-

164 The attitude of the women in such plays as *La cáustica en la amistad* or *Hacer del contrario amigo* make it highly improbable to me that these works are Moreto's.
165 *Primero es la honra*, II, 9, p. 239.

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c. Moreto's Theatre as a Mirror of his Day

If Moreto's characters are a reflection of his own personality, to a certain extent they are in their various relationships a mirror of the social organism of the day and of the author's reaction to it. In dealing with his women and their various tics, I have had occasion to picture the family group. In the portrayal of his male protagonists the reader has seen his ideal of manhood, primarily, however, in the rôle of lover. But what of the duties and interrelationships of the various classes?

The plays El defensor de su honra, La fuerza de la ley, El mejor amigo el rey, Primero es la honra, *El rey Don Enrique, el Enfermo, and El valiente justiciero are those in which one sees best reflected Moreto's conception of kingship and law. The perfect ruler is, first of all, the "custodian of the law," and La fuerza de la ley was, in the words of the poet, written that "men might have respect for that force which must serve as a base to the very foundations of a city." The law which is established but not enforced for all makes daring the rest; it is like a shadow which does not frighten once that we know it for a shadow! Thus, when Demetrio, the crown prince, breaks the decree against adultery, the king, Seleuco, orders that his son suffer the usual penalty of loss of both eyes.

It is a decree which is later changed to the loss of one eye, the king himself giving up one of his own in order that the letter of the law may be observed. Thus does Seleuco fulfill the second requirement of king, that of mercy—a mercy which exalts the name of just," as Doña Leonor tells Don Pedro in El valiente justiciero (III, 2, p. 344). This insistence that justice be tempered with mercy, which is found repeatedly in Moreto's theatre, no doubt finds part explanation in his realization of human limitations. As Nuno tells those who have made him judge:

que aun siendo el Juez recto e justo,
puede faltar la justicia. . . . . . . . .
Pues no haber pasión, es llano
que es tan imposible como
dear yo de ser humano,106

106 See, for instance, Mansto's words to the officials of the law in San Primero de Sena (II, 4, p. 129).
107 Los jueces de Castilla, III, 17, p. 486.

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The ideal king must furthermore not entrust his power to favorites, for

... no hay ministro tan grande
a quien advertido y sabio
no debo asistir su dueño.108

He must be willing always to sacrifice himself for the good of his vassals, must be generous to his personal enemies, and a stranger to physical fear. Nevertheless, Moreto has, on the whole, exalted the king in the rôle of lawgiver or of courteous gentleman and friend rather than in that of warrior.109

Most of Moreto's rulers fall short of the ideal just painted, though in some regards Ramiro (Cómo se vengan los nobles), Seleuco (La fuerza de la ley), and the two Don Pedro (El mejor amigo el rey and El valiente justiciero) approach it. On the whole, however, there is no glorification, direct or indirect, of the monarchial in his theatre. Praise of the monarch or his family, which is not rare in Lope de Vega's plays, is more frequent in Moreto's. I have noted it only in No puedo ser (I, 1, p. 189), where the king is flattered as a poet, and in De fuerza vendra (I, 1, p. 58), where Don Juan José de Austria, the Condestable, merits high praise for his part in the siege of Gerona in 1653. In reworking Lope's El gran duque de Moscova y emperador peregrino, Moreto saw fit to eliminate the scene wherein Lamberto deliberately sacrifices his son's life in order to save his prince's. For the most part, his kings are reasonable human beings who are subject to ordinary human frailties and are, therefore, entitled to the same tolerance and compassion that the poet shows to his other characters.110 The rulers of Primero, El defensor de su agravio, and *El rey Don Enrique, el Enfermo are weak, but they are neither sadistic nor tyrannical.111 Even the
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usurper of *La misma conciencia acusa*, in the dread feat which motivates his every act, is pitiful rather than repulsive.

That the king can do no wrong, then, is a point of view which finds no expression in Moreto's theatre. Nevertheless, his office endows him with a certain quality of deity which should command the obedience and reverence of his vassals. Fortún tells Ramiro:

> El Rey ha de ser, sobrino, tan venerado de todos, tan respetado y temido que nadie le juegue humano y le imagine divino.\[13\]

When Inés would explain to herself the king’s majesty, a *majesty* which she had not felt when she met him disguised, Leonor explains:

> Tanto el oficio de rey a la persona autoriza que se ve como deidad al que como rey se mira.\[14\]

Alejandro cannot kill his prince, Demetrio, even though the latter has robbed him of his wife; however, the king would have felt him justified in so doing if we may judge by his words to his son:

> El horror del sacrilegio, en quien contra el rey pelea, le acabarda los impulsos, con que el ofenderle tiembla; mas si en la injuria, la insignia de tirano es la que llevas, no es sacrilega la mano del que no te la respeta.\[15\]

Repeatedly Moreto tells the nobleman that he must live up to his name if he would command the respect and obedience of those under him. It is his duty to set an example. The Count, witness to the quarrels of his two sons, tells them:

\[13\] Cómo se vengan los nobles, I, 2, p. 427.
\[15\] La fuerza de la ley, II, 18, p. 94. Similar ideas may be found in Mariana’s *De regia*.

...Moreover, the satisfaction which he obtains from fulfilling the duties of his class is, of course, his only reward. To Doña Ana who would repay him for saving her life, Don Juan makes answer:

> Caballeros de mis prendas, premio y agradecimiento tienen por lo que profesan en cumplir con su obligación; yo la cumpli y cobré della.\[7\]

Moreto’s attitude toward the serving class is, as we have seen in the quotations from *Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso*, a paternal one. It is a group in which “blindness has its center”; a group “whose opinion is as shifting as the weathervane” (*Santa Rosa del Perd*, II, p. 16); a group which “calls justice cruelty, prudence fear, pity

\[7\] Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso, I, p. 4.
\[8\] Trampa adelante, I, 1, p. 143.
cowardice, liberty prodigality" (†Travesuras son valor, second version, I, 3–4). It is a group which is at times grasping and disloyal, one which, if given authority is pulled up with its own importance. The coachman, the tailor, the country mayor, and the innkeeper are in turn the butt of Moroeto's humor.

And yet, for the poet as for Gracia of †El Eneas de Dios (II, pp. 18–19), "poverty had keys with which to open the door to pity," and a life dedicated to charity is proof that Moroeto was not deaf to the cacophany of despair and degradation that lay about him. I have already had occasion to quote from La misma costumbre acusa (I, p. 106) the words of Carlos, it was Moroeto who wrote the following words from La vida y muerte de San Cayetano:

Tener lo que ha menester
cada cual para su gasto
manda Dios por medios justos,
mas no por medios tanos;
as su providencia toca
dar solo lo necesario
a cada criatura suya,
y asi el que superfluo y vano
tiene demasiadas riquezas,
que del mundo son apasubos,
lo que le sobra no es suyo;
volverlo debe a las manos
del pobre a quien se lo usurpa
de su sustento, y eso llano,
pues quiere guardar el solo
lo que Dios da para tantos. \\n
Compassion and justice Moroeto could give them, but not admiration. That innate dignity and nobility of soul which Lope de Vega saw in the peasant class was lost on him—perhaps because his lot had thrown him largely with the outcasts of this group.

Of the professional class, Moroeto has comparatively little to say except of clerics and doctors. The former group I have already had occasion to discuss in connection with his religious plays. Concerning the doctor, there are so many unkind references in his theater that one cannot but feel in his animadversion something personal, though the complaints are the stereotyped ones of his day: the doctor is a donkey whose knowledge of medicine is limited to purging and blood-letting; he is life's greatest enemy—one who, like the hunter, eats from what he kills and who, like dessert, comes at the end; he ever has his hand extended for money and, in order to play his rôle of the esoteric and to confound the uninstructed, he speaks an unknown jargon. There should be a law by which the patient pays so much for a fever, so much for a pain in the side; if he dies, then the doctor should collect nothing and should be made to bury his victim at his own expense. Once, however, Moroeto's usual sense of fairness comes to the rescue. In answer to Luquete's long tirade against the profession, Seluco answers:

Con la vulgar opinion
los medicos tratan mal;
cuando la causa es mortal,
vanos los remedios son;
aunque más los culpes, ellos
son el norte de la vida,
y no hay en cualquier caída
más alivio que tenebrosos.
Dudar fuera desatinos
que yerran como acontece;
mas también el que adolece
tiene el yerro por destino;
y el médico más liviano,
que ha estudiado esta doctrina,
sabe más de medicina
que el más ducro cortesano;
conque, yo luego a creer
que más daño ha de causar
sin su consejo acertar,
que errar por su parecer.\\n
The law and its representatives come in for relatively little comment in Moroeto. There is a burlesque trial in Los jueces de Castilla (III, 17) in which Sancho "appeals" at every moment; a comic divorce suit against the maid Maruina in Hasta el sin nadie es di-

\\n
See p. 6 of this study.
San Cayetano, I, p. 322. Moroeto's will, wherein it is ordered that "whatver may be left after all debts are paid" should be turned over to the poor, would indicate that he had lived as he preached.

Antico y Seluco, II, 1, p. 45.
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cause (II, pp. 20–21); and a consultation between lawyer and client in Las travesuras de Pantoja (III, 6) that is one of the outstanding scenes in Moreto's theatre. These, together with the many metaphors which Moreto has borrowed from the terminology of the legal profession, would indicate that he had had some first-hand acquaintance with legal procedure.

The few references to the life of the soldier and the wars in which Spain was engaged during the 1640's and 1650's give little support to Mesonero Romano's statement that Moreto served in Flanders.\(^{102}\) There is the long and undramatic description of the rescue of Gerona in De fuera vendré, (I, 2, p. 58); the picture of the hardships of the profession in the very doubtful play "La cautela en la amistad" (I, p. 322); and the praise of the camp as a means of perfecting the gentleman in El Caballero (I, 1, p. 289), though both Manzano and his master agree that

No es la guerra ni sus fueros
quien hace los caballeros,
sino su naturaleza.

Allusions to writers or to literary conditions of the day are so lacking as to indicate, on Moreto's part, a studied policy in this regard. There is not a single mention of any contemporary writer in Moreto's entire theatre.\(^{103}\) It is a fact which is interesting in the light of the similar policy of silence which his contemporaries seem to have adopted toward him. How should one interpret this reserve of Moreto? As a sense of dignity which led him to fear that public praise could be interpreted as calculating or servile? As a form of pride which met disdain with disdain? Or, as a discretion which found safety in neither praise nor censure?

Of allusions to earlier writers, there are a number, though they are not such as to indicate that Moreto's background was a rich one. There are, of course, scattering references to the classics. However, by and large, Moreto has adopted a more or less polite style. In this he must have derived considerable assistance from Calderón, whose influence is quite apparent in his style. For instance, the lengthy one of Alejandro in La fuerza de la ley, III, 14, p. 99, is of the same type.\(^{104}\)

\(^{102}\) See, for instance, the lengthy one of Alejandro in La fuerza de la ley, III, 14, p. 99.

\(^{103}\) See the letter of Don Joaquin Manuel de Alba which Fernández-Guerrero printed in his Discursos preliminar, Op. cit., p. xvii.

\(^{104}\) If for no other reason, La razón hace al indio with its praise of Calderón (I, 6, p. 409) would be doubtful. Romero-Navarro's study, Lope y su defensa de la fuerza de la lengua y estilo político (Revue Hispanique, Vol. LXXVII, pp. 287–381) gives some idea of the personal remarks that are to be found in the dramas of Lope's day.

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mer, Virgil, Livy, Seneca, and Pliny come in for mention, but there is no evidence that our poet had a first-hand acquaintance with them. Allusions to the Metamorphoses of Ovid (†El Enos de Dios, II, p. 27), to his De Arte amandā ("La fuerza del natural, I, 2, p. 209), and to his "fábulas" (Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso, I, p. 7), as well as the quotations which Moreto used in the dedication of his volume of plays of 1654, would indicate that it was otherwise in regard to Ovid. This opinion is further borne out by the many scholastic discussions of love in his plays.

That Moreto had a first-hand knowledge of Italian or French writers seems equally doubtful. Petrarca, Marino, Sannazzaro, Guarino, and Tasso find mention in his plays, no more. Indeed, there is little there to prove that Moreto, though of immediate Italian descent, had more than a smattering of the language of his forefathers. The few phrases of Portuguese found in his theatre are perhaps a reflection of his friendship with Matos Fragos. His French vocabulary seems to have consisted of the one word "alons," invariably spelled "alón."\(^{105}\) There are, on the other hand, many Latin phrases,—most of them drawn from church hymns,—that clearly reflect his connection with the church.

Moreto evidently knew something of the romances of Spain. Not only are there various allusions to the Duque de Mantua, Galván, Valdovinos, Magancés, Lanzarote, Arias Gonzalo, Doña Lambra, los Jueces de Castilla, Vellido Dolfo, Rodrigo, and La Cava, but there are lines quoted from such well-known ballads as "Hijo, hijo, por do viene," "Rey Don Sancho, rey Don Sancho," "Dónde vas tan de mañana," "Rey Don Sancho," "Plegue a Dios, vil Magancés," "El postigo que nunca fué cerrado," "Media noche era por fiel." These were, of course, the commonplaces of the street urchin and indicate no particular appreciation of the epic traditions of olden Spain. Certainly as a source for dramatic material, they held no attraction for our dramatist.

\(^{105}\) See Cotarelo, Bibl., p. 4.

\(^{106}\) There are phrases of Italian in La fuerza de la ley, "El rey Don Enrique, and *Uscar remedio el dolor de Portugal en su mejor amigo el rey y El Caballero. A kind of ingenio is to be found in El defensor de su agrado y Las travesuras de Pantoja. Latin phrases, nearly always used for comic effect, occur in El desden con el desden, La fuerza de la ley, El lindo Don Diego, L. que puede la aprehensión, El mejor amigo el rey, El Paréntesis en la corte, Trampa adelante, and Las travesuras de Pantoja as well as in several of those plays which were written in collaboration.
In the field of lyric poetry, Moreto pays tribute to Jorge Manrique by using for a parody the verse form of his famous Céspedes in *El poder de la amistad* (II, 3, p. 29) and by including a modified version of the lines beginning "Este mundo es el camino" in *La adúltera penitente* (III, p. 28); to Garcilaso by borrowing for a refrain his "Salid sin dudar, lágrimas corriendo" in *Cear para levantar* (I, 1, p. 594) and in *La vida de San Alejo* (II, p. 10) and by using his "Dulces prendas por mal mal halladas" in *Primeros es la hora* (III, 7, p. 245) and *La vida de San Alejo* (III, p. 29). There are, too, sonnets and canciones in *La vida de San Alejo*, *La gala de nadar*, and *El Cristo de los milagros* whose inspiration is clearly to be found in lines of the soldier-poet. "Ven, muerte, tan escondida," "Aprended, flores, de mí," "Rulèsor, que volando vas," and "Ando yo callente y ríe la gente,"—these, too, find use in Moreto's plays. The names at least of Juan de Mena, "El retor de Villaermosa," Cristóbal de Mesa, Diego Jiménez Enciso, Villamediana, and Don Antonio de Mendoza were also known to him. In conclusion, my comings are not such as to indicate that Moreto had any great love of lyric poetry, though the influence of Garcilaso is evident, particularly in *La vida de San Alejo*.

As to his acquaintance with the novel, there are no more than stereotyped references to *La Celestina* and to Quevedo. On the other hand, there is reason to think that Moreto knew and loved Cervantes' works. One finds allusions to his *Ilustre fregona* (*Amor y obligación*, I, p. 6), to his *Celoso extremeno* (*No pode ser, I*, 1, p. 188) and to his *Don Quijote* (*El más ilustre francés*, II, p. 146). The best proof, however, of his indebtedness to the master is the distinctly Cervantean flavor of some of his *graciosos*, such as *Trés en *La misma concepción acusa*, Sancho in *Los sueños de Castilla*, and Colín in *El más ilustre francés*.

Proof of Moreto's predilection for Lope and his work could be found in his allusions, were that proof needed. References to his *El caballero de Olmedo*, *El galán de la membrilla*, *El villano en su rincón*, as well as to his Arcadia and *La hermosura de Anglica*, may be found scattered throughout the poet's pages. Direct tributes are not lacking: for Polilla of *El desdén con el desdén* (III, 2, p. 14), Lope is "El fenix español, de los ingenios el sol;" and for Carreño...

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117 The two first ones in *El defensor de su agrado* (III, 1, p. 504 and III, 4, p. 503), the third in *La fingida Arcadia* (III, p. 534), and the last in *Fingir y amar* (II, p. 12).
that its use was as common as that of tobacco.\textsuperscript{110} If Moreto was a connoisseur of wines, there is no evidence of it in his comedies.

On the other hand, there is proof on almost every page that Moreto found pleasure in cards. The greatest difficulty that the modern reader finds in connection with his plays is that of understanding his many metaphors from the card table. \textit{La primera, hombre, matilla, cientos, quince, pintas}; these are games which are mentioned repeatedly, and in connection with them, the phrases \textit{envidar, picar, flor, azar, pedir trocado}, etc. Other amusements of the day were \textit{los bolos, la pispirigana, la pasa-pasa, el crucillo, los toros}, and \textit{el correr novillos}.

Not infrequently dances play a part in Moreto's theatre. \textit{La chacena}, the \textit{Ay, ay, ay}, the \textit{zarabanda}, are named in \textit{La milagrosa elección de San Pío V}; the \textit{pie gibrado}, the \textit{matachín} (dance of the lower class, apparently), and the \textit{española}, in \textit{Travesuras son valor}; masked dances in \textit{Hacer remedio el dolor} and \textit{El desdén con el desdén}; the \textit{pavana} (clearly a court amusement) in \textit{Industrias contra finzas, La fuerza del natural}, and \textit{Oponerse a las estrellas}. Rather definite instructions for dancing the \textit{pavana} may be read in the two plays last mentioned.\textsuperscript{111}

The many exercises of wit which are to be found in Moreto's comedies give evidence of the pleasure which he evidently felt in the "academies" of the day. Such plays as \textit{No puede ser}, \textit{Industrias contra finzas}, \textit{El desdén con el desdén}, \textit{Hacer remedio el dolor}, \textit{La fingida Arcadia}, and \textit{La fuerza del natural} have scenes which are an obvious reflection of the intellectual gymnastics that took place in the academies (such as \textit{La academia castellana}) among devotees of the poetic art. In \textit{Industrias contra finzas} (I, 3, p. 271), the question which nearly results in a duel is "Is it better to give up one's beloved to a rival or to death?" In \textit{La fingida Arcadia} (II, p. 548), the leader starts the game by asking: "What would you wish to be if you could cease to be what you are?" In \textit{No puede ser} (I, 2, p. 189), Doña Ana, who presides, propounds this riddle: "What is that thing which, like carbon, grows the more, the more one covers it up?" The answer is, of course, "a woman's love."

Moreto's theatre, as a picture of customs, is on the whole disap-

\textsuperscript{110} One reads in Barrionuevo's \textit{Aviso} (Vol. I, pp. 120-127) under date of Nov. 7, 1654 that the Duque de Albuquerque has sent back from Mexico to his friends in Madrid 24,000 pounds of chocolate! Barrionuevo terms it a "brava locura."

\textsuperscript{111} See \textit{La fuerza del natural}, II, 5, p. 218, and \textit{Oponerse a las estrellas}, II, p. 23.
pointing. It is an idealized world, one filled with courteous gentlemen and charming women who move about in a milieu of semi-intellectualism. Of the corruption of the court, its love of ease, its ostentation, its crafty selfishness, its flagrant dissipations, there is only an indirect reflection, and of the political gloom and the economic misery that attended Philip's unhappy wars with France, Catalonia, Portugal, and Italy, there is even less. Only rarely does stark reality penetrate the elegant atmosphere of his drawing-room.

**d. The Dramatist's Philosophical Outlook on Life**

To Moreto, the universe was, on the whole, a harmonious one—though with many discordant notes. In order that the music of the spheres be more audible and more perfect, he would insist (in the thesis of his plays and in the many passages of moral philosophy which have been put into the mouths of his characters) that (1) the end of existence is the attainment of virtue; (2) in order to attain this virtue, reason must always be superior to emotion. Thus, in his philosophy the two ideas are supplementary to each other.

This philosophy of "virtue in accordance with reason," on the one hand, takes as its premise the superiority of the spiritual over the corporeal, of abstract ideas over material things, of the so-called unreal over the so-called real. It assumes for man the power of choice, and it presupposes within us that small inner voice of conscience which will help point the way. Moreover, it predicates a sense of values based on that inner self.

On the other hand, it glorifies intellect, for man must not only have a conscience but an intelligent one. "Sovereign intellect, the guide of mankind!" so Tarugo of *No puede ser* (III, 3, p. 202) apostrophizes it. The senses are not to be trusted, Dantea tells herself:

... primero es la razón
que el yerro de los sentidos.133

It is reason alone which differentiates man from the beast, Básilio of *El principé perseguido* learns. The indignation of Carlos (El Licenciado Vidriera) comes not entirely from the ingratitude of this world; it is, in part, a resentment against the stupidity of this world, a stupidity which makes it possible for a madman to succeed whereas a man in his senses fails. In this glorification of the intel-

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133 *Industrias contra finzas*, II, 18, p. 281.---
en su centro le retira?
Pues no lo hace de avarienta, 
antes sí de compasiva, 
como quien dice: "Hombre ciego, 
que a este metal tanto aspiras, 
quitarle quiero a tus ojos, 
sólo por ver si le olvidas; 
que el hacértelo imposible 
es piadosa tiranía 
para que tú no lo busques 
que es rigor, si bien lo miras, 
quien que tan poco vale 
te cuesta tanta fatiga."  

And when this vile metal is put in the scales against love, friendship, loyalty, generosity, and innate courtesy, it is always the loser. In Moreto's idealized world, virtue, accompanied by intellect, always triumphs. The unselfish love of Fernando (Industrias contra finesas) wins out against the mercenary motives of his opponents. Carlos (La misma conciencia acusa) successfully defends himself against the machinations of the usurper of his throne, winning both his kingdom and his love. Indeed, virtue is often man's best weapon. Ramiro (Cómo se vengan los nobles) defends the honor of the queen who had tried to take his life. Thus does the true noble avenge himself—and thus does he win the kingdom which he his. Antíoco prefers to die rather than claim the love of the woman who is affianced to his father; the parent, moved by such generosity of spirit, renounces his own love that his son may be happy. Vice versa, the elegant Don Diego who has no yardstick of values other than that of dress and of money, finds at the end that hisavarice has betrayed him into making love to the servant, Beatriz, instead of to the countess to whom he aspired. 

Altogether, it is an outlook which leaves little room for the extremes of the punderor. In the first place, man can be so easily deceived by others or even by his own senses. The Duke of Athens (El defensor de su agraviio), realizing at last that his innocent wife is the victim of Lidoró's wiles and of his own hasty conclusions, cries out (III, 8, p. 506):

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| Oh, información primera, 
| estrago de las honras y las vidas! 
| ¿Cuántas han sido falsas y credídas! 
| ¿Cabe duda, ciego lo he creído? |

And in *No hay reto como el de Dios* (I, p. 3) Leonor exclaims: 

| Oh, aprehensión envejecida 
| del siglo, injusta y severa, 
| pues de la mujer los timbres 
| gradas por la apariencia! |
| Ciego error! ¡Opinión variada! 
| Pues, para que sea buena, 
| que lo parezca es bastante 
| y no importa que lo sea.|

Yet perhaps the whole matter of honor was for Moreto a "confused law," Sancho el Malo reasons thus: 

| Y está la regla primera 
| que en esta ley tan confusa 
| observo yo, que en cualquiera 
| lo que la conciencia acusa 
| es la opinión verdadera; 
| y aunque me diga el testigo 
| que quede yo sin deshonra, 
| plenso que no y le sigo, 
| es cierto que estoy sin honra 
| para con él y conmigo: 
| fuera de esto cuando está 
| en opiniones un caso, 
| la que por buena me dan, 
| no la apruebo ni la paso, 
| si otra afrentándome está; 
| pues si la honra es aprehensión 
| de los hombres, cuando entre ellos 
| no hay concordancia y unión, 
| yo la pierdo para aquellos 
| que llevan otra opinión.|

Love, too, was a matter which puzzled our author. Fernández-Guerra finds in a personal experience a possible explanation for

110 See Irene's comic description of honor and its disadvantages: *La fuente de la ley*, II, 9, pp. 91-92, and Corçín's insistence in *El mejor por de los dos* (II, p. 20) that "la honra es una bambolla." 

111 *Travesuras son vénor* (liter version), II, p. 18. For a conventional opinion, 

see also *Primero es la honra*, III, 5, p. 244.
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Moreto's interest in the subject of disdain. It is not improbable that the poet burned his fingers at the flame of love—and perhaps on more than one occasion—but his interest is, when all is said and done, that of an onlooker who cannot explain to himself the inconsistencies of this emotional force. As Mesonero Romanos expressed it, Moreto has "discussed love."

Our author believed in the superiority of intellect and logic; yet, here was an emotional force which, however irrational, nevertheless, did not hesitate to measure its strength with reason. He had faith in the freedom of the human will to choose; yet here was a power that seemed to have all the strength of destiny itself. He exalted generosity of soul as one of the most admirable of qualities; yet, in love he found a force which was often repelled by generosity and attracted by ill-treatment. Love, a giant in its strength is a child in its whims: it cries for the moon. Once in possession of that moon, however, it loses all interest in its toy unless some of its playmates evince an interest in its possession. As Torquato expresses it, in Primero es la hora (II, p. 238), a man's wife and his "olla" are good only when absent. Here was a force which refused to be pigeonholed in our author's world of virtue guided by intellect. Its very enchantment, then, lay in the "reason of the lack of reason."

To sum up Moreto's philosophy, one finds in his pages the honorable code of the teacher who is naturally temperate, not the inspired vision of the high priest. It is on the whole a practical outlook which is conducive to noble living. It is, furthermore, the personal code of an individualist, though it is in many regards so conservative, so entirely in harmony with that of the status quo that at first glance it seems conventional rather than personal. Indeed, I doubt not that Moreto would ordinarily see in civilization the crystallized form which racial wisdom has assumed. It is an outlook which finds a panacea for human ills in evolution rather than in revolution. And this evolution can come only through each

individual's exercise of virtue and reason. In turn these must be the product of education that is spread through example rather than precept. Hence, the nobleman's obligation to be noble.

It is an ethical point of view which looks backward to Marcus Aurelius and forward to the Age of Reason; it is, moreover, one which is, in so far as it reaches, identical with that of his noble contemporary Spinoza.

114 From the Foundations of Moral Life, one may select at random the following sentences:

The primary foundation of virtue is the preservation of our being according to the guidance of reason.
To act in conformity [then], with virtue is nothing but acting according to the guidance of reason.
It is therefore, most profitable to us in life to make perfect the intellect or reason as far as possible, and in this one thing consists the highest happiness or blessedness.

If we live according to the guidance of reason, we shall desire for others the good which we seek for ourselves.

Minds, nevertheless, are not conquered by arms but by love and generosity.

116 See B. A. R., LIV, p. xxv—"... ni quiso como Calderón espiritualizar la pasión amorosa, ni como Tirso, materializarla, ni embellecerla como Lope ni disimularla como Moreto; ni enaltecerla como Alarcón."
117 This "lack of reason" is argued at length in El desdén con el desdén (I, p. 2) by Carlos, who distinctly resents his own illogicality; this "avenging fury of love" which has come to disturb his tranquil, free existence.
CHAPTER III
MORETO'S PLACE IN LITERARY HISTORY

1. HIS SUCCESS OR FAILURE IN THE VARIOUS GENERES

Before arriving at any conclusions as to Moreto's place in literary history, one must first note the absence from his theatre of certain genres. That the playwright consciously or unconsciously veered away from a portrayal of the tragic is evidenced by the fact that there is not a single play in his whole secular theatre which conforms to the technical requirements of a tragedy—and this, too, when both logic and good stagecraft call for an unhappy ending in four of his dramas. Had *Primero es la hora* ended with the death of Laura at the close of the second act, it would have been a drama surpassed by few in the whole Siglo de Oro. Had Moreto had the courage to carry *El Licenciado Vidriero* to its own bitter conclusion, what a magnificent drama of human ingratitude we should have had. How unpoetic the last-minute pardons of Sánch in *Travesuras son valor* and of Don Tello in *El valiente justiciero!*

What interpretation should one give to Moreto's aversion to the tragic? Does it find explanation in a pacific and kindly temperament that could not see poor human flies suffer, even on the stage, without attempting to rescue them? Is the answer to be found in a mistaken conception of classic restraint which gave him an aristocratic aversion for anything that verges on the melodramatic or deeply emotional? Does it lie in a certain emotional shallowness of character that could have no comprehension of the tragic depths of despair? The general tone qualities of his theatre would point to a combination of the three.

Moreto was likewise lacking in a sense of the epic and historical. It is true that Fernández-Guerra classified thirteen plays as "historical and traditional," and with *La mejor Luna africana* and *El rey D. Enrique, el Enfermo*, collaborations which were unknown.

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to the critic, the list would have been fifteen. With a liberal interpretation of the term "historical," I can find only nine aside from the two last mentioned: (1) *Antuco y Seluco, (2) La fuerza de la ley, (3) Los jueces de Castilla, (4) *Cómo se vengan los nobles, (5) *Travesuras son valor, (6) El valiente justiciero, (7) *El mejor par de los doe, (8) *El principio prodigioso, and (9) *El principio prodigioso. The last three of these, it will be noted, were written in collaboration, and definite dramatic sources can be found for all except the first three. Furthermore, in the case of *Los jueces de Castilla* and *La fuerza de la ley*, there is good reason to suppose as immediate sources plays which are now lost. Indeed, as we have had occasion to point out previously, Menéndez Pelayo felt Moreto's *Los jueces de Castilla* so close to the original that he included it in his edition of Lope de Vega's works in lieu of the lost one which is mentioned in the second list of *El perigrino*. In the case of *La fuerza de la ley* Schaeffer cites from Lope de Vega's *El marqués de Manitu* a passage which explains the discrepancy of the close of Moreto's story with the version of history and suggests a lost source as explanation of this change. Thus, it is possible only in the case of three out of the eleven that Moreto drew his material from non-dramatic sources.

Nor can it be claimed that Moreto attained unmixed success in the revision of any of those historical plays whose source we can trace. Only in *Cómo se vengan los nobles* has he dared to deviate from his sources. And while all of those reworked gain in regularity of plot, *El mejor par de los doe* and *El principio prodigioso* fail utterly in that Lope's epic protagonists have dwindle to the proportions of Philip IV's court. The revision of *Travesuras son valor* is even more unsatisfactory because the stark tragedy of the original has been replaced by an entirely banal ending; and *Cómo se vengan los nobles, El valiente justiciero,* and *El mejor par de los doe* have lost the noble poetry of their sources.

Aside from Moreto's deficiencies in the lyric and the tragic,—

2 In addition to the evidence which that illustrious critic has adduced (Las obras de Lope de Vega, Vol. VII, Estudio preliminar, pp. cixviii-cxxix) to prove that Moreto's play is very close to the original, one may point out further that the high percentage of redondillas (67%) and the sixty lines of arte mayor (II, p. 6) find no parallel in Moreto's entire theatre, and furthermore, that the comic element is not fused with the main plot as ordinarily happens in his theatre.

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... factors that assuredly link up with our author's failure in the heroic play, it is not improbable that his Italian ancestry may in part explain his lack of success in this genre. There is no evidence that the fires of patriotism, local or national, ever flamed high in Moreto's breast. That deeply-ingrained nationalism which pervades the plays of Lope de Vega is never felt in our dramatist's theatre. Moreto is thoroughly cosmopolitan. He not only does not create an opportunity (as does Lope so frequently) to praise his country at the expense of another but he even rejects the occasion when it is offered. *La gala de nadar* is to me a doubtful play, but the following conversation is so characteristic of Moreto's point of view that I cannot forbear quoting it:

**Flora:** ¿Cómo por España os fuiste?
**Ramón:** Es estremado país.
**Flora:** ¿Aficionados venís?
**Ramón:** Aficionados, no sé,
porque tengo para mí
que el mundo, cuál más, cuál menos,
componen malos y buenos,
pues las mismas cosas vi,
Hay sabios e ignorantes;
hay cuerdo, Flora, y hay locos,
falso, muchos, finos pocos...

Hombres que se tratan bien
y hombres que se tratan mal,
unos que dan bien por mal
y otros que dan mal por bien,...

In the florid praise of Madrid which is to be found in *Nuestra Señora de la Aurora* (III, pp. 258-259), I cannot but see the local enthusiasm of a collaborator. On the other hand, the comedies of this Spanish-Italian playwright are equally devoid of any enthusiasm for Italy or Milan, a city which is characterized by *Flora* (*Hacer remedio el dolor*, p. 44 a.) as one of "flores" and "tramas."

In the novelesque, Moreto was even less successful. The thirteen listed in this group, five of which are exclusively his, are improbable in plot, inconsistent and colorless in characterization, devitalized and devoid of emotional sincerity in dialogue. As an admirer of Moreto I should gladly remove them all from his theatre, salvaging to his credit only the rollicking scene of the lawsuit in *Las irrestreras*

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... de Pantoja (III, 6), the unusual character of Rosela in *La gala de nadar* (if this be his), and an occasional comic dialogue between servants such as that in *Fingir y amar* (II, p. 19) where Cantueso imitates the courtly mode in order to win the favor of his enamorata Lucinda. Everywhere it is evident that Moreto lacked that lyrical magic which enables the romanticist to spin a gossamer web of poetry from the unreal and the improbable. He was too matter-of-fact, too reflective, too old in outlook to believe in his own fairy tales. Hence, the lack of gusto that the modern feels on reading them.

On the other hand, such comedies of intrigue as *Trampa adelante* or *El Parecido en la corte* are, among their kind, the best that the Spanish stage of the seventeenth century can offer. Here are situations in which the poor protagonists, swaying now this way, now that on the ropes of chance and mistaken identity, make their way to an appointed landing—to the immense relief of an audience which has held its breath for some three hours; gratiosos, not over-scrupulous ones, who by their cleverness and good humor win the onlooker's sympathy and even his admiration; dialogue that sparkles with puns and equivocal remarks. Furthermore, here are plays which call for neither the tragic nor the heroic,—nor the lyric, so essential to the expression of the one or the other type; plays which, though as improbable as the novelesque, are openly farcical and need, therefore, conform only to the elastic mould of the genre; plays which give the author's sense of humor full swing. In a word, here are comedies which are thoroughly suited to Moreto. It is not surprising that *Trampa adelante* and *El Parecido en la corte* have remained prime favorites on the Spanish stage for nearly three centuries, and that our dramatist has had to father the progeny of dramatists less talented. At least nine plays in this group must be considered doubtful or apochryphal.

It is, however, on those comedies classed as plays of character and idea that Moreto's fame must finally rest. In these, as in his plays of intrigue, there are interesting situations skillfully directed to a satisfactory climax and dialogue that is, as a rule, delightfully natural. But one finds more. Moreto has shown consummate art in introducing his characters, in analysing their motives, and in presenting them before us as human beings who are consistent in thought and deed. Characterization, action, and idea go hand in hand to form a play of symmetry and beauty.
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It is this harmony of the part with the whole which is the most distinctive feature of Moreto's secular theatre; and it is a love of balance and decorum and a dislike of the bizarre and the extreme which not only explain his choice of subject and the success or lack of it that he attained in certain genres, but which also, as we have seen, determined even the details of his craftsmanship.

2. HIS POPULARITY AND INFLUENCE AT HOME AND ABROAD

While any accurate estimate of Moreto's influence must remain a task for the future, it will not be amiss here to give some general ideas concerning the dramatist's popularity in his own day and in the centuries that have followed. Señor Cotarelo y Morl, in listing the plethora of manuscripts, sueltas, and collections that have been made of Moreto's comedies,6 bears eloquent testimony to the pleasure which our author gave the reading public of Spain of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. If further evidence were necessary, one might point to the long list of plays which have been falsely attributed to him by enterprising booksellers.6

That this popularity lasted throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries may be proved by the annals of María Ladvenant7 and Isidoro Mañique.8 In the life of the latter we find by actual count that between the years 1793–1818, his company staged El desdén con el desdén 32 times; No puede ser, 30; El Parecido en la corte, 28; El valiente justiciero, 19; De fuerza vendrá, 17; El lindo Don Diego, 16; *El príncipe perseguido, 14; *La fuerza del natural, 10; Antoco y Scelico, 8. Most of Moreto's inferior dramas were tried out from one to five times. Of the 70 plays of the Golden Age which Don Bernardo de Iriarte considered suitable for representation in 1677, 11 are Moreto's.9 In this same list are included 21 of Calderón's, 7 of Rojas', 3 of Lope's, 1 of Alarcón's and none of Tirso's. There seems reason to conclude, then, that Tic-

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nor's statement concerning the seventeenth century, "of those that divided the favor of the public with their great master [Calderón], none stood so near to him as Agustín Moreto," would hold equally well for the eighteenth century.

I have no figures for the middle of the nineteenth century. Ochoa20 in 1838 characterizes El lindo Don Diego as "one of the comedies which still cause most laughter in our theatre" and El desdén con el desdén as "undoubtedly the best comedy which our language possesses." In connection with El valiente justiciero he has occasion to speak of "the immense popularity which this comedy enjoys." And in 1856, Fernández-Guerra could say, "Pocos de sus contemporáneos tienen tantas comedias que se puedan hoy poner en escena sin necesidad de alterarlas ni refundirlas."

There were revisions and imitations, nevertheless. El Parecido en la corte was in the seventeenth century made to conform to the literary unities and the moral proprieties of the day by Don Tomás Sebastián y Latre. El valiente justiciero had according to Cotarelo13 three nineteenth century versions: one by Don Dionisio Solís, another by Don José Fernández-Guerra, and the third by Don Calixto Boldún. Yo por vos y vos por otro was in 1826 revised by Don José Fernández-Guerra as Ir contra el viento. El Caballero, reworked by a certain "P. V. del In," may be found in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Municipal, dated 1833, as A cada paso un acaso, or El Caballero. *La fuerza del natural became in 1827 under Béretón de los Herreros' clever hand El príncipe y el villano while Las travessuras de Pantota so struck Zorrilla that he offered it to the public as La mejor razón la espada. D. M. Catalina reworked El Licenciado Vidriera in 1852, including it in a collection entitled El teatro (see British Museum catalogue).

Out of Spain, one may point to the various translations and adaptations. Sebastián y Latre's version of El Parecido en la corte was in 1770 translated into French as Le ressemblancé and included in the three-volume collection, Théâtre Espagnol. El desdén con el desdén was put into German at least twice during the nineteenth century.C.A. West in 1819 adapted it as Donna Diana y Dohrm14

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See Bibliografía de Moreto. There are still others in the library of the University of Pennsylvania and in the Ticknor collection of the Boston Public Library which are not there included.

6 See Cotarelo (Bibl., pp. 10–18, 40–43) and pp. 7–13 of this study.

7 Cotarelo y Morl, Estudios sobre la historia del arte escénico en España, María Ladvenant y Quiroga, Madrid, 1896.

8 Cotarelo y Morl, Isidoro Mañique y el teatro de su tiempo, J. Pernales y Martínez, 1902.

9 See Cotarelo y Morl, Iriarte y su época, Madrid, 1897, p. 67.


12 Cotarelo, Bibl., p. 39.

13 Cotarelo, Bibl., p. 21.

14 Pseud. of Joseph Schreyvogel; the play was published in Leipzig. See Spanische Dramen Übersetzet, 1843, Vol. II.
translated it in 1843 as Trots wider Trots. It also found its way (1870) into Hungarian as Kisényh kisémenyül through the offices of V. Györy. Already in 1852, it had been turned into French by Habeneck as Dédain pour dédain. El lindo Don Diego was in 1858 published in Italian as Don Diego, il domenico14 and in 1876 in Hungarian as A Szép Diego. El valiente justiciero was also translated into German by Dohrn in 1843 and included in his Spanische Dramen Übersetzte; in 1858 it was published in Italian as Il valente giudice with the version of El lindo Don Diego just mentioned. In 1898 Gassier offered Caer para levantar to the French reading public as San Gil de Portugal. Moreover, it has been asserted that Moreto's influence may be seen in the works of the Italians, Carlos Gozzi and Rafael Tauro; of the Frenchmen Molière, Linget, Thomas Corneille, Scarron, Dumas and Marivaux; of the Englishman John Crowne; and of the German Schroeder.15

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Literary history has not been so kind to Moreto as the dramatic public. For a century and a half it made no effort to discover the facts of his life. When Ochoa would write the first biography of him in 1838, he could find no source of information other than "an illustrious gentleman of Toledo worthy of all confidence" who supplied him with the few references that are to be found in the Ille de Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandoval. Since Ochoa's day, Fernández-Guerra and others have added to our knowledge of the facts of Moreto's life, but estimates as to his place in literary history have varied according to the temper and nationalism of the critic.

German authorities, loud in their admiration for the exalted themes of Calderón and for the staggering imagination of Lope, cannot forgive Moreto for his deficiencies in these respects. His crime is that he has been content with a low aim. Schaeffer reluctantly accords him the sixth and last place among the heroes of the Spanish drama16 but finds that even his masterwork is the product of a dapper Don Diego: "es ist ein psychologisch fein angelegtes, gelästvoll aufgebautes Drama, aber die grossen Gedanken und Sitten..."

and his defects without giving their dictum as to relative values. It is a question of difference and not necessarily of inferiority. If Moreto’s work is placed in comparison with that of Lope, Tirso, Calderón, or Rojas, one cannot deny that they surpass him in creative imagination and in wealth of lyric expression. One must admit, moreover, as we have seen, that the author of El desdén con el desdén had no talent for the epic, the historic, or the tragic, and, in so doing, concede that he had not the versatility of the men just mentioned. He stands nearer to Alarcón in spirit than to any of the other dramatists of the Golden Age. With him he shares a tendency to moralize, a talent for plot-construction and for logical characterization, a predilection for straightforward dialogue; but one does not feel in his comedies that depth of emotional nature that is discernible in those of the Mexican dramatist. He has, moreover, occasionally paid tribute to the age by including conceptistic arguments. On the other hand, he is, for me, superior to Alarcón in his portrayal of women, in his sense of the comic, and in his use of the didactic.

Of the six dramatists, Moreto is nearest the early nineteenth century. E. Martineche, after pointing out that the great contribution of the Spanish comedia to the European theatre was the introduction of idealized love and honor as mainsprings of dramatic action, laments the fact that only too often the protagonist’s behavior is not in accord with his noble sentiments, that his love lacks profundity, sincerity, and constancy, and that as a result the characterization seems inconsistent and the action incomplete. “C’est le grand défaut de la comedia espagnole; elle ne donne que des indications. Il esquisse un caractère ou un sentiment sans jamais le pousser jusqu’au bout, et elle va se perdre dans des complications d’intrigue qui risquent d’étouffer ou de cacher sa véritable originalité.” It is just this fault which Moreto felt so keenly and just this defect which he sought to remedy. He has created characters who do not offend modern sensibilities by their inconsistencies or their bad taste. He has put those idealized men and women in an atmosphere of intellectuality where they seemingly work out their own destinies and thus bring the play to a natural close. If in his better plays he borrowed his materials, he was singularly independent in his use of them. He stood apart from the Calderonian current, rejecting both the extremes of the panderer and the bombastic dialogue that characterize the tragedies of that school, the abuses of disguise and the overcomplication of plot that mar its comedies. Indeed, he may be considered the precursor of modern Spanish comedy. From Moreto to Moratin there is but a step—the step from poetry to prose.


APPENDIX

1. THE AUTHENTICITY OF CERTAIN PLAYS OF MORETO

A. "COMEDIAS" WHOSE AUTHENTICITY IS DOUBTFUL
ON THE BASIS OF EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

*La adúltera penitente

When La adúltera penitente (the story of Santa Teodora) was first printed in the Parte IX of the Escogidas (Pedro Rodrigues, Madrid, 1587), it was attributed to Cáncer, Moreto, and Matos. Juan Sanchez, of the early eighteenth century, likewise published a suela, ascribing it to the same three men. There is, according to Cotarelo (Bibl., p. 19), a manuscript of Dec. 27, 1669 in the Biblioteca Nacional which attributes the play to Moreto alone, and Durán (Paz y Melia, Fichas manuscritas, p. 14) had apparently seen a play entitled Santa Teodora which bears Calderón’s name. Such a manuscript was extant in Vera Tassas’ time, for it is listed by him as one of the apochryphal plays ascribed to Calderón. Hartzfebusch (B.A.E., Vol. VII, p. xxvi), following Vera Tassas, lists it among the manuscripts incorrectly attributed to the great dramatist. There is no reference in La Barrera (Cattilo), Schaeffer (Geschichte), nor Pérez Pastor (Documentos) to any such play by Calderón. I have not from this side of the Atlantic been able to locate its present hiding place—if it exists today.

In November of 1653, Sebastian de Prado made arrangements with the city of Toledo to represent among others the "new play," Santa Teodora. (See Cotarelo, Sebastián de Prado, Madrid, 1916, p. 78). If this is Moreto’s comedia, as Cotarelo suggests, the play was to have been given again on February 28, 1658 (this time under the name of La adúltera penitente), but the performance was postponed when the Marqués de Eliche carried away two of the actresses to practice a zarzuela for representation before the king. (See Rennert, Op. cit., p. 228.)

Adolfo de Castro has attempted to prove that the play is by Calderón, particularly the first half and the first scenes of Act III (Una joya desconocida de Calderón, Cadiz, 1881, 49 pp.). It is not to him impossible that Moreto (or even Matos or Cánver) may have collaborated with Calderón in the remainder of the play. Cotarelo (Bibl., p. 20) concedes that the first act may be Calderón’s, but feels that Act II is characteristic of Moreto and Act III of Matos. Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit., p. xxvi) is likewise of the opinion that Act II is Moreto’s. His argument rests primarily on the six-syllable enechas in the last half of Act II which satirize the Church; these, he declares, cannot have been written by either Matos or Cánver "ingenios más aplastuos y gongorinos."

I am inclined to think the play is the product of collaboration, not of a single hand. In favor of this point of view, one may point out the changing conception of the gracioso: the ebullient Morondo of the latter half is certainly a contrast to the staid master of the first scenes. The stress on the lyrical in the first half of the play, the declamatory dialogue (with

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Its exclamatory parenthetical asides), the grave philosophical tone of certain portions; such details point positively toward Calderón as the author of the first half of the play. One might note further that the conception of a voluntarily adulterous heroine is rare among Moreto’s situations, though not unknown in his religious theatre.

It seems equally improbable to me that Moreto wrote the second act or even the last half of it. He was not given to satire on the Church, and as Mr. Morley has pointed out (Op. cit., p. 163), he has ordinarily avoided six-syllable enechas except in very brief songs. They are, on the contrary, quite in the humor of the festive Cáncer or even of Matos, both of whom on occasion wrote delightful verses in short lines. One finds 22 quinitillas in the third act (pp. 24, 29). If Matos did not use quinitillas, as Mr. Morley thinks (Op. cit., p. 172), then the third act would not be his, but Moreto’s. Positively, one may note in favor of Moreto’s authorship of this act, a tendency of the gracioso to coin a verb from a proper name. (See moronear from Morondo, p. 26.) I am inclined then to attribute the first half of the play to Calderón, the last half of the second act to Cáncer or Matos, and the third to Moreto, but the proof on which such conclusions rest is slender.

†La cautela en la amistad

This comedy, first printed in the Parte XLIII de diferentes autores (Zaragoza, 1600) by Juan de Ibarra with the title of Lo que meroes un soldado, is also known as La cautela en la amistad and Cautelas son amistades. Moreover, the catalogue of Medel (Madrid, 1735, p. 35) cites a comedy, Los dos Carlos, which Le Ibarra concludes is the same. The play is attributed to Godínez under the title Cautelas son amistades in two editions of the seventeenth century, and under this title was represented by Juan Martinez before the king on Sept. 13, 1635. (See Rennert, Notes on the Spanish Drama, Modern Language Review, 1907, Vol. II, pp. 331-341.)

Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit., p. xxx) describes it thus: "diabolicamente confuso, complicado e inverosímil el argumento, los caracteres todos falsos, y de ellos, sus bajos y repugnantes." Cotarelo (Bibl., p. 22), discussing its attribution to Godínez, declares: "... la dejamos a su nombre de por demás que nos parece suya por el carácter del gracioso y porque no parece ni estil de género usual en Godínez." (Schaeffer (Op. cit., II, p. 437), on the contrary, saw in it a comedy "dem Stile des letztern [Moreto] entspricht es jedoch keineswegs, wohl aber der Schreibweise unserm Godínez in seiner spätern Període."

In my opinion, Moreto did not write this comedy. I do not believe our author, even at the immature age of seventeen, was guilty of a plot so confused and so wholly episodic nor of feminine characters so repugnant in decorum. One may point out in regard to the version that two acts end in redondillas instead of romances and that the last act employs only two metres, redondilla and romance. Finally, one

† Nevertheless, such poverty of verification within the act itself, though rare, is unknown in Moreto’s theatre. See La fuerza de la ley (III), La misma concelella
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finds in it none of Moreto’s peculiar metaphors or turns of phrase. I do not feel that I know Godines’ work sufficiently well to assert that the work is his, but the characteristics are certainly those of his epoch rather than of Moreto’s.

†Dejar un reino por otro

and

*No hay reino como el de Dios

As Cotarelo points out (BibI., pp. 24–25), there are two distinct versions of Dejar un reino por otro y mártires de Madrid, both of which are ordinarily linked with Moreto’s name. The one, which we shall label “the first,” is ordinarily known by the title just given; the other by No hay reino como el de Dios. Though dealing with the same general subject, they are so different in development as to justify us in considering them as entirely separate plays.

Of the first comedy, there are three manuscripts (with some variations), all belonging to the seventeenth century or the beginning of the eighteenth. It was first printed (under the title Dejar un reino por otro y mártires de Madrid) by Roque Rico de Miranda in Parte XLIV of the Evogías (Madrid, 1678) as the work of Cáceres, Villaviciosa, and Moreto. There are also various sueltas. The editions of Leufcad (No. 236, Sevilla, undated) and of Juan López (Murcia, undated, 35 pp.) attribute the play to Agustín Moreto alone. I have not seen the first of these; the second does not carry in its final line the name of any author. The Vida de Jesús published this same version as the work of Cristóbal de Monroy y Silva (No. 10, Valencia, 1761) under the name Los tres soles de Madrid. And, finally, it has been ascribed in a suelta to Matos Fragoso, a mistake on Barbara’s part according to Salvá (Catálogo I, p. 587). However, see La Barrera (Catálogo, p. 241) on this point. Model attributes the play to “tres ingenios.”

There are likewise three manuscripts of No hay reino como el de Dios; however, all carry the title Los mártires de Madrid. One of these bears the date 1670. This second version has been printed as the work of Cáceres, Moreto, and Matos by Antonio Sans (No. 61, Madrid, 1730, 16 leaves) with the title No hay reino como el de Dios y mártires de Madrid; it carries their names in the concluding lines. There are also editions of this play by Diego López de Haro (Sevilla, 31 pp., undated) and by the Herederos de Tomás López de Haro, which print the play as by “tres ingenios.” I have not seen the first of these; the second, though attributed to “tres ingenios” on the title page, carries the names of Cáceres, Moreto, and Matos in its concluding lines.

Cotarelo (Bibl., p. 25) states that both comedies are derived from Lope de Vega’s Las mártires de Madrid, published by Pedro Blosón in a Parte XXXIX, Hueca, 1634. Study of the three plays involved leads me to the conclusion that only Dejar un reino por otro y mártires de Madrid has any acusa (I), and Las travesuras de Pantaleon (III), all of which use only the two verse forms.

direct connection with Lope’s work. Moreover, there is nothing in this comedy that would point to it as Moreto’s handiwork. The style is not characteristic of him, in that it is extremely culteranés; nor the method of revision, in that he has not reduced the number of characters to a minimum. Furthermore, the reader will find none of those quips of the gracioso which he comes to expect in Moreto’s theatre. In the version, one may point out the double laisses of romances (e-a, o-o) in Act I and the author’s predilection for the seven-syllable line in his couplets. I shall not attempt to solve the problem of authorship; to do so would be impossible without a collation of texts and manuscripts. To one who possesses only superficial knowledge of Monroy, it seems not unlike his work.

If Dejar un reino por otro should be Monroy’s work, then the play No hay reino como el de Dios should probably be placed after 1648 (the date of Monroy’s death) inasmuch as it is not a revision of Lope’s work but of Dejar un reino por otro. The general tone qualities of this later comedy, as well as the use that the author has made of his sources, would indicate that Moreto had a hand in reworking the play. It is difficult, however, to say just which part should be attributed to him. Act III seems more characteristic in its versification and in the omnipresent role which the gracioso plays. The bombastic description of a battle, as well as certain matters of versification (predilection for romances, absence of quinillas, use of double laisses of romances without intervening metre on p. 8) would point to Matos as the author of the first act. I do not feel that my knowledge of the work of Cáceres or Villaviciosa is sufficient to enable me to utter an opinion in regard to the part which one or the other may have had in it.

†En el mayor imposible, nadie pierde la esperanza

Included in the so-called Verdadera tercera parte of Benito Macé (Valencia, 1676), which is, as Cotarelo has shown in his Bibliografía (pp. 15-18), an apocryphal edition made up of sueltas, this play is, in a seventeenth-century manuscript, attributed to one Juan de Lemus under the title Nadie pierde la esperanza. Cotarelo considers the name Juan de Lemus that of the owner. Schaefer (Op. cit., II, p. 160) concludes that it is a pen name which Moreto may have assumed in order to escape the Inquisition, since the plot in its dénouement could hardly have been acceptable to the Church. La Barrera (Catálogo, p. 210) presents the problem but does not attempt to solve it.

The conclusion of the edition of 1676, which, according to Cotarelo, is taken from the suelta of Juan Sans, is as follows:

Esta historia es verdadera, y pues vos que esto pasa,
“en el mayor imposible
nadie pierde la esperanza.”

Y Don Agustín Moreto
no la pierde; que a cosas plantas
sien humilde el perdón pleno
con facilidad le alcanza.
APPENDIX

But the manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 2276), which attributes the comedy to Juan de Lemus and which belongs to the end of the seventeenth century according to Paz y Melía (Piezas manuscritas, p. 349), has for its concluding lines:

Y el autor la escribió a instancias
del mismo don Manuel

y pues venimos que se casa
aunque cerqes imposibles,

nadie pierda la esperanza;

y yo la quiero perder
del alcanzar perdón de faltas.

This manuscript may have found its way into print, for Schaeffer states (Op. cit., II, p. 160): "Der Verfasser besitzt ein Exemplar dieses Stückes mit dem umgekehrten Titel: Nadie pierda la esperanza en el mayor imposible in einer ansehnend etwa 1640 gedruckten Comödienansammlung." I cannot place this collection.

Neither have I been able to determine the identity of Don Juan de Lemus. However, I do not believe the play is Moreto's. The setting is Portuguese, and the author apparently possessed intimate knowledge concerning the city of Faro (See mention of el sol del Comore, III, 7, p. 635).

Furthermore, the plot is no way characteristic. The situation is quite novelistic in type and is, moreover, one which would certainly merit the condemnation of the Church. The protagonist, Don Manuel, would renounce his priestly robes in order to marry a certain Doña Ana, but escape seems impossible. Suddenly he discovers that at birth he was baptized with "rose water" instead of the "natural water" which the Church prescribes. Since the first sacrament, which is prerequisite to all others, was incorrectly administered, he concludes that his vows are null and void. Thus he hastily disengages himself from the bonds of the Church in order to assume those of matrimony. It is a plot, too, in whose mechanics one does not feel that logical drive toward a logical end which is so characteristic of Moreto.

In regard to the characters, one may point out, as in no way characteristic of our author, a hero who lightly renounces his religious vows, who without compunction kills a rival while wearing priestly garb, and who, finally, marries the sister of his victim. Moreover, Doña Ana in her vigor of spirit is much nearer in type to the heroines of Lope than to those of Moreto, and the dialogue, both of the graciados and of the heroines, exhibits a lack of delicacy which is seldom to be found in Moreto's theatre. Finally, Don Rodrigo is a superficial character, and superficies characters are rare with Moreto.

As to the metre, one may note that the percentage of redondillas (48%) is unusually large, that Act I has only two metres (romances and redondillas), and that one finds romances of assurance o-o inscribed in other romances of o. Finally, the type of silva (aABcBC) is not characteristic of our author. The metre and characterization would point to Montalbán's epoch rather than to Moreto's.

†Escarramón

Escarramón, comedia burlesca que se hizo en el Buen Retiro. First printed in the Parte XXXVII of the Escogidas (Melchor Alegre, Madrid, 1671), it is not here ascribed to Moreto, according to Cotarelo, Bibl., p. 27. This volume, however, cannot be trusted. Matos Fragoso, who wrote the dedication for it, has incorrectly attributed at least five of the twelve comedies included. The supposition that Moreto wrote this burlesque rests on the following facts: The catalogue of Model (1735) cites it as his work, listing at the same time an anonymous Los selos de Escarramón, which La Barrera supposes to be identical with the comedy in question. A seventeenth century manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (See Cotarelo, Bibl., p. 27), which carries the title Los selos de Escarramón, comedia burlesca de Moreto, substantiates La Barrera's conclusions. The title has no relationship whatsoever with the contents of the work.

In my opinion, the play, which is a satire on the capa y espada comedy with its duels, its cruel brothers, its ladies disguised in men's clothing, its conventional ending where all are so arbitrarily paired off, is not Moreto's. In the first place, it is the only one of this genre among his long plays. There are, moreover, none of the remarks that ordinarily characterize Moreto's graciosas, and the versification is in no wise what one would expect. There is not one of Moreto's Indispensable works which shows only three verse forms: romances (66%), redondillas (30%), and cachos (4%). Neither is this true in his whole theatre which does not include either silvas or paredeas. Finally, Moreto consciously avoids the use of different series of assonances without intervening metre. Yet in Act II, pp. 361-363, we find three such laissez: c-a, c-a, o-a.

There are references within the play to Olmedo, San Martín, and perhaps to Cáceres that I find difficult to interpret. The Barber, a spirit from the other world, is talking to the Governor (II, pp. 364-365):

GOBERNADOR: ¿Quién eres, pálida sombra?
BARBERO: El Halcero soy que vuelvo a ser en esta comedia el nuero carmintero. San Martín me dio la muerte en la comedia de Olmedo donde ha un año que padece

9 La confusión de un jardín (50%), El principio prodigioso (52%), El rosario perseguido (61%), and Los jueces de Castilla (67%) stand higher in their percentages of redondillas than En el mayor imposible, nadie pierda la esperanza, but I consider the 61% three doubtfully attributed and the fourth merely a revision of one of Lope de Vega's (now lost) which has kept the redondillas of the original.
APPENDIX

y donde estoy condenado
a venir en cualquier tiempo
a hacer en toda comedia
de San Martín casamientos.

Ha, San Martín, San Martín,
¿dónde estás? Sal aquí, puerco,
y pues por tu causa ahora
en el purgatorio pieno,
de hoy más, como muerto honrado
a estos señores prometo
que no has de escribir comedia
en que no salga el Barbero.
Señores, ¿hay quien se case?
Respondedme.

GOBER: Señor muerto,
aun la comedia no acaba;
¡vaya, y vuelva a su tiempo,
que están estos señores
avergonzando unos celos,
y faltan dos o tres pasos
para dar fin al enredo.

BARBERO: Para la última jornada
una hora de doy de tiempo;
háganlo pues luego. Y tú,
tú, San Martín, poeta seco,
que eres don Quijote en prosa
y eres Sancho Panza en verso,
para todas las comedias
que hicieres, me tienes cierto,
que han de ser, aunque te pese
del muerto casamentero.

Y acabó la mojiganga
del inmundo San Martín;
perdonad, por Dios, sus trampas;
quien yo, porque me eterniza,
le he de pagar, y la paga
será descansarle luego,
porque su mujer le enfadea;
¡vaya a Carnestolendas!
y al purgatorio se vaya
el muerto casamentero.

Dios os dé muy buenas Pascuas.

In Act III (p. 367 and p. 369), we find also these words of the Gobernador without context:

THE DRAMATIC ART OF MORETO

Mas vílgame Dios, ¿qué es esto?
Sin duda se desacaza
del cielo el signo de Cáncer;
no hay tal prodigio en Samaria.

[Appears in a tablado en la parte
de las Carnestolendas sobre un carro
en un bofetón y en la otra parte
en correspondencia el Barbero
murió.]

CAR: Yo soy la Carnestolendas.
BAR: Yo soy quien las comedias casas
de San Martín.

We read in Rennert (Op. cit., p. 541) concerning Alonso de Olmedo y
Tolín: "In 1638, on Shrove Tuesday, his company took part in the festa
in the Buen Retiro." Now this play was performed in the Retiro as the
subtitle shows, and the words of Carnestolendas and others make evident
that it was performed at Shrovetide. Were San Martín and perhaps
Cancer actors in Olmedo's company in the year 1638 (or perhaps at some
erlier or later Shrovetide celebrations) and had San Martín played in a
mojiganga of Olmedo entitled El muerto casamentero wherein a barber
receives his death (a dramatic one as a result of poor acting?) at the hands
of San Martín? Cancer at least did request an ayuda de costo in return
for having acted a play before the king (See La Barrera, Op. cit., p. 62)
and probably would not have felt himself demeaned to act in the company
of Olmedo who was a hidalgo by birth. Did San Martín then borrow
the character of the Barbero and is he promising that in future entremeses
the character will appear? Did he also act the role of the Barbero in the
play?

Or did Cáncer write this particular play and is he satirizing San
Martín, perhaps for having borrowed Olmedo's character, perhaps for having
played so badly the role in Olmedo's play? Certainly, the comedy is in
content thoroughly characteristic of Cancer. The only works which he did
not write in collaboration were the burlesques, Las travesuras del Cid y La
muerte de Baldovino. Moreover, he published with Juan Vélez de Guevara
another of the same kind, Los siete infantes de Lara. The percentages of
romances and redondillas are, however, quite different from those of Las
travesuras del Cid, which has 26% romances, 68% redondillas, 4% octavas.
The evidence is so conflicting that I do not feel that I can with any
certainty say who is the author of the play. I am inclined to think it is
Cancer.

1 There is mention in La Barrera (Cat., p. 614) of two entremeses by the name El
casamentero. One starts "Yo pliego hombres y mujeres..." Both are included in
a volume Tiempo de regocijo y Carnestolendas de Madrid (Luis Sánchez, Madrid,
1627). La Barrera suggests that they may both be Castillo Solórzano's work. There
are also several which include the word barbero in their title.
La fingida Arcadia

La fingida Arcadia, first printed in 1666 in the Parte XXV of the Escogidas (Domínguez García y Moreto, Madrid), was written two years before, if Señor Cotarelo y Morí (Sebastián de Prado, p. 151) is right in his conjecture that the Arcadia which was represented before Philip IV in 1664 was the work attributed to Moreto.

Hartzenbusch included this play in his volume of Calderón because the second act seemed to him characteristic of that author. (See A.A. E, XIV, note to pp. 537 and 545.) Such an opinion coincides with that of Vera Tassas, who ascribes the play, as a whole, to Calderón, Moreto, and "Don N.N." Fernández-Guerra felt that the second act is Moreto's ("en la jornada segunda se hallan algunos rasgos característicos de su estilo," Op. cit., p. xxxiv), whereas Hartzenbusch declares that its style is such as to prove that it is not his. Mr. Morley (Op. cit., p. 168), after studying the verification, reaches the same conclusion as Hartzenbusch: "If the distinguished authors . . . divided their labor by acts, Moreto certainly did not write the second." In this connection he points out the 68 eighteen-syllable couplets with which the second act closes and the six-syllable assonants it contains. The lack of redondillas in the third act, he feels, substantiates Hartzenbusch's opinion that Moreto did not write the third act either. By elimination, he is author of the first only. Cotarelo (Op. cit., pp. 27-28) observes that in all the editions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the play is printed under Moreto's name alone and concludes that its attribution to Calderón is without foundation.

In this connection we may point out first that the final lines are:

... y así sea
ml escoger, pedir humilde
perdón de las faustas nuestras.

It is of course possible to construe the "nuestras" as editorial or as a concession to the exigencies of assurance. However, I cannot believe that the second act is Moreto's. Mr. Morley's observations concerning its verification seem quite valid to me, and I find nothing in the style that is particularly like Moreto's. As far as the third act, one must grant that La fingida Arcadia de San Abad is the only play ascribed to Moreto alone which contains an act entirely without redondillas. Yet, the academía (16, pp. 533-534) in the third act is certainly characteristic of him, as is the story of the maid hidalgo (16, p. 534). Moreover, in changing the demeure of Lope's play in order to reward the faithful hero, the author of this act is certainly following the usual policy of Moreto. There is nothing in the third act that can be adduced as positive evidence in favor of its attribution to Moreto. One finds in it a fragment of dialogue (quoted on p. 54 of this study) which is thoroughly Calderoniano. El gracioso throughout the comedy is a very palte figure for one of Moreto's; on the other hand, there is not in any portion the lyrical wealth that one usually associates with plays of Calderón. Such conflicting evidence makes it impossible to say with any degree of surety that such and such an act belongs to Moreto. I am inclined to think the third is his.

La fortuna mercedida (Merecer para alcanzar)

This comedy was first printed under Moreto's name in the Parte XLIII of the Escogidas (Antonio González de Reyes, Madrid, 1678) with the title Merecer para alcanzar and later in the Parte tercera of Moreto (Antonio de Zafra, Madrid, 1681) as La fortuna mercedida. Under the double name, it is to be found in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 2148). There is, too, a La fortuna mercedida in the Parte XI of Lope de Vega's comedies, a historical play which has no connection with the play attributed to Moreto. Moreover, a work of this title is mentioned in the Los sacramentos de Lope, which Restori would place between the years of 1631-1635. (See Restori, Piezas de titulos, p. 29.) And finally, from Renner's Notes on the Chronology of the Spanish Drama, we learn that a comedy with the name Merecer para alcanzar was represented before the king by Bartolomé Romero on Dec. 8, 1637. Renner attributes it to Moreto. (Renner, Notes on the Chronology of the Spanish Drama, Modern Language Review, 1907, Vol. 3, p. 47.)

It is, of course, not impossible that it should be Moreto's, written at the age of nineteen or earlier. Its percentages of métrica (romances, 71%; redondillas, 21%) could be his and the closing lines might be those of a younger who timidly awaited the decrees of his betters:

... y el poeta,
si al noble senado ofende
en querer bañar sus plumas
onde tantos ciñen beber,
pide perdón de sus yerros
si él humilde lo merece.

I cannot, however, believe the comedy is Moreto's work. Schaeffer (Op. cit., II, p. 169) says: "Auch Merecer para alcanzar (La fortuna mercedida) weist keine Spur der Diction Moreto's auf, ebensowenig zeigt die Construction der Fabel seine Hand. Das Stück liegt sich, als ob es gegen Ende der ersten Periode geschrieben wäre." Adding to this verdict, based entirely on internal evidence, we may point out that the characters, particularly that of the queen, has nothing in common with Moreto's genial women and that this play is, in contrast to those of our author, loaded down with classical allusions.

Yet, because of the high percentage of romances (71%), I doubt that the work under discussion is the play of 1637 which was represented before the king. It could be a revision of a comedy (now lost to us) which was made some twenty or thirty years after the date mentioned. The other possibility is that the comedia in which Bartolomé Romero acted was the old one of Lope de Vega and that the one attributed to Moreto is an entirely independent work.

La fuerza del natural

First published in the Parte XV of the Escogidas (Melchor Sánchez, Madrid, 1661) under Moreto's name alone, it is in the concluding lines of
other editions attributed to Cán cer and Moreto.4 The edition printed in the collection of Fernández-Guerra concludes:

De Cán cer y de Moreto
fin aqü las plumas dan
probando que en todo sobra
la fuerza del natural.

But in a suelta of the Ticknor Library (No. 4, without year nor place) 18 leaves; without pagination, the closing lines are:

Y de Moreto los lauros
fin aqü a su pluma dan
probando que en todo sobra
la fuerza del natural.

There are, moreover, two manuscripts with this title in the Biblioteca Nacional (Nos. 1337 and 1338). The first, which belongs to the end of the seventeenth century, attributes the play to Moreto alone. This play begins "Necio, ¿Qué quieres?" and concludes "la fuerza del natural," lines which are almost identical with those of the B.A.E. collection. But the second, written "for Francisco Correa, year 1668," carries the heading "Comedía de Mattos y Cán cer (?)." The opening and closing lines of this comedy are different from those of Fernández-Guerra's edition; according to Paz y Mella (Op. cit., p. 206) it begins "De ti lo que hará mi padre" and concludes "con eso acabado está."

As Mr. Morley points out in his study on the metre of Moreto (pp. 168-169), the versification of the last act is characteristic of Matos (1) in its lack of redondillas, (2) in its triple laises of romances, and (3) in its paucity of metrical forms. The large percentage of redondillas in Act I, as well as the fact that it ends in redondillas rather than in romances, would in my opinion, point to Cán cer.5 The burlesque tone of this act could point in the same direction. Act II is characteristic of Moreto in its versification and in the academic exercises of wit which it contains. The problem as to which is the more perfect lover, he who suffers in silence or he who proclaims his sufferings to the world (see II, 9, p. 222), is found also in Hasta el fin nadie ex dèchido (I, p. 3). It is not improbable that the three acts of the play, then, were written respectively by Cán cer, Moreto, and Matos, though the date when the play was first published (1661) would point to Moreto and Matos as the collaborators, since Cán cer died in 1655.

1 I am unable to tell from the studies of Coto relo (Bibl., p. 28), Paz y Mella (Poesas manuscritas, Nos. 1337 and 1338), Fernández Guerra (Op. cit., p. xxxi), and La Barrera (Catálogo, p. 280) which early edition carries these lines. That of Joseph y Tomás de Orga (Valencia, 1772) attributes it to Moreto and Cán cer.

2 Coto relo (Bibl., p. 28) declares it is from the press of Juan Sans and that it was this edition which was included in the apocryphal collection of Benito Macé, Valencia, 1676. (See Coto relo, Bibl., pp. 13 and 14.)

3 Most of Cán cer's plays were written in collaboration. Las invaciones del Chi has 68% redondillas and 25% romances. Aside from some songs and forty-eight verses of octaves, there are no other metres employed.
La milagrosa elección de San Pío Quinto

Printed in the Parte XXXIX of the Escogidas (José Fernández de Buenía, Madrid, 1673) as the work of Moreto, this comedía is also found in an undated suelta attributed to Montalbán under the name El cardenal Morón. Fernández-Guerra rejects its attribution to the author of Los amantes de Teruel, declaring it a "necia supercheria de los liberares." There was a Milagrosa elección de San Pío V represented before the queen between Oct. 5, 1622 and Feb. 8, 1623. (See Kennett, Spanish Stage, p. 236.) Moreover, there is mention in La Barrera (Op. cit., p. 172) of a Milagrosa elección attributed to Felipe Godines, and in Restori (Piezas de titulos, p. 101) of La milagrosa elección de Sotio V (La elección por la virtud), written by Tirso de Molina. The eminent Italian critic suggests the possibility that there was confusion on the scribe's part in making the notation concerning the play which was presented before the queen. Schaeffer (Op. cit., II, p. 183) is of the opinion that Moreto revised an old play, probably one by Claramonte, since there is in the comedy under discussion mention of one Clarindo (II, 14, p. 555) who "makes verses in order to eat."

If the play is by Moreto, it is no doubt a reworking of an earlier comedy. However, I am inclined to see in its attribution to him the good business instincts of the printer José Fernández de Buenía, who in this same volume of the Escogidas has placed two plays of Lope de Vega under the name of Moreto and Mateo Fragoso, and has erred in at least one other case. (See La Barrera, Op. cit., p. 701.) The play is not characteristic of Moreto in that the gracioso is lacking and in that the character of the villain Amadeo shows a cold brutality that is not found in even the rebels of Moreto's religious theatre. Moreover, the punishment of impalement is meted out to Amadeo by the protagonist with all celerity and without any trace of the generous sentimentalism that so ordinarily characterizes Moreto's heroes. Finally, the dialogue is heavily loaded with literary and historical allusions and is without any of those oft-repeated quips of the gracioso which the reader of Moreto comes to expect. The verisimilitude is characteristic enough of Moreto, but it also differs little in its percentages of romances and redondillas from such a play as Lope de Vega's San Isidro, written in 1622. It seems unlikely that this comedía attributed to Moreto was the play presented before the queen some four years after the

* La ocasión hace al ladron

The attribution to Moreto of La ocasión hace al ladron, which is plagiarized from Tirso's La villana de Vallecitos, has been questioned by

(1) No. 340, without year or place, 18 pages foliated (apparently of Juan Sanz) and (2) Nuestra Señora del Aurora, José Padrino, Sevilla, without year, 28 pages numbered.

Cancer "tiene gracioso romances, quintillas de ciego y ficama"—"De sus entremeses... merecen clara Los elogios, Los grain, etc." See Hurtado and Valencia, Hist. de la ll.' esp., Madrid, 1921, p. 741.

I See p. 115 of this study for Moreto's lack of local patriotism.

The play was produced for the first time in the Primera parte de Doce comedias nuevas del Maestro Tirso de Molina, Madrid, 1627. See La Barrera, Op. cit., p. 387. The play is easily accessible in B.A.E., Vol. V.
Señor Cotarelo y Mori (Bibl., pp. 41-42) and Señor Narciso Alonso Cortés (Clásicos castellanos, 1916, pp. 17-18). As they point out, it was first printed in 1667 in Parte XXVII of the Escogidas under the name of Matos Fragozo, and not until much later was it published as the work of Moreto. Mr. S. G. Morley (Op. cit., p. 172), however, feels that Señor Alonso Cortés' strongest reason for rejecting the authorship of Moreto "seems to be that he dislikes to believe the author guilty of such outrageous plagiarism." The version, he finds, is "perfectly characteristic of Moreto, far more so than of Matos who does not use Güitillas..."

A careful analysis of the two plays leads me to agree with the conclusions of the above-mentioned Spanish critics. Aside from the fact that the play was not attributed to Moreto until the eighteenth century and that it was written in 1666 at a time when there is reason to think Moreto was not writing plays of intrigue, there are other excellent reasons for excluding the play from Moreto's theatre.

In the first place, Mr. Morley's point concerning the Güitillas is not a valid one since forty-four of the sixty-six that are found in La ocasión hace al ladrón are taken verbatim from Tirso's play. The same is true of the 120 octaves which occur in Act I and of a majority of the rondillas which form twenty-one percent of the play. Moreover, there are evidences of the author's predilection for verso de romances; all verses added and all substitutions of one verse form for another are in series of romances. These are characteristics of Matos Fragozo.

There is further internal evidence that the play was not written by Moreto. The plot itself would not have been acceptable to our author. The situation, that of a heroine who follows a recalcitrant lover in order to force him to keep the pledge of matrimony by which he has betrayed her, is rare in our dramatist's theatre.

It is me inconceivable that Moreto should have sketched the characters of the protagonists. Don Manuel is a rank scoundrel who would have been as repugnant to him as to the modern reader. In Tirso's play, the heroine assumes the disguise of a country maid. In La ocasión hace al ladrón, she has become a swashbuckling young student, who, if less free in speech and manners, is nevertheless not at all apologetic for her masculine attire.

The heavy indebtedness of La ocasión hace al ladrón to Tirso's comedy was pointed out by Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit., p. xxix). The play was included in the apocryphal Tresena parte, which bears on the title page the date 1676 and the place Valencia, but which was made up of sueltas of the eighteenth century. (See Cotarelo, Bibl., p. 13.)

There is a reference, I, 6, p. 409, to the marriage of the Infanta Margarita to the Emperor Leopoldo, which took place on the 12th of December, 1666.

See pp. 17-22, 24 of this study for the dates of Moreto's plays of intrigue. I cannot agree with Señor Cotarelo's statement that our author "ya no escribra comedias" (Ibid., pp. 41-42).

The plays wherein such a situation occurs must with the exception of El valiente justiciero be considered doubtfully attributed. See pp. 71-72 of this study for a discussion of this point.

Finally, the method of revision is not characteristic of Moreto. Our author borrowed freely, it is true, but it is not the case where he has been so flagrant in his plagiarism. Of the fifty-five scenes of the play, over thirty are virtually identical with Tirso's play. An actual count would probably show that sixty percent or more of the lines have been taken from the original. Indeed in the revision, the very order of scenes is ordinarily the same except for the omission of some twenty which Tirso had used in developing an obtrusive subplot (that of Violante, Don Juan, and Antonio) and which the author of La ocasión hace al ladrón chose to eliminate. Thereby he was enabled to cut the play from 3943 lines to 2862.

*Oponerse a las estrellas*

This comedy was first printed in the Escogidas collection (Parte V, Pablo de Val, Madrid, 1653) as the work of three authors, but in the manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (2448), as well as in the various sueltas, it is attributed to Matos Fragozo, Don Antonio Martínez de Meneses, and Don Agustín Moreto.

Fernández-Guerra sees in this play proof that the collaborators did not always divide their work by acts, since there are in this case traces of Moreto's pen in all three. Nevertheless, it is the last which for him is particularly characteristic (See Op. cit., p. xxxix). I agree with the Spanish critic that traces of Moreto's handiwork are to be found in all parts, but the competitive exercises of the second act, which end in a dance that calls for color, recall similar scenes in El desden con el desdén. Furthermore, in this act the rôle of the gracioso as a "British" prince is quite Moretian in flavor. On the other hand, the songs of this portion are not characteristic in their length—one being a quintailla, the other a six-line assonated song of six syllables. In the first act there are no quintillas; if Mr. Morley (Op. cit., p. 172) is right in thinking that Matos Fragozo avoided this verse, then this first act is perhaps the work of the Portuguese dramatist.

If the collaborators divided their work by acts, I am inclined to say that the first is Matos'; the second Moreto's; the third, Martínez de Meneses'.

*El príncipe perseguido*

La Barrera (Catálogo, p. 276) says that there is an autograph manuscript of this play in the Biblioteca Nacional which carries the names of Belmonte, Moreto, and Martínez de Meneses, and according to Señor Cotarelo (Bibl., p. 35), one finds at the end of Act II a censura of Juan Navarro de Espinosa of date Dec. 21, 1650. El perseguido, then, which was staged in Madrid by Osorio before the end of the theatrical year of 1650 (See Cotarelo, Sebastión de Prado, p. 72) was probably the play of Moreto and his collaborators.18

18 The third act of El bruto de Bilbiana shows a similar lack of literary conscience, and it is surely not the product of Moreto's pen. See p. 154 of this study.

19 The play of Lope, Carlos el perseguido, is also known by this shorter title. There was, moreover, a comedia by this name which was acted by Cisneros in 1604. See Runnette, Spanish stage, p. 453.
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The work was first published at Alcalá, 1651, by María Fernández in El mejor de los mejores libros at the expense of Tomás Alayf. In 1653 another volume containing the same play and with the same title appeared in Madrid, brought out by María de Quijones at the expense of Manuel López. According to La Barrera (Op. cit., pp. 708-709), the two books are the same, except that the one of earlier date does not carry the names of the authors. Yet Fernández-Guerra, in his analysis of the first volume (Op. cit., p. xii) omits the name of this play completely while quoting Tomás Alayf, in a statement concerning El príncipe prodigioso (See our study of this play, p. 139 for quotation) that seems to show clearly that the authorship, even to individual acts, was recorded there. At least in the edition of 1653, it was stated that the first act of El príncipe perseguido was written by Luis de Belmonte, the second act by Moreto, and the third by Antonio Martínez. In spite of this edition and of the autograph manuscript, the comedy has been ascribed in a suelta of the seventeenth century to "tres ingenios" and in an edition of Seville to Montalbán. Medel lists it as anonymous.

Internal evidence confirms the authenticity of the autograph. The second act of the play is surely Moreto's. The philosophic discourse of Juan Basilio is entirely characteristic of this dramatist. Moreover, many of the favorite expressions of Moreto's gracioso are found in this portion of the drama: "Ni la toca, ni la tañe" (p. 15); "Malas Pecas tu de Dios" (p. 20); "Es muy hecho una enseñada" (p. 17); "mało, remalo, tataramalo" (p. 19). The percentage of redondillas (63%) runs high in this part, but such figures are not unknown in individual acts. (See El defensor de su agrado, II, 56% or La fuerza de la ley, II, 64%)

† El príncipe prodigioso

According to Fernández-Guerra's edition of the B.A.E. (p. xii), this play was first printed in El mejor de los mejores libros (María Fernández, Alcalá, 1651) at the expense of the bookdealer Tomás Alayf who, in his introduction to the reader, says: "... como conozco todos los ingenios que escribieron éstas [comedias], me determiné a imprimirlas a mi costa antes que otras las sacasen, quitándoselas los legítimos dueños. Aquí tengo una tabla de los que escribieron este tomo, y el que escribió jornada sola, también se la atribuyo a quien la escribió." Fernández-Guerra adds: "Se expresa en el índice que es de Don Juan de Matos la mitad desde el principio, y la otra mitad de Don Agustín Moreto."^98

The play has nevertheless been attributed in suelas to Montalbán, and as a matter of fact there is little, if anything, in the comedy that recalls either Moreto or Matos Fragoso. Without knowledge of its attribution to Montalbán, Fernández-Guerra declares (Op. cit., p. xii): "Sí por especulación...

^98 I do not find an analysis of the contents of this volume in La Barrera's Catálogo. On p. 278 of this invaluable work, I find, however, this note in connection with El mejor de los mejores libros (Alcalá, 1651; Madrid, 1653): "En la edición de Alcalá que yo he visto, van las piezas anónimas. El señor Guerra ha manejado otra con expresión de autores."

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ción de cómicos y llúbricos, no se bautizó este engendro miserable con los nombres de Matos y Moreto, únicamente pudiera atribuirse al último la tercera jornada." And, in truth, it occurs to one that Senór Alayf protests his virtue too much.

Our analysis of the versification shows 52% redondillas and 36% romances, figures that are characteristic of Montalbán's epoch rather than of Moreto's. Furthermore, the reader does not find the expressions of the gracioso that he comes to expect in a play of Moreto. On the other hand, the changes in characterization and plot structure that have been made in working the comedia are thoroughly characteristic of our author's methods. I do not believe that the work is Moreto's. Bacon (Op. cit., p. 62) declares that "it does not read like Montalbán's work."

* El rey don Enrique, el Enfermo

In a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 2903) and in the Parte IX of the Escogidas (Pedro Rodríguez, Madrid, 1657), this play is attributed to six collaborators, but in a suelta of Valencia (No. 125, Vida de José de Orza, 1768, 32 pp.) it carries the heading "De un ingenio."

Under date of Sept. 22, 1655, one finds the following notation in Barionuevo's Actas (p. 131): "Habrá ocho días que vino Rossa, el autor de comedias, a esta corte y la primera farsa que ha hecho y que hasta hoy dura es la comedia de Don Enrique, el de la carcel de carnera." It is not stated that the play is a "comedia nueva," but the number of days it ran would indicate that it was.

In the same month in which I have had access in the Ticknor Collection of the Boston Public Library, several pages are lacking. Consequently, I do not feel that I can venture an opinion. I may point out, however, that the characterization of the king and queen is like Moreto's; and if one points out its loose structure, one has only to remember that El valiente justiciero, another historical play, sins in the same way.

‡ El robario perseguido

Attributed in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 2942) and in various suelas to Moreto, this play is in other editions99 ascribed to "un ingenio de esta corte."

Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit., p. xii) characterizes the work as unworthy of our author and adds: "Es probable que a escote se bosquejase el drama." Schaefer (Op. cit., II, p. 182) feels that the play "can unmöglich von Moreto stammen. Die Darbietung des Plans und der Auseinandersetzung, die fast durchgehend angehängten Redondillas, das Sprachgeräusch der frühesten Nachahmer Lope de Vega's, die urwüchsige, handgekrabbelte Erbär, aber für ein noch unverdorbenes Publikum höchst lustvolle Komik, schließlich sogar die Bühnenweisungen (z.B. "Sale el rey enojado y dice") deuten auf

99 N. 111, José Antonio de Hermosilla, Sevilla, undated, 32 pp.: No. 111, Vida de Francisco Leclad, Sevilla, 28 pp. The latter edition is not listed in Cotarelo's Bibliografía, but it is found in a volume of suelas of the Ticknor Collection of the Boston Public Library (C. 3333.1, Vol. I, 2nd play).
In this play the scholarly German critic is inclined to see Pedro Díaz's El rovato, mentioned by Rojas in his Viaje entremésido (Madrid, 1603, pp. 127, 128) as "good." And indeed from the standpoint of the theatrical producer, it is easy to understand why the play should be so characterized, for Diego, layman and one-time soldier who fights and sweats with equal enthusiasm, affords some immensely amusing scenes. Had Moreno once discovered the type, he would, I believe, have repeated it.

To Schaefer's accurate estimate of the situation, one may add that the comedy shows departure from Moreno's usual procedure in versification in that: (1) there are 61% redondillas, 29% romances; (2) that Act II closes with some seventy-six free rhyming lines of eight syllables which approximate the sónora in the elasticity of their verse rhymes; and (3) that the other two acts close with redondillas, though four lines of romances have been attached at the close of Act III:

V sí el autor de esta historia
agradarás ha sabido
aquí tendrá fin dichoso
El rovato perseguido.

Certainly the play is not Moreno's.

San Luis Beltrán

This comedy, published in the Parte XXVI of the Encogidas by Francisco Nieto (Madrid, 1666) is Gaspar Aguilar's La vida y muerte de San Luis Beltrán, Included in the Norte de la poeta española, Valencia, 1616. It is also, in all probability, the play which was acted by Juan de Morales Medrano in June, 1606. (See Can. de la Acad. de los nochesnos, F. Martí Grajales, Pt. II, Valencia, 1905, p. 202.)

If internal evidence were needed to prove that the work is not Moreno's, one could easily find it in the disjointed plot, the senseless characterization, and the percentages of versification: quintillas, 60%; redondillas, 27%; and romances, 5%. One might point also to the blank verse found in Act III and to the fact that two acts end in quintillas and the third in blank verse.

*Travesuras son valor

There are two different plays, both dealing with the same situation, which bear this name. One, which we shall label "revised," is attributed to Moreno in eighteenth-century sueltas and in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 3319) of the same epoch. The other, which we shall call the primitive version, is found as an anonymous work in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 3318) under the triple title Travesuras son valor; Sancho el Malo and Sancho el Bueno, or El ejemplo en el castigo. This

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presence of another masculine character. It is difficult to see what rôle the gracioso could have played, had he been present. There are in the second act phrases that are characteristic of our author. Furthermore, the cancién of III, 3, has a form that is identical with one used in La vida de San Alo~ (III, p. 24), except for the length of the tenth line.

On the other hand, the versification of the whole play is not particularly characteristic. One may note in this connection that Acta I and II close with redondillas rather than romances, that the percentage of redondillas is remarkably high, particularly in Act II where it is 68%, that the forty-seven lines of silvas in Act I are of the variety aABBC.

I am inclined to agree with Fernández-Guerra in seeing a collaborating hand in the play, but I feel that the evidence is conflicting.

If Castillo Solórzano died in 1649 (?), then this play was probably written after that date, for it is a reworking of his novel, La confusión de una noche.

†El Cristo de los Milagros (EI Santo Cristo de Cabril)†

This play, first printed in the Parte XXXIV by José Fernández de Buendía (Madrid, 1670) as El Santo Cristo de Cabril, has the title El Cristo de los Milagros in the Tercera parte of Moreto (Antonio de Zafra, Madrid, 1681). In the latter edition, the closing lines of the comedy have been altered to:

Pues acaba
la comedia aquí del Cristo
de los Milagros,
cuyo perdón os pedimos.†

It is also found in a manuscript (No. 3040) of the seventeenth century in the Biblioteca Nacional as EI Santo Cristo de Cabril. In every case it is attributed to Moreto.

Though the authorship of this play has not been called into question, it has much about it that is not characteristic of Moreto. The plot is episodic and disjointed: the tricks of Cantuero and Centeno virtually amount to an entremés which is inserted in the last half of the first act and the first part of the second. Moreover, the situation (that of a heroine who goes in search of an erring lover) as well as the characters who take part in it, are unusual in Moreto's secular theatre. The vocabulary, in that one misses the stock phrases of the gracioso, and the dialogue are unlike Moreto's. A study of the versification offers nothing conclusive in the way of proof, though the double lais de romances (e-e, a-a) in the last act (p. 97) are.

It is also found in a manuscript (No. 3040) of the seventeenth century in the Biblioteca Nacional as EI Santo Cristo de Cabril. In every case it is attributed to Moreto.

†El Enca de Dios y Caballero del Sacramento†

This play, first published in the Parte XV of the Escogidas (Melchor Sánchez, Madrid, 1661) with the name of EI Enca de Dios, has another form in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 1087) which bears as subtilles the names El Caballero del Sacramento and El Bajo de los Monjad. In Parte II of Moreto (Benito Macé, Valencia, 1670), the comedy has the same text as that of the Escogidas and bears the title EI Caballero del Sacramento. An unedited suela of the eighteenth century (No. 1768), which is identical in form to the printed editions (See Cotarelo, Bibli., p. 26), takes the title Lo que la religión puede en un noble catalán. Moreto's authorship has not been called into question, as far as I know, but there is little in the play that is characteristic of him. In the utter disorder of plot and in the pale dialogue of the gracioso, it is difficult to find any trace of Moreto. Moreover, the unusual length of the play (3471 lines) and the carelessness of the author in bringing together two or more lais de romances make it doubtful to me. (See I, pp. 11-16: e-e, a-a, e; and II, p. 29: e-e, a-a). If the play is not wrongly attributed, then only must surely class this work under the juvenilia. It was represented in 1650,† but whether for the first time or not I cannot say. Rennert (Spanish Stage, p. 498) states that in 1651 Osoiro de Velasco represented Cabaldu's comedies, EI Enca de Dios and Antes que todo es mi dama. I have not been able to trace the source of this statement.

The variant form which lies in manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional (No. 1087) may supply the key to the situation. The postscript which I ordered of this has not yet arrived.

†Los engaños de un engaño y confusión de un papel†

The editions of Los engaños de un engaño y confusión de un papel are limited to two undated suelas of Sevilla, one by Francisco de Leedael, and one by his widow. Mention of the revolt in Lisbon of November, 1640 (I, 3, p. 520) would indicate that it was written after this date.

After pointing out the improbabilities of plot, Fernández-Guerra, (Op. cit., p. xxvii) declares: "... puede asegurarse que no es de las más claras y correctas de nuestro autor y que en algunos parajes, especialmente en los

† With the title El Caballero del Sacramento, there is a play of Lope and still another of Francisco de Aguilar. The latter is, according to Pas y Mella (Picas manuereias, p. 170) the same comedy as EI Gran Poderes Don Juan de Ribera, also attributed to the Valencian.

† See Cotarelo, Sebastián de Prado, p. 73: "Antes que acabar el año cénico (1650) se habían representado... EI Enca de Dios," etc.

† This edition is not mentioned by Cotarelo in his Bibliografia, but I have seen it in a set of volumes which exist in the Ticknor Library. It is 32 pages in length. Leedael belongs to the first third of the eighteenth century. He died before 1730. See Escudero y Porras, Tipografía hispalense, p. 47.
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endecasílabos, se desconoce su pluma." Cotarelo (Bibl., p. 26), following the suggestion of Fernández-Guerra, classes it as doubtful. Schaeffer (Op. cit., II, p. 171) dismisses the drama by including it among those which should be numbered among the backwork (Duitsendware) of Moreto.

In my opinion, internal evidence will prove nothing in this case. It is one of those highly improbable structures that rest on eavesdropping and mistaken identity, quite the type of La confusión de un jardín and quite in the manner of the Calderonian drama of intrigue. The vocabulary is like Moreto's, and the first scene of Act I is slightly reminiscent of El Caballero. In its versification, one notes as peculiar only the fact that the second act closes with silvas. If there is a collaborating hand, the interest in the situation in Portugal could point to Mateo Fragozo. It seems not improbable, however, that it should be the product of a young man of twenty-two who began his literary career by imitating the drama of intrigue which Calderón had perfected.

§El esclavo de su hijo

This comedy, printed in the Parte XXXIV of the Escogidas (José Fernández de Buendía, Madrid, 1670) as El acote de su patria y renegado Aldenage, was included in the Tercera parte (Antonio de Zafra, Madrid, 1681) as El esclavo de su hijo. Moreover, there is in the Biblioteca Nacional a manuscript (No. 1158) with the subtitle Auto de Nuestra Señora del Rosario which begins and ends like the comedy printed in the Tercera Parte of Moreto. (See Paz y Melía, Piezas manuscritas, p. 179.)

In the edition of the Escogidas, the concluding lines are:

Ya se troció en regocijo
el mal que sintiendo estaba
y aquí, Senado, da fin
El acote de su patria.

But that of the Tercera parte (1681) has for its last verses according to Señor Cotarelo (Bibl., p. 27):

Ya se troció en regocijo
el mal que sintiendo estaba;
y aquí, Senado, se acaba
El esclavo de su hijo.

The edition of the Tercera parte (1681) which I have at hand varies from that quoted by Cotarelo In that it has, at the expense of the rhyme, retained the third line of the edition of the Escogidas: "Y aquí, Senado, da fin."

As a matter of fact, it seems fairly certain that the last eight lines of the Tercera parte have been added, perhaps by Fernández de Buendía, for after 150 lines of romances (a-d), one finds two redondillas. The concluding lines of romances are:

Vamos y el Rosario viva!
¡Oh, Rosario, donde nace
a las almas tanto bien!

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¿Quién es bastante a loarte?

The first name of the play, then, was probably El Rosario or some variant of it, and was clearly written to celebrate a festival given in the city of Valencia in honor of the Virgin, though a cursory search on my part has not enabled me to identify the particular celebration. Act III (p. 62) contains these words:

Hoy en España es el día
en que con gloria aumentó
celebra la nación más
la fiesta con gran contento
del Rosario de María.

And later (p. 65):

quiere que a Valencia pases
porque el día de mis fiestas
veas maravillas grandes.

There are in manuscript various other comedies by the name of El rosario, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, etc., all of which are found cited in Paz y Melía's Piezas manuscritas (See pp. 370, 447, 448); and in Rojas' Viaje entretenido (Madrid, 1663, pp. 127-128), there is praise of a play El rosario by Pedro Díaz.

Whether our play has the same text as any of these, I cannot say.


A study of the versification of this comedy (quintillas, 38%; redondillas, 27%; romances, 23%) would indicate that it was written in the early decades of the 17th century, and in the days when the silva and the décima were not yet in general use. For instance, the percentages of metre are quite similar to Lope's La contienda de García, which is ascribed to 1600 (?). One may note further: two acts close in quintillas and the third in redondillas. The last is of the albacete type, which is not found in any of Moreto's well-attested plays.

Finally, there is no interest in characterization such as our author exhibits even in his religious plays, and the character of the gracioso is lacking, his place taken by some peasants and by a "cuerno loco" who recalls

It seems probable that the edition of the Escogidas had also had some lines added, since the audience, to judge by Cotarelo's quoted lines, has been changed from a-c to a-e.

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Valdiviezo’s. It was probably written by some dramatist of the Valencian school.10

†La gala del nadar es saber guardar la ropa

The first and only edition which we have of La gala del nadar es saber guardar la ropa is that of Porte XXXVIII of the Escogidas (Lucas Antonio de Bedmar, Madrid, 1672).

It is not mentioned by Schaeffer (Geschichte), but its authenticity as a drama of Moreto has not, so far as I know, been questioned. Nevertheless, I feel that it belongs to the late Lopean period rather than to the florescent years of our dramatist’s life. The characters of the first act of the play move with the vigor and sureness-of those of Lope de Vega, whereas in the second and third acts the action becomes more bizarre and ridiculous. Moreover, the percentages of versification (redondillas, 44%; romances, 39%; and quintillas, 12%) would point to the decades of the twenties or thirties.

The play could be the work of Moreto in his early years, and indeed there is much in it that recalls his attitude toward life. Yet it is difficult for me to see the hand of a young man in the portrayal of the character of Rosela: with her dignified melancholy, which at times approaches the Weltschmerz of the nineteenth century, she is like no feminine character I have encountered in the Spanish literature of the Golden Age. The gracioso, too, who is nearer in type to Alarcón’s than to Moreto’s, seems the product of a mature mind.

†Hacer del contrario amigo (Empesar a ser amigos)

Though mentioned by Quiliones de Benavente in his Lae de Rueda y Ascanio (1637-1638) as Empesar a ser amigos (See Restori, Peces de titulos, p. 123), this play was not published, so far as I know, until Lucas Antonio de Bedmar printed it in the Escogidas, Parte XXXV (Madrid, 1671) under the same title. There is, however, in the Biblioteca Nacional a manuscript of the play (No. 3867) attributed to Moreto with the name Hacer del contrario amigo.


10 It is usually thought that this play is a remaking of Bernardino Rodríguez’s El renegado Zúñiga, and a rather cursory examination of the latter comedia leads me to believe the chronology correct in spite of the early date I have assigned to El escribano de su hijo. Even though Rodríguez’s work was not published until 1638 (Daza comedias de varios autores, Francisco Martorell, Totsand), it gives every evidence in its versification (quintillas, 37%; romances, 12%; redondillas, 5%, octas, 5½ %, hirs, 1%), of belonging to the 1590’s. Aside from the versification, one may note: the subject matter; the very primitive structure of the whole (particularly of Act I wherein the historical characters of Fernando de Gonzaga, Andrés Donia, Diego de Gusmán, etc., appear to give counsel to Carlos V); the complete absence of any humorous character; the very vivid colors in which the cruelty of the renegade is painted. One certainly does not find the sentimentalized Moor here.

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Calderón selbst oder das Werk eines anderen Nachahmers dieses Meisters vor sich haben, Geradezu unmöglich aber kann man selbst für eine Schöpfung unseri Moreto halten, wenn man eine Anzahl seiner unwechselhaft echten Comöden hintereinander studiert hat.” My opinion coincides entirely with Schaeffer’s. It is impossible to see Moreto’s pen in the utter formlessness of structure, in the repellent characterisation, in the blind acceptance of the ideal of the pueril or which characterises the play. In its metre, moreover, it shows less variety than any of the comedies of Moreto, and it is written entirely in redondillas (39%), romances (54%), and quintillas (7%). In the lines of quintillas (1 123-125; II, 136-139), there is a higher percentage of seven-syllable verses than is customary with Moreto. I am inclined to see in it the work of one of Calderón’s imitators rather than of Calderón himself.

†La negra por el honor

La negra por el honor, first printed in Parte XXX of the Escogidas, by Domingo García y Morrás (Madrid, 1668),11 is surely not Moreto’s.

Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit., p. xxxviii), seeking for an explanation of the stress upon the ideal of honor, the disorderly structure, the poor characterization, sees in it the work of a Juvenil and untrained imagination which sought to imitate Calderón. Schaeffer (Op. cit., II, p. 171), however, after pointing out the similarity of the shapeless third act to one of Lope’s declares: “Es ist unbegrifflich, wie der Dichter von El desdén con el desdén einen solchen Unzinn zusammensetzen konnte, wenn man nicht—im diesem Falle zu seiner Ehre—annehmen will, er habe den Stoff eines älteren Stückes geplündert.” My reasons for rejecting its attribution to Moreto are the following:

The plot of a heroine besieged by a deep-dyed villain is unusual in Moreto’s theatre. Rarely, too, does a woman adopt the disguise of man’s apparel. Moreover, the stage mechanics are at times handled most awkwardly. In characterization, the heroine is noteworthy for her lack of dignity, the gracioso for his lack of wit. The dialogue has, at times, the childlike simplicity of a nursery rhyme. Finally, the versification shows interesting deviation from Moreto’s usual practices: the play (3860 verses) is more than a thousand lines longer than the average and more than 600 lines longer than El Pecador, which represents the maximum for length among Moreto’s unquestioned dramas; there are sixty lines of tiras of form ABBaCc (I, pp. 36-37); the quintillas (I, 4, 7-8; II, 11, 23; III, 37) show a large percentage of seven-syllable lines.

In it I see the work of a man who was at once the imitator of Lope de Vega and of Calderón: one of who has taken the worst from both playwrights. The work cannot be Moreto’s.

†Sin honra no hay valentía

Concerning Sin honra no hay valentía, first printed in Parte XXV of the Escogidas (Domingo García y Morrás, Madrid, 1666), Schaeffer (Op. cit.,

11 This same volume attributes Lope de Vega’s Lo merced en el castigo (under the name of El premio en la misma pena) to our author.
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II, p. 171) writes: ... "Hab ein Stück mit ausserordentlichen ungleichem Stil, eine Seltenheit bei Moreto. Ein Tholl liest sich wie die Verse Lope's und seiner nächsten Schüler, ein anderer zeigt die gewöhnliche Schreibart unserer Dichter, ein dritter ist aufgeblasen und cultristisch. Ebenso wenig ist die Handlung zu loben." Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit., p. xii) is even less complimentary: "La intriga repugnante y confusa; los caracteres viles o bajos; el desenlace violento y ridículo ... con el más púdico pretexto, se destruye un matrimonio legal para efectuar otros intrusismos. El castillo, ya chincheado y tempestuoso, ya humilde o chocado, es digno de plan mas modesto. Si se lo sugirió a Moreto la escandalosa boda de Julián Valdés con la hija del Conde de Castilla cuando era viva su mujer, dona Leonor de Urruela, porque así lo quiso el célebre conde-duque de Olivares, que le declaró hijo suyo, el drama ha de suponese escrito en el año de 1642."  

The versification of this play is characteristic of the date mentioned, though no reason to conclude that it was necessarily written the same year of the marriage of Olivares' son. Moreover, I can find no trace of Moreto in the comedy. The plot, which is disjointed, is such that it would cause censure today. The male characters are utterly contemptible, and the women, Eugenia and Estela, show nothing of that decorum which is the dominant characteristic of Moreto's women. Toribio, the gardener, is not even distantly related to this dramatist's gracioso. Moreover, neither the dialogue nor the vocabulary is characteristic. As for the versification, one may note that the fea de form aBaeBC (1, p. 1) and the silvas (particularly those of I, 10) are not those which we expect in Moreto's theatre.

To the modern reader, the play is insipid; yet, it offers two characters of interest: (1) Eugenia, who has the reputation of being an exceedingly clever judge, is in her rôle reminiscent of Shakespeare's Portia; (2) Estela, in refusing to marry the man who has deprived her of her good name, plays a novel rôle in the drama of the Golden Age.

C. "COMEDIAS" WRITTEN IN COLLABORATION THAT HAVE NOT BEEN DISCUSSED UNDER EITHER OF THE PRECEDING HEADS

*El bruto de Bablonía*

First printed in the Escogidas (Parte XXX, Garcia y Morrás, Madrid, 1668), this play offers no external evidence as to the division of labor other than the fact that the comedy is attributed to the authors in the following order: Don Juan de Matos Fragoso, Don Agustín Moreto, and Don Jerónimo Cáceres.

Fernández-Guerra felt that Moreto wrote the third act and quotes some lines from the gracioso to prove it. I personally do not feel that the vis cómica de Moreto is so clearly defined, especially when put in comparison with Cáceres', as to enable one to use it as the sole yardstick of authenticity. In my opinion, the three acts should be attributed to the authors in the order given above. Both versification and the method of borrowing indicate that the second act is Moreto's.

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The reader may note concerning Act I that: (a) It is entirely in romances (92%) and siles with the exception of a song and there are therefore, no quintillas; (b) It contains two laisses of romances without intervening metre; (c) It has an eight-line song; Moreto's songs rarely, indeed, run more than four lines. These are the characteristics of Matos' versification.14 As for Act II, it is characteristic of Moreto except that the percentage of romances runs unusually high (85%) and that of redondillas correspondingly low. Yet, one finds similar figures in individual acts of other plays: Primer a la hora III, El vallente justiciero II, Yo piso y vos por otra (I), Act III, in its percentages of redondillas (70%) and romances (22%). It is similar to Cáceres' Las transversas del Cid, which has corresponding figures of 68% and 26%.

In regard to the use of his sources, one may point out, negatively, that there is no instance in Moreto's theatre7 where the dramatist has borrowed so flagrantly from the original as has the author of Act III, and, positively, we may add that the second act is characteristic in that: (a) the author, while following the general outline of plot, has developed his own versification and dialogue, Moreto was accustomed to do; (b) the changes made in the characterization of the gracioso and the heroine are entirely characteristic of Moreto; (c) the increased stress on the supernatural is usual with our author in his religious plays.

*Cantar para levantar*

Cantar para levantar (the life of San Gil de Portugal), which was first printed in the Parte XVI of the Escogidas (Melchor Sánchez, Madrid, 1662), includes in its last lines the names of Matos, Cáceres, and Moreto, but all of it could, so far as internal evidence is concerned, be Moreto's. Certainly one must agree with Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit., p. xxx) that "En toda la prima jornada y parte de la tercera, reconoce a su autor de San Francisco de Sena." One may point out further that these two acts are thoroughly characteristic of Moreto in their vocabulary and in their method of borrowing; that the version of Carpe diem found in the first act (I, 11, p. 588) may be encountered in similar words in La misma consciencia acusa (I, 7, p. 103); and that Saldrás sin duea, Utrinas corriendo, used as a refrain (III, I, 594), had been employed more artistically in Moreto's La vida de San Álejandro (II, 10). As Mr. Morley has said (Op. cit., p. 168), the versification shows us nothing with respect to the division of labor.

There is a San Gil de Portugal attributed to Matos Fragoso (La Berrera, Catálogo, p. 241), which has been published as a suelta. Since I have not seen the comedia, I am unable to make any statement concerning the relationship which may exist between this play and Moreto's.

*El mejor por de los dos*

With this comedy, first printed in the Parte XXXIX of the Escogidas


15 In making this statement, one must exclude La ocasión hace al ladrón, which is sometimes attributed to Moreto.
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by José Fernández de Buenfil (Madrid, 1673), there can be no doubt as to the division of labor. In the middle page of the edition which I have used (p. 17), it is stated:

Y aquí lo ha dejado Matos;
entre Moreto otro poco.

And at the conclusion of the drama, we read:

Y aquí Moreto desfin
a este verdadero caso.

*Nuestra Señora del Pilar

The suelta which I have at hand of Nuestra Señora del Pilar (without year or place, 18 unnumbered pages) bears the following heading: "Nuestra Señora del Pilar, la primera jornada de D. Sebastián de Villavicencio, la segunda de D. Juan de Matos, y de D. Agustín Moreto. This play, which was published in the Parte V of the Escogidas (Pablo de Val, Madrid, 1653) is as certain a soporific as any that has fallen into my hands. It is difficult to see in it the work of either Matos or Moreto. The third act seems a bit more characteristic of our author than the others in its versification (the letra ABABCC, of p. 25 is characteristic of him) and in the elaborate figure used by Jacobo in painting himself as a soldier of Christ (III, pp. 29-29).

There is an unedited play of the same name with the alternative title of Columna sobre columnas, attributed to Don Antonio de Zamora (No. 625 of the Biblioteca Nacional) and another by "un ingenio" (No. 2402) which bears the date 1695. Furthermore, Durán states (Paz y Melia, Piezas manuscritas, pp. 98, 370) that there are still two others in manuscript: one by Lanini and another by Canizares. The former is listed by La Barrera among the works of Lanini (Theatro, p. 201), but I find no mention of the work of Canizares. I have not seen any of these plays and cannot say whether Moreto's comedy has any relationship to them or not.

*Santa Rosa del Perú

In the edition of Parte XXXVI of the Escogidas (Madrid, 1671), the editor, José Fernández de Buenfil, tells the reader that the first two acts are the last which Don Agustín composed before his death and that Don Pedro Francisco de Lanini and Sagredo wrote the third in order to complete the work. In the edition of Juan Sanz (No. 210, 20 leaves, without year or place), it is attributed to Moreto.

In versification there is nothing to distinguish the third act from the other two, but it is more galling in construction than those which precede. Moreover, there is within it a game of dice played by Santa Rosa and the Angel, which is clearly given as a lesson against gambling, and a pointed reference to a "tavern of the plaza of Madrid, which is the same

7 It is an edition which is not mentioned in Cotarelo's bibliographical study.
8 I am unable to say from La Barrera's analysis (Op. cit., p. 689) of this volume whether the heading carries this same notation or not. At least it is there attributed to the same three authors.

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as the inferno," that are in no way characteristic of Moreto. Our author studiously avoided personalities, and his ethical outlook was not of the negative variety.

*La vida y muerte de San Cayetano

This play is in the Parte XXXVIII of the Escogidas (Juan Antonio de Bedmar, Madrid, 1672) attributed to Diamante, Villavicencio, Avellaneda, Matos, Arce and Moreto. We shall not attempt here to decide which sixth Moreto wrote, for the small evidence at hand is conflicting. As I have had occasion to point out in a comparative study, there is a similarity between a comic scene of this play (Act II, pp. 335-336) and one of El más ilustre francés, San Bernardo (II, pp. 157-8). Moreover, the sentiments concerning the small value of earthly riches as expressed in Act I, (p. 322) of this play are entirely characteristic of our author (See p. 99 of this study for the quotation). Finally, there are expressions of the graciole in the last half of Act III ("Oyes po, pajar," p. 345; "urino y salto," p. 350) which are found repeatedly in Moreto's theatre.

This play was first produced in 1665, and so great was the eagerness of the crowd that rushed into the theatre that a man was trampled under foot until he died. The queen, too, was "dying to see" the play, perhaps because the Inquisition had forbidden its performance. (See Barrionuevo's Avisos, II, under dates Oct. 30 and Nov. 3, 1655.)

2. A COMPARISON OF CERTAIN PLAYS OF MORETO WITH SUGGESTED SOURCES

*La adúltera penitente

and

La Magdalena de Nápoles (Rojas)

Señor Cotarelo has pointed out that La adúltera penitente "has the same subject" as Rojas' La Magdalena de Nápoles. The protagonists are not the same, however, for the play attributed to Moreto and his collaborators has to do with the life of Saint Theodora of Alexandria while Rojas' work is concerned with one Magdalena of Naples, whose life parallels in the large the events of Saint Theodora's.

The plot of La adúltera penitente may be summarized as follows: the

Bibl., pp. 19-20. "Es muy distinta de El prodigio de Etiopía, de Lope de Vega; de Plocosem el sol, de Claromonte; del Negro más prodigioso, de Diamante; y del Negro más alegoso y pirata del honor, anónimo. . . . En cambio, tiene el mismo nudo que La Magdalena de Nápoles, de Rojas." For bibliographical notices of La adúltera penitente, see p. 123 of this study.

9 This play, which was not known to La Barrera, is to be found only in sueltas. I have used a photostat from the British Museum, La segunda Magdalena y Sirena de Nápoles, Comedia famosa de Don Francisco de Rojas. It is without pagination, year of publication, editor, or place, 32 pp. There was a La Magdalena acted by Antonio de Prado from Aug. 24 to Sept. 8, 1649 which was perhaps this comedia. See Rembert, Sp. Stage, p. 319.
beautiful and virtuous Teodora, at the insistence of her parents, marries the wealthy Natallo although she is in love with Felipe, who has, previous to her union with the former, sought her hand in marriage. Felipe, seeing that she disregards his many communications and that she is determined to be faithful to her husband, contrives to get Natallo out of the house, to enter Teodora's apartments during the absence of her husband, and to break down her resistance to his pleas. No sooner does she yield, however, than she repents and retires to a monastery where she lives disguised in man's clothing. The last two acts are concerned with the various attempts of the devil to make her again fall into error, with the efforts of the half-crazed Natallo to locate his wife, and with the fate of Felipe, who, after turning bandit, repents and is redeemed through Teodora's prayers and intercession.

The general situation of Rojas' play is the same: in it a wife, who is loved by her husband and esteemed by the world about her, yields up her honor to a lover who has secured entrance into the house through deception; furthermore, she repents, dons man's apparel, devotes her life to things holy, and dies in the odor of sanctity. Still again, there are scenes in Moreno's work which have vague parallels in La Magdalena de Nápoles. In the opening scene of each, the gracioso argues with Felipe (Rojas' Cázar) the folly of his passion for the heroine. In both there is another scene wherein the husband is getting ready to make his departure. I have noted no verbal parallels.

These points of similarity, however, are not sufficient to convince me that Moreno knew Rojas' play, for the general outline of plot may be found in Rivadeneyra's Flus Santorum, and the parallelism of scenes mentioned is too vague to serve as proof. Rojas' play, which is virtually a cæpian-and-ward comedy wherein the religious element has been reduced to a minimum, apparently took suggestions from Lope's El prodigio de Etiopia and combined them with the Santa Teodora theme. As to whether either Moreno's play or Rojas' owes anything to Clarimont's Pasacena el sol, salí tome la luna, which likewise deals with St. Theodora, I am unable to say, for I have not been able to secure a photo-stat of it in time to complete this study. Cotarro, as we have noted, rejects any such relationship. Diamante's play is a flagrant plagiarism of Lope's, according to Menéndez y Pelayo. 40 Of El negro más elevoso y ¡bruto del honor, I know nothing.

*El bruto de Babilonia

and

Las maravillas de Babilonia (Guillén de Castro)

El bruto de Babilonia, 40 which, as Schaeffer has pointed out (Op. cit., p. xlvii), as Menéndez y Pelayo points out in the Royal Academy Edition of Lope's works (Vol. IV, Observaciones preliminares, p. lxvii), El prodigio de Etiopia has borrowed some suggestions from the life of Santa Teodora as given in the Flus Sanchorum.

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and the destruction of the epic sweep which Schaef er so laments are undeniable.

Cómo se vengan los nobles

El testimonio vengado (Iope)

As Fernández-Guerra pointed out (Op. cit., p. xxxi), Moreto has borrowed his plot for Cómo se vengan los nobles from a play of Lope's which is ordinarily known as El testimonio vengado but which apparently was published also under the same title as Moreto's.

In both plays, King Sancho el Mayor has for years concealed the identity of his illegitimate son Ramiro, fearing that his wife would be impelled by the interests of her three sons, Garcia, Fernando, and Gonzalo, to make an attempt against her stepson's life. In both comedies, too, the queen has discovered his whereabouts and has made various efforts to bring about his destruction.

When the king departs to war against the Moors, he leaves his favorite white steed with Pedro Sesé, master of the horse (in Moreto's comedy, he is counselor of state), and gives orders that no one, not even his sons, be permitted to mount it. In both comedies, Don Garcia, the eldest prince, insists on disobeying his father's commands, and on the refusal of his request by his mother and by Sesé, the three princes accuse them of illicit relations. In each case it is Ramiro who defends the honor of his father's wife in open combat and forces the ignominious trio to retract their false charges. Moved by the generous spirit of Ramiro and outraged at the ingratitude of their children, the king and queen would make him the heir of all their kingdom. In the revised story, Ramiro refuses to accept at the expense of his half brothers the proffered thrones of Castile and Navarre and contents himself with that of Aragon, of which he becomes first king. In Lope's comedy, he accepts the thrones without hesitation.

The story, then, is virtually the same in both plays, but Moreto has shifted the emphasis. In El testimonio vengado, the title itself reveals the fact that the author was chiefly concerned with the fate of the persecuted queen in her conflict with her thankless children; in Cómo se vengan los nobles, Moreto declares that the true nobleman is one who avenges himself by returning good for evil. Thus the ambitious and haughty protagonist of Lope (so punctilious in matters of honor) becomes a model of altruistic forgiveness in Moreto's drama,—one who is generous, quick to forgive, willing to risk his life for a servant even as for a queen. And the queen, who in El testimonio vengado plays the part of innocent motherhood, in Cómo se vengan los nobles becomes a vengeful queen.

The Dramatic Art of Moreto

The character of the queen, who had been a mere bystander in Lope's comedy, is a significant one in Moreto's. It is the queen who, in order to avenge her son, resorts to the only means at her disposal, and her motives are pure. She is not interested in the thrones of Castile and Navarre, but only in avenging her son. The queen's revenge is not a matter of personal grudge, but of justice. She is not a vindictive woman, but a woman who seeks to right a wrong. Her is a character of great depth and complexity, and it is this character that Moreto uses to create a sense of moral equipoise in the play.

The character of Ramiro is another significant one in Moreto's play. Ramiro is a young, brave, and idealistic prince who is determined to avenge his father's death. He is not interested in the thrones of Castile and Navarre, but only in avenging his father. Ramiro is a character of great depth and complexity, and it is this character that Moreto uses to create a sense of moral equipoise in the play.

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and is the epitome of self-sacrificing indulgence, is transformed in Cómo se vengan los nobles. She becomes the outraged queen, one who, though forced by the exigencies of the story into the rôle of the cruel stepmother of the fairy tale, nevertheless, shows herself truly royal in the dignity with which she meets misfortune.

Such changes in theme and characterization inevitably resulted in the elimination of certain scenes. Moreto has omitted those masterly little sketches of family life found in Lope's play (I, 4, 6, 7, 10-14); exchanged the pastoral note of the earlier play,—of Celia (Ramiro's supposed sister) and her jealous swain, Marcelo,—for the comic amours of Buscón and his sweetheart (I, 8; III, 5, 12); rejected Lope's scenes showing Ramiro's infatuation for his stepmother (II, 3), his pugnaciously ideal ideas in regard to Celia (II, 11), his symbolical dream wherein he foresees his own future greatness (III, 2).

Moreto's play is the superior one, if judged from the technical standpoint. It has gained immensely in unity of action and in its logical sequence of events. The time of the action has been cut down, and although a month intervenes between Acts II and III, the episodes of each of the three have been so arranged that they take place within a few hours. In Lope's play, on the contrary, some weeks pass between scenes six and seven of Act III. Moreto has not concerned himself apparently in trying to cut down the number of shifts of scene: Lope's play calls for ten, his own for eight.

On the other hand, it is undeniable that, from the poetic standpoint, Moreto's play is quite inferior, not only to its source, but to many of his own comedies. The few flights of fancy that he has attempted are more gongoristic than is usual in his work.44 In Lope's, on the other hand, there is much of the lyrical45 and a bit of the declamatory, but nothing of the gongoristic.

In variety of versification, the two plays are on a par, but there is no question of influence. Lope's play is written for the most part in redondillas (nearly 60%) and quintillas (15%); Moreto's in romances (53%) and redondillas (22%). He completely omitted the quintillas, blank verse, and sonnets to be found in Lope's work.

*La confusión de un jardín*

and

La confusión de una noche (Castillo Solórzano)

As Señores Hurtado and Palencia have pointed out,46 La confusión de un jardín47 is taken from Castillo Solórzano's La confusión de una noche, which is one of six stories included in Los alvitos de Casandra.48

44 See Ramiro's description of the horse, II, 4, p. 434; also the king's description of the horse, I, 14, p. 432. These sound more like Maíllo Priego than Moreto.

45 See the queen's complaints I, 10, p. 407; the dua of Marcelo and Cella, II, 6, and III, 7, etc.

46 Op. cit., p. 735. If this relationship has been pointed out by an earlier critic, I have not seen it.

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The plot of Moreto, one of those elaborate concoctions of intrigue in which disguise is heaped upon disguise and improbability upon improbability, has for its chief characters, two brothers, Don Diego de Silva and Don Luis de Toledo, both in love with Doña Beatriz. Each is ignorant of the other's courtship, however, and the lady herself is until the last moment unaware of the relationship that exists between her two suitors. To complicate matters, Doña Leonor, younger sister to Doña Beatriz, is in love with Don Luis. Her sister is not conscious of this passion, however, and consequently pays no attention to Leonor's wise (if self-interested) attempt to dissuade her from summoning Don Luis to her garden in order to make him declare his intentions. Don Diego, who has been reported dead, meanwhile arrives on the scene after a three years' absence and is straightway obliged to take part in a duel. Fleeing from the officers of the law, he runs into the arms of Don Jerónimo (father of the two girls), who generously offers him protection by hiding him in the garden. When Don Luis also enters its confines, one scene of mistaken identity follows another, and poor Don Jerónimo suffers a sleepless three hours in trying to find out how he may best avenge his honor. In the end, Don Diego marries Doña Beatriz while Don Luis contents himself with Leonor.

To secure such unity of time, the dramatist has wisely excluded the first half of Castillo Solórzano's story,49 but has made comparatively few other changes in the plot. In the source, Beatriz is aware of Leonor's love for Luis, and it is primarily for her sake and entirely with her approval that he is summoned to the garden. Then, again, the long scene between Beatriz and Don Luis takes place not in the bedroom of the latter (as in the novel) but in the garden,—a shift of scene that was probably made in the interest of realism as well as decorum.

Occasionally, the author of La confusión de un jardín is indebted to the source for a small detail of motivation and for suggestions of dialogue. For instance, the curse which Don Jerónimo uses (II, 15, p. 521) to find out whether Don Luis is the man whom he admitted to the garden is the same which Don Manuel employs in La confusión de una noche. One of the long speeches virtually amounts to a paraphrase. (Cf. La confusión de un jardín, III, 6 with La confusión de una noche, p. 37.)

De fuera vendrá quien de casa nos echard
and

De quando está nos vino (Lope)

Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit., p. xxx) noted many years ago the rela-

44 For bibliographical details, see p. 142 of this study.

45 First printed in 1640 by Jayme Romeu, Barcelona.

46 This first half includes a detailed chronicle of the first meeting of Don Diego and Doña Beatriz, of the duel which he fights with another suitor over her, of his subsequent flight, his fortunes in battle and his reported death, of his return to Seville, etc.

47 There seems to be a confusion of names in Castillo Solórzano's story for sometimes the character is called Don Manuel, at other times Don Fernando.
Appendix

The plot of the latter as it follows: a lieutenant Leonardo and his comrade Beltrán, two young soldiers in Flanders, set out for Madrid bearing a letter of introduction which their captain, Fajardo, has addressed to his sister, Doña Bábara. After losing their savings at the gaming table, they decide to put the introduction to a use unforeseen by their captain. They forge a new letter in which Leonardo is described as the son of Fajardo by a Flemish wife, and with this they gain admission into the house of Dona Bábara, a widow with a charming daughter, named Angela. Both women straightforwardly fall in love with the handsome lieutenant, and the mother, in order to triumph over her daughter, pretends that Leonardo is actually her own son who had been entrusted to her brother to rear. The story ends with the appearance of the captain who accepts the paternity thrust upon him and marries Leonardo to his niece and Doña Bábara to the scarcely enthusiastic Beltrán.

To Schaeffer (Op. cit., II, 173), the changes which Moreto has made in reworking Lope's play are of little importance ("wenig wichtig"). It is true that the general outlines of Moreto's plot, if given here, would differ little from Lope's. Moreover, the theme of his play (the danger of over-guarding girls) may also be found in the source. The dramatist of De furia vendrá has, however, made some significant changes. He has laid more stress on the theme; has changed the mother-daughter relationship to that of aunt-niece, thereby making unnecessary Doña Bábara's ridiculous story (II, 8); has thrown into an expository narrative the opening camp scenes of Lope's play (I, 1-3) and in so doing eliminated ten minor characters.

More important still are the changes in characterization. By comparison with their corresponding prototypes, Doña Cecilia, the aunt, is more the figura than Doña Bábara, her strict guardianship of the heroine arises, not from memory of her own betrayal, as happens in the case of Lope's character, but from jealousy of the attentions which her niece receives. Lisardo is cleverer, less mercenary, more lovable than Leonardo, though his conduct is not as irreproachable as that of most of Moreto's heroes; Francisca is more vivid but less discreet than Angela, for in her rôle is bound up the thesis of the play (De furia vendrá, I, 9, p. 62): Mirad, doncellas guardadas,

Written in 1653 and published in the Primera parte, 1654. See p. 18 for date. The detailed description of the scene of Gerona (I, 2, pp. 58-59) is due to Joaquín Manuel de Alba (B.A.E., Vol. XXXIX, p. xiv) to conclude that Moreto witnessed the battle.

Mentioned in the second Peregrino and published in the Parte XXIV, Zaratagoza, 1653. Played in Perpignan with the title De cuando acéd nos vino y acud a San Felipe in March 1631. See Rennert y Castro, Vida de Lope de Vega, Madrid, 1919, p. 473.

Doña Bábara commands our sympathy only in the first act. The development of her character in the two acts that follow is unattractive and lacking in motivation.

The similarity which Schaeffer points out (Op. cit., p. 173) between the encounter of the lovers on the streets of San Felipe (De furia vendrá, I, 3-5) and the opening scenes of El acero de Madrid (I, 1-3) exists, but it is purely of situation. There is no question of the influence of versification or dialogue.

"El desdén con el desdén"

and Suggested Sources

It does not lie within the scope of this condensed study to attempt a detailed examination of the analogous that have been pointed out between

See pp. 83-84 of this study for a detailed characterization.

See p. 86 of this study for an analysis of Chichon's character.
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El desdén con el desdén and some twenty other plays. Fortunately, that task has already been accomplished by Miss Harlan.44 It will be necessary, however, (1) to analyse more fully the interrelationship existing between this comedy and two others of Moreto’s: (2) to trace the source of the aforesaid two plays; (3) to give briefly our own conclusions as to Moreto’s indebtedness to his predecessors.

Aside from its almost perfect workmanship, the distinctive elements which characterize this “king of Spanish comedies” are four in number:
1. A Rikable young fellow named Carlos, who, picqued at the indifference of a Countess to whose charms he was at first utterly cold, is now, much to his own disgust, madly in love with this same disdainful lady.
2. A beautiful young girl, Diana, whose philosophic reading has led her to the conviction that all of the troubles of the world have arisen from love, and who, therefore, has decided to refuse marriage and to devote her life to study.
3. A situation wherein three suitors are in love with the disdainful heroine.
(a) Two of these would win by the ostentation of their courtship.
(b) The third, Carlos, meets “desdén con desdén,” and, by astounding in the heroine the spirit of conquest, wins her at her own game. There is thus a love duel in which wit is pitted against wit.
(c) The unsuccessful suitors are paired off with two of Diana’s maids of honor.
4. A “gracioso,” Pelilla, who suggests to Carlos his line of attack and who helps him to carry it out by keeping him posted on the reactions of the heroine.

With these four essentials in mind, let us compare El desdén con el desdén with Hacer remedio el dolor and El poder de la amistad,45 both plays associated with Moreto’s name. This interrelation, first pointed out by Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit., pp. xxxv and xxxix) exists; indeed, one can find in the one play or the other every essential element of the best comedy of the Golden Age. And, while the chronology of this trilogy of disdén cannot be established with certainty, it seems probable that the plays were written in the order named and that El desdén con el desdén is but the happy following of the other two.46

44 M. M. Harlan, The Relationship of Moreto’s “El desdén con el desdén” to Suggested Sources, Indiana University Studies, June, 1924.
45 Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit., p. xliii) has also found analogy between Moreto’s masterpiece and Yo por vos y vos por otro. It is so slight as not to concern us here. Both contain a clever servant who renders invaluable aid in helping to win the heroines—it is a play of double plot—and both have the underlying philosophic thought that we are interested only in what we do not possess. Neither in its plot nor in its characters does the comedy bear any marked resemblance to El desdén con el desdén.
46 Hacer remedio el dolor was written before 1649 (See pp. 220) and El poder de la amistad was finished in April, 1652 according to an autograph manuscript (See Fernández-Guerra, Op. cit., p. xxxix). We know of El desdén con el desdén only that it was published in the Primera parte, 1654, but two facts point to its being posterior in date to the other two comedies. The tendency of Moreto in rewriting a play was ever from the intricate in plot structure to the simple, and both Hacer remedio el dolor and El poder de la amistad have subplots which have either been omitted or else absorbed in El desdén con el desdén. Moreover, El poder de la amistad is, in its borrowing, nearer to Los milagros del desprecio, the play most frequently given as the source of El desdén con el desdén, than is El desdén itself.

THE DRAMATIC ART OF MORETO

In Hacer remedio el dolor, the orphan Casandra, after disdaining her many suitors to woo knowledge (“letras, historia, filosofía, humanidad”), is at last after five years of faithful attendance on the part of Carlos so indiscreet as to admit her love for the young man,—indiscreet because it is Carlos’ nature that he wants only that which he does not have. In his own words (II, p. 44):

Aun a mí propio me cansa
esta injusta condición,
que en llegando a esto de damas,
la que se me acerca más
es la que menos me agradá.

And when Casandra would argue the matter, Carlos betakes himself to woo the fair Aurora who, at the suggestion of her new secretary (and she is none other than the wily Casandra, who has followed Carlos without his knowledge), decides to put her lovers over various intellectual hurdles in order to choose that one who is most “ingenious” and most “skilled.” First by abetting Ludovico, the most important of the rivals of Carlos, then by giving him a most thorough dose of his own “disdain,” the able Casandra wins back her love.

This comedy, then, stands in contrast to El desdén con el desdén, a counter-companion piece in which at first the hero is playing a passive rôle, the heroine an active one. In temperament, however, the protagonists differ not at all from the corresponding figures in the better-known play. The Carlos of each comedy is a restless young adventurer who finds joy in pursuit rather than in possession; a disdainful woman is, therefore, a challenge; a woman won, a manacle. In each case the hero has the intellectual grace to be irritated at his own irrationality and to ask himself why humanity should be so perverse as to desire only that which is beyond its reach. Casandra, like Diana, has spent her girlhood in reading and has as a consequence been indifferent to men. When a temporary lapse from this indifference costs Carlos’ love, she is intelligent enough to realize that she can win back that interest by putting him once again in the rôle of suitor. The pessimist might say that the story of Casandra and Carlos is but a sequel to the concluding situation of El desdén con el desdén.

There are details which bring the two plays even closer together. Among the devices by which Aurora helps to test her lovers is the same charming game of colors (terminating in a dance) that is to be found in El desdén con el desdén. Furthermore, there is in both an involved analysis of love: love is voluntad and the moment it becomes obligación, it ceases by very definition, to be voluntad.
The thesis of El poder de la amistad is, as the title would indicate, the power of friendship, but since that power is exercised solely in behalf of Alejandro's courtship of the indifferent Margarita, the interest of the reader lies primarily in the methods employed by the protagonist to win the lady of his dreams. As Miss Harlan has already pointed out (Op. cit., pp. 95-96), the general situation is the same as that of El desdén con el desdén: a disdainsful princess, with three outstanding suitors, two of whom would win her by magnificent display, in the end rejects them both for the faithful Alejandro—not, however, until that lover has learned (II, 10, p. 31) from the practical Moliná (who plays exactly the same rôle as Pollilla) that it is necessary:

... a estas ingratas
perseguirías, maltratarías,
sacudirlas y dejarlas
para que tengan amor.

The weapons that Alejandro uses are the feigned indifference and jealousy which Carlos of El desdén con el desdén and Casandra of Hacer remedio et dolor employ so effectively; and like the male protagonists of these plays, Margarita is angry at herself for her irrationality and ingratitude (III, 6, p. 30):

No siento el ver que yo ame
donde tantas han querido
sino el haberme rendido
a una pasión tan infame,
de estilo tan torpe y necio
que a su vil naturaleza
no la obliga una finesa
y se arrastra de un desprecio.

But, then, love is neither rational nor grateful, as she tells Alejandro (I, 3, p. 24):

La voluntad ella misma
tras lo que quiere se sale;
no hay razones que la obliguen,
ni discursos que la manden.
Amor no es filosofía
que a consecuencias se alcanza;
porque si hubiera razón
para que a amar se obligase,
y fuera de da el amor,
y tiranía el negárse,
y por justicia pudiera
pedirse en los tribunales.
Bien veo que el no pagar
en vos finesas tan grandes
es delito; la razón
yo os lo doy, pero no vale.

For a résumé of this play, see pp. 45-46 of this study.

Unlike Casandra and Diana, Margarita is actuated by no dislike of men
nor by any interest in books or their precepts. Neither is Alejandro moved
by the desire for conquest that animates the protagonists of the other
plays of this trilogy.

There are various scenes in El poder de la amistad that are reminiscent
of Moreto's masterpiece, Matilda, maid of honor to Margarita, is quite as
willing to marry the hero as is Cintia of El desdén con el desdén to marry
Carlos (Cl. El poder, II, 4, p. 29, with El desdén, III, 10, pp. 17-18). Fur
thermore, the episode wherein Moliná prompts Alejandro (II, 7, p. 30) and
forces him to compliment Matilda (for the benefit of Margarita whom he
knows to be evading) recalls the one in El desdén con el desdén
wherein Pollilla keeps Carlos' eyes fixed upon the flowers (II, 9, pp. 12-13).
Still again, Alejandro, like Carlos, is for a moment on the point of forget
ning his rôle of disdain but in each case is saved by the note of triumph
which creeps into the heroine's voice. (Compare El desdén II, 4, with El
poder, II, 2, p. 27 and III, 4, pp. 10-11.)

Finally, there are certain similarities in the dialogue, particularly in
that of the gracioso of the two plays. Compare Moliná's words (El poder,
III, 4, p. 35):

Tiesz que tiesz, señor,
has que no se te da un higo,
la verás como una breva...

with Pollilla's (El desdén, I, 1, p. 3 and II, 5, p. 11):

¿Viste una breva en la clima
de una higuera?...
ella está tiesz y muy alta...

... Aun está verde la breva.

Note also Moliná's metaphor (II, 3 and 10, pp. 29, 31):

Ya van las purgas obrando
Pues ve rectiendo en mí
que yo soy el boticario...

and those of Pollilla (III, 12, p. 18):

Toma si purga, señor,
no hay en la botica empasto
para las mujeres locas
como un parche de mal trato.

Both gracioso are given to forming verbs from proper nouns. Moliná (III,
4, p. 35) declares that Alejandro has gone "a matizar un poquito" just
as Pollilla (III, 3, p. 14) asks concerning Diana's suitors: "¿Qué han de
hacer sino cintiizar?"

Briefly, then, we may sum up the relationship of El desdén con el desdén
to the two plays in question by saying:

1. All three have the same philosophic idea that humanity is so illogical
as to war only for the more inaccessible fruits,—even though those at hand
are for so more desirable.
he carries over unusual words or metaphors. Compare, then "jarabes de sufrimiento" and "dejarle jarear" (Los milagros, I, 12, p. 238) with "un jarabe que puede tomar un niño" (El poder, II, 11, p. 31); "la herencia del solito" (Los milagros, III, 7, p. 240) with "la frente del solito" (El poder, II, 11, p. 32); "sodomita" (Los milagros, III, 5, p. 243) with "este amor es sodomita" (El poder, I, 5, p. 25); "la purga ha empezado a obrar" (Los milagros, I, 16, p. 239) with "ya van las purgas obrando" (El poder, II, 3, p. 29).

It is not impossible that there may be a slight relationship between El poder de la amistad and Calderón's Para vencer a amor, querer vencerla, which has been pointed out as a possible source for Moreto's masterpiece. It would be necessary, however, to establish the chronology in this case to know whether Moreto or Calderón was the borrower. Aside from the fact that the gracioso, Mollín and Espolín, are quite as much alike as Pollina and Espolín, the relationship between Margarita and Alejandro of Moreto's play is identical with that of the protagonists of Para vencer a amor, querer vencerla. The heroine in each case is indebted to the hero for her life; yet while admitting the debt, she cannot bring herself to love him because her surrender is too complete. One may in this regard compare Moreto's (I, 3, p. 24)

... La razón
yo os la doy, pero no vale
with Calderón's (II, 17, p. 176)
Digo que tiene razón,
pero yo no puedo menos.

There is another verbal parallel. One reads in Calderón's play (III, 18, p. 184):

La mina reventando de su pecho,
desdénies y rigores
trocó en halagos ...

and in Moreto's (III, 8, p. 37 and III, 11, p. 38):

La mina ardío, por quien soy
que esto ha sido contramala

What, now, is the relationship of El poder de la amistad to the following plays which have been suggested as sources for Moreto's masterpiece? 1. Los milagros del desprecio (Lope), B.A.E., XXXIV. First printed in 1633.

2. La vengadora de las mujeres (Lope), B.A.E., XLI. First printed in 1621.

3. La hermosa fea (Lope), B.A.E., XXXIV. Produced prior to April, 1632; printed in 1641.

"Moreto's play was written in April, 1632, as we have seen. Calderón's comedias was first printed in the Teatro poético de 12 comedias nuevas, Madrid, 1654. See B.A.E., Vol. XII.

Full information as to the first printed edition of each of these may be found in Miss Harlan's study (Op. cit.); or it may be sought in La Barrena's Catálogo.
I quite agree with Miss Harlan that one should exclude as possible sources for Moreto’s masterpiece the seven last mentioned. To these seven I should add La dama boba and Comedia Seráfina; while granting the slight similarities that Miss Harlan points out (Op. cit., pp. 105–106) in the case of those two, they are not sufficient to convince me that Moreto was acquainted with the plays. The same may be said for De casario a casario and Sin honor no hay amistad. Though both of these deal with a heroine who is scornful toward the other sex, and in the case of the latter play, the gracioso Sabadín is a kinder spirit to Polilla, the analogies are too general to warrant us in assuming influence. Encontrándose dos arroyuelos must be ruled out on the basis of chronology; moreover, the heroine, who scorns men because of her love for study, resembles Laura of La vengadora de las mujeres more than she does Diana.

As for Galán, valiente y discreto, there is, as we have seen, proof that Moreto was acquainted with it, since it supplied the subplot of Hacer remedio el dolor. Para vencer a amor, quere vencerle has its points of contact with Moreto’s El poder de la amistad, but the chronology of the two plays must be established before one can say whether Moreto was debtor or creditor. Even if dates permitted, it could not be considered an immediate source for El desdén con el desdén.

The first four plays of the list remain. The last of these, Coles con coles se curan (Cisnes, B.A.E., V), is a manuscript of 1625 in the Biblioteca Nacional; printed in 1635.

Para vencer a amor, quere vencerle (Calderón), B.A.E., XII. First printed in 1634.

Galdón, valiente y discreto (Mira de Amescua), B.A.E., XLV. First printed in 1636.

Encontrándose dos arroyuelos (Juan Vélez de Guevara) see Comedias en colecciones y escrituras con otros autores, París XXIII, Madrid, 1685.

Sin honor no hay amistad (Rojas Zorrilla), B.A.E., LIV. First printed in 1645.

De casario a casario (Lope), B.A.E., XII. First printed in 1627.

Comedia Seráfina (Torres Naharro), Libros de anáato, IX, Madrid, 1880. Permission to print was given in 1517.

La dama boba (Lope), K. Schevill, The Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega, Berkeley, 1918. There is an autograph manuscript of 1615.

El desdén vengado (Lope), Obras de Lope de Vega Cuerpo, Royal Academy edition, Madrid, 1915, XV. There is an autograph manuscript of 1615. Not printed until 1622.

La boba para los ojos y la discreta para el (Lope), B.A.E., XXXIV. First published in 1635.

El perro del corral (Lope), B.A.E., XXIV. First published in 1618.

La dama melindrosa (Lope), B.A.E., XXIV, as Los melindros de Belis. First published in 1617.

Los desprecios en quien ama (Montalbán), No. 259, Joseph y Thomas de Orga, Valencia, 1782. Included in Vol. II of a 3-volume set of sueltas of the University of Pennsylvania, made by C. H. Ternaux, Madrid, 1833. The play was acted in 1625.

De casario a casario que se quiere (Montalbán), suelta without publisher, date, place, or pagination. Included in Vol. I of same 3-volume edition. First published in 1638.

A lo que obliga el desdén (Salado García), Escogidas, París XXXV, Madrid, 1671.

I quite agree with Miss Harlan that one should exclude as possible sources for Moreto’s masterpiece the seven last mentioned. To these seven I should add La dama boba and Comedia Seráfina; while granting the slight similarities that Miss Harlan points out (Op. cit., pp. 105–106) in the case of those two, they are not sufficient to convince me that Moreto was acquainted with the plays. The same may be said for De casario a casario and Sin honor no hay amistad. Though both of these deal with a heroine who is scornful toward the other sex, and in the case of the latter play, the gracioso Sabadín is a kinder spirit to Polilla, the analogies are too general to warrant us in assuming influence. Encontrándose dos arroyuelos must be ruled out on the basis of chronology; moreover, the heroine, who scorns men because of her love for study, resembles Laura of La vengadora de las mujeres more than she does Diana.

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The first four plays of the list remain. The last of these, Coles con coles se curan, as Miss Harlan points out, could have supplied our author with the idea of a lover’s battle wherein “scorn is met with scorn” and “jealousy with jealousy.” El desdén con el desdén touches La hombrosa fea in that the metaphor employed by the hero to make the lady fall in love are identical. Moreover, both have the underlying philosophic idea that “apparent indifference to charm impels human nature to overcome that indifference at any cost.”

Aside from those comedies found in Moreto’s own theatre it is, however, La vengadora de las mujeres and Los milagros del descargo that offer the nearest parallels to El desdén con el desdén. We have already pointed out the analogies between El poder de la amistad and the latter play of Lope. As a matter of fact, the two plays of the Phoenix are so similar that Moreto could have drawn from one or the other the general structure and grouping of characters wherein three suitors are in love with the heroine, though the parallel is closer in the case of La vengadora de las mujeres for the Count of Barcelona, father to Diana, has his partial counterpart in Arnaldo, brother to Laura. From either, moreover, he could have taken the character of a heroine who scorns the attentions of the opposite sex, though only Laura (of La vengadora de las mujeres) shares with Diana her interest in books. In this latter play, too, he could have found the suggestion for a contest of colors; however, the analogy in this regard is nearer to Amescua’s Galán, valiente y discreto. Hernando de Los milagros del descargo is undoubtedly the most immediate source of Motrél (El poder de la amistad) and therefore indirectly of Polilla.

Yet when all is said and done, Moreto’s characters in El desdén are his own. None of his predecessors nor his contemporaries, as far as I know, can offer a prototype for Carlos, though the same character may be found in Moreto’s Hacer remedio el dolor. As for Polilla, while he is nearer Lope’s Hernando than any other gracioso outside of Moreto’s own theatre, the truth is he is brother in the same guild with Hernando, Flores, Espolín, Sabadín, and a score of others and, like them, must trace his lineage back to the more accomplished servant of Plautus and Terence who gained his livelihood by helping his master in his conquests and at times by assuming complete charge of the fortunes of that individual.

Neither can any one point to a single character and say: here is Moreto’s source for his heroine. She is like Laura (La vengadora de las mujeres) and Ortensia (Encontrándose los arroyuelos) in that she has devoted her life to study and has formed, as a consequence, a disinclination for men and marriage. She has points of contact with Estela (La hombrosa fea) and Celia (De casario a casario), for like them she is determined to have revenge for the hero’s lack of appreciation of her charms by winning his love and then contemptuously rejecting it. She imitates Serina (Coles
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con eñas as ebron) in using jealousy as her weapon—only to find that her opponent can use the same weapon most effectively. She suffers with Cella (De caso ro a caso ro) in that, intent on her own plans, she is caught in the net she has prepared for her opponent. Like all of these, yet quite dissimilar from any one of them, Diana is, when all is said and done, an original character—as original as Shakespeare’s Portia or Beatrice.

†El Eneas de Dios

and

El Caballero del Sacramento (Lope)

It has been pointed out by Schaefer (Op. cit., II, 166–167) that the situation of El Eneas de Dios y Caballero del Sacramento is taken from a play of Lope’s which bears the same title as the second half of Moreto’s.† The name which Moreto has preferred is to be found, however, within the lines of his predecessor (II, p. 466): “Yo he sido Eneas de Dios.”

The initial situation is the same, though the authors have diverged in its later development. On the night before her wedding to the king of Sicily, Gracia of Barcelona decides to elope with her cousin, Don Luis, but her lover, hearing the cry that Santa Olalia is burning, unceremoniously abandons his sweetheart to rush to the rescue of the Holy Sacrament. Gracia’s vanity is wounded, and after convincing herself that such rude treatment can only be explained by love on Don Luis’ part for her cousin Celia, she marries the king of Sicily and at the same time avenge herself on her rival by carrying her to her new kingdom as lady-in-waiting. Don Luis, feeling that he must justify himself in Gracia’s eyes, also departs in disguise for the island. There the king learns of the early affection which existed between his wife and Don Luis, becomes jealous, and decides to take revenge.

At this point the plots diverge. Lope’s monarch, in a fit of jealousy, divorces his wife and thereby loses the kingdom of Barcelona to Don Luis, who has been miraculously rescued from a fiery death by the Holy Sacrament. In the later version, the king thrusts his wife into prison and forbids anyone under penalty of death to give her food or water. She is saved from her cruel fate by the kind mericles of her cousin, Celia, and is ultimately freed by the timely arrival of the troops from Barcelona under the command of Don Luis. The king dies in battle, and Gracia renounces the Sicilian throne in favor of her brother, Gastón, who is, most unceremoniously, paired off with Celia.

There is little in the manner of revision that is characteristic of Moreto. In spite of the tendency toward simplification which the reviser has shown in eliminating the two distinct sub-plots of Flor de Lis and

† For bibliographical details concerning this play, see p. 144 of this study. The authorship is, in my opinion, quite doubtful.

†† Mentioned in the second Peregrina and printed in the Parte XV of Lope’s plays, 1621. There is an autograph manuscript of 1610. See Rennert y Castro, Vida de Lope de Vega, Madrid, 1919, p. 467. It may be read in the Royal Academy edition of Lope’s works, Vol. VIII.

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Juanita of Hungary, El Eneas de Dios leaves an impression of formlessness. Changes of scene are made with bewildering frequency; characters come and go without rhyme or reason; the stage is left empty any number of times; the dénouement is forced and unnatural. It is difficult to explain such lack of order in a theatre which is noted precisely for the excellence of its technique. (See pp. 42–50 of this study for Moreto’s custom in such matters.)

Moreover, the changes wrought in characterization are only in part representative. Without warning, the apparently warm-hearted young king of the first act becomes a madman, ruled only by the thought of offended honor. Hearing the pitiful cries for water of his beloved wife, he figuratively smacks his lips and declaims (II, p. 29):

¡Qué bien suena aquella voz
a mis oídos sus quejas
son para mí indignación
lisonjas; muca rubiendo,
pués adúltera ofendió
mi majestad.

Salvadero is a pale shadow of Lope’s Criippa, quite without the quips and cranks that at times make Moreto’s gracioso live in one’s memory after the rest of the characters have been completely forgotten. On the other hand, the dramatist has softened the spiritual contours of his feminine characters in true Moretian fashion. In their relationship to each other, Lope’s work has become Gracia, “the gracious,” and the vengeful Dorista, a rival so generous as to lend every possible aid to her in her hour of adversity.

El Eneas de Dios shows a more lyrical (if less clever) dialogue than most of Moreto’s better-known plays. Moreover, the debt of the dramatist to his sources is, in this regard, greater than is customary with him—particularly in the first act. One finds five redondillas (cf. I, pp. 456–457 of Lope’s comedy with Moreto’s I, p. 9) and a sonnet (See I, p. 459 and I, p. 14) incorporated without verbal change. There are other single lines scattered throughout this act as well as some five consecutive verses of romance in the second act (See lines beginning “y si celebraba fué” II, p. 466 and I, p. 16) which are borrowed verbatim.

The versification, while clearly belonging to the epoch of Moreto, cannot be considered characteristic of him. The percentage of romances (76%) is a bit high, that of redondillas (10%) correspondingly low. What is more significant, one finds in Act I (pp. 12, 13) a triple series of romances (e-e, e-e, e) without intervening meter. The second act (p. 29) shows double laises (6, 1-a).

*La fangida Arcadia

and

La fangida Arcadia (Tirso de Molina)

La fangida Arcadia is, in Schaefer’s words (Op. cit., II, p. 284) “a

† For bibliographical details, see p. 131 of this study.
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reworking of Tirso's play of the same name, suited to the taste of the day." The debt, if it exists at all, is a very small one. Both comedies have used the Arcady theme as outlined by Lope: Tirso, that of the novel; Moreto and his collaborators, that of the comedia. The play associated with Moreto's name may be briefly outlined as follows:

When the king of Cyprus dies, he leaves the throne in the hands of his brother Filiberto until such a time as Porcia his daughter shall come of age and shall marry. As that moment draws near, the ambitious regent is unwilling to give up his regal honors and consequently demands that his courtier, Federico, deliver to Porcia a poisonous letter the sight of which will cause instant death. Federico, however, loves his princess, and instead of carrying out the orders of the king reveals the plot to her. In order to keep her throne, she feigns madness until Federico can through parliament place her on the throne and take his place by her side as prince consort. This marriage occasions great disappointment to the fickle Enrique, who, on learning of Porcia's insanity, hastily transferred his affections to Casandra, daughter of Filiberto and heiress presumptive to the throne.

A comparison of this résumé with the plot of Lope's play would show few similarities. When Porcia's insanity takes the form of an excursion into Arcady, the chief characters all assume the names of Lope's characters: Porcia is Belisarda; Enrique, Anfrio; Federico, Olímpo; Casandra, Anarda; Carlos (another suitor of Porcia's), Salicio. Moreover, the love of Porcia, Enrique, and Casandra affords a perfect parallel for that of their respective prototypes in Lope's comedy. There is nothing of the uncle's ambitious dreams nor of the poisoned letter, in Lope's play—nor for that matter, in Tirso's. The dénouement of the plot is Moreto's own. Lope in his comedy had abandoned the unhappy ending of his novel (wherein the heroine marries Salicio in a moment of jealousy) and had paired her off with Anfrio, thereby giving it the conventional happy ending. And in this regard, Tirso had followed the play rather than the novel. Moreto evidently felt, however, that the faithfulness of Federico deserved some reward and so gives the fair heroine to him (III, 22, p. 556):

\[porque se vea\]
\[En el Arcadia fingida.\]
\[El premio de las finesas.\]

The debt of the later play to Tirso's is so small that its very existence might be questioned. Moreto apparently followed the Macetor de la Mercé in modernizing the setting. Both heroines pretend insanity—in order to accomplish quite different ends, however—and in each case this mental aberration leads to a sojourn in Arcady. The parallel of the heroine's madness with that of Don Quijote occurs to both dramatists. (See Moreto, I, II, 1, p. 552 and Tirso, I, 1, p. 436.)

There are no verbal parallels except that each play quotes the proverb Un hobo loco cierto. (See Moreto, I, II, 2, p. 544 and Tirso, III, 1, p. 451.) I believe that Moreto was acquainted with Tirso's play, but I do not consider such evidence conclusive.

*La fuerza del natural* and

Cuando no se aguarda y prínipe tonio (Leyva Ramírez)

Mesonero Romano states that La fuerza del natural is an imitation of Leyva's Cuando no se aguarda y prínipe tonio. There is unquestionably a relationship between the two, but it would be necessary to establish the chronology of the two plays before one can say who is the debtor, who the creditor.

Moreto's comedy was first published in 1661,17 and I am inclined to think it written a year or so previous to that date; Leyva's play first appeared in the Parte XL of the Escogidas, 1673.18 We have no dates for Leyva's life, but the earliest publication of his is El socorro de los mantos, which appeared in Parte XXXI of the Escogidas, 1669. If we may judge by the dates of his other publications, he reached the heights of his literary fame during the decade of the '70s. Such facts are far from conclusive, but they indicate that in this case Leyva was the borrower, not Moreto.

The story of La fuerza del natural is as follows: Julio and Carlos have been reared as brothers by Roberto, vassal of the duke of Ferrara, until such a time as circumstances will permit the latter to recognize Julio as his son. He is eventually taken to court where his father plans to marry him to the lovely Aurora, but it is soon evident that he is incapable of...
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culture and that all efforts of Carlos, who has accompanied him to the duke's, will never make him anything but a country bumpkin, interested in food, wine, and his Dulcines. Carlos, on the other hand, who has for some time been in love with Aurora, proves to be the perfect courtier in spite of his early surroundings and education. It is discovered (just in time to prevent Aurora from being pledged to Alejandro, duke of Urbino) that the wife of Roberto had substituted her child for that of the duke and that Carlos is therefore the one of gentle birth. He, of course, marries Aurora and Alejandro contents himself with Camilla, cousin to Aurora.

A general outline of Leyva's play would differ from the one just given only in the names. However, events have been changed, the relationship of the various characters somewhat altered, and many details of action changed. For instance, those first scenes of Moreto, which were clearly written to emphasize the contrast between the boorish Julio and the delicate Carlos in their home surroundings, have been omitted. Camilla loves Alejandro, but in Leyva's play her counterpart Estela is in love with Fadrique (Moreto's Carlos); as a result there are episodes of misunderstanding between the lovers which are lacking in Moreto's comedy.

Some scenes of Leyva's work have parallels in La fuerza del natural. In both we see the arrival of the two men at court, the attempts of the clever brother to supply the conversational deficiencies of the other, the final scene of each play wherein the identity of each is established. There are other vague analogies of scene.

I have noted no verbal similarities.

Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso

Las hermanos enemigos (Guillén de Castro)

Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso, aptly characterized by Schaeffer as a "piece fashioned with paste and scissors," is, as that critic has pointed out (Op. cit., II, p. 161), a reworking of Guillén de Castro's Las hermanos enemigos. By contrast with its virile source, it is so lacking in vigor of characterization and dialogue as to be the only one of the Primera parte (1564) which Fernández-Guerra did not include in his collection for the B.A.E.

Moreto's plot is as follows: Sancho, son of the count of Urgel, wishes to marry Lady Rosana, but his plans are complicated by the fact that the king of Aragon wishes to honor him by giving him the hand of his own sister, the Infanta. The situation is made still more difficult by the envy of his own brother, Garcia, who is abetted by their powerful uncle, Don

Gastón. The latter presents to the king a letter written by the countess of Urgel, in which it is declared that Sancho is not her son nor the count's, but instead that he is the son of the gardener. Sancho straightway is stripped of his honors and put to menial labor. Only Rosana and the count, his father, refuse to believe the story. Ultimately, it is revealed that Sancho is half-brother to the king; their mother had, after the death of her husband, secretly married the count of Urgel. Sancho is married to his beloved Rosana, Garcia to the sister of the king.

The two comedies agree in their general outlines, except in the resolution of the mystery which surrounds the protagonist's birth. Neither denouement is a happy one. Moreto's story, that of a mysterious letter (for years misplaced), which is, in the darkness of the prison, delivered to the hero instead of to the villain (III, p. 33), is but little more plausible than Castro's marvellous tale of a hermit (III, pp. 36-38) who appears at the opportune moment to solve matters for the protagonist.

In characterization, the most outstanding change is the substitution of the colorless character of the uncle, Don Gastón, for the venemous duchess, supposed mother of the protagonist. The exchange of characters is an unfortunate one, for the canvas of family life which Guillén de Castro holds up to view is as realistic a bit as anything that came from Goya's brush. Unfortunately, too, Moreto has also replaced the philosophical Lombardo, who is "honorad en el corazón" and "búfon en la coraza," with the rustic Chapado and Marina and the contentious Lain. Amusing though these be, they cannot compensate for the loss of this soldier-lackey who is surely spokesman for the embittered Castro when he complains (II, p. 19):

... El mundo solo mira las superficies no más. ¡Cuántos con ostentación arrogante y entumida, valientes en la opinión, llevan desnuda la espada y vestido el corazón! Y, lúdicos de suerte están que parece que hacen raya en lo hermoso y lo galán, y en lo que cubre la saya sabe Dios lo que serán!

Rosana is less daring and more decorous, less the Amazon and more the conventional lady of the court; she attains to some degree of color only when, disguised with the excessive humility of her lover in his fall, she tells him (III, p. 28) that "to confess ignoble blood when one has it not, is a greater crime than to have it and conceal the fact." Sancho, likewise, is less the ambitious prince and more the perfect lover, and Garcia, though he has in reality less of the milk of human kindness than his prototype Cesalvi, is more courteous in things external.

Neither the dialogue nor the versification of Moreto's play evi-
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dence of any influence of Guillén de Castro's. The latter shows a virility that forms a vivid contrast with the feeble lines of Hasta el fin nada se dichoso. All things considered, the play gives the impression of a youthful effort, and one wonders just why Moreto included it in his first volume when such a play as El Paredón en la corte was omitted.

El Licenciado Vidriera

and

El Licenciado Vidriera (Cervantes)

The debt of El Licenciado Vidriera to Cervantes' novela of the same name, while obvious, is nevertheless not great. Moreto himself vaguely alludes to this relationship in his concluding verses, declaring it "el Licenciado Vidriera sin novela." Play and novel concur in expressing the bitter philosophic truth that society will often pay handsomely for the remarks of a madman whose antics tickle its fancy while refusing a bare existence to that same man if sane. There are essential differences, however. The protagonist of each work conceives himself a "man of glass," but in the earlier work it is due to actual insanity which has resulted from a love philter; in the other, the rôle is feigned in order to wrench a livelihood from a world that knows not how to appreciate intellect, courage, and generosity. Moreto's charge against humanity is the gravest one, then. Cervantes would accuse it only of carelessness, if he would dwell on it at all; Moreto would complain of its ingratitude as well. It is this whom the Licenciado has befriended most that turn a deaf ear to his pleas. The duke in the selfishness of his love is a tool in the hands of the villain, Lisardo, and therefore utterly oblivious of the pain of Carlos, who has twice given him the throne; Laura, intrenched in her ideals of filial obedience, conceives it her duty to follow the wishes of her father by marrying Lisardo, even though Carlos' whole life has been consecrated to her devotion; Lisardo, in his love for Laura, argues that all is fair in love and therefore leaves his childhood friend (who has twice secured him in the possession of his estate) wounded, penniless, impotent, to the tender mercies of an uninterested doctor and the "dos mil chiches" of a country inn. The thesis is weakened, however, (1) because too many of Carlos' misfortunes are due to chance (2) because of the happy ending given to the play.

There are details that would indicate that Moreto had read recently the work of Cervantes, but one is surprised that he rejected the aphorisms that the protagonist of the novel casts before his persecutors. It is true that Gerundio tells Casandra (III, 9, 265):

El os sacará aforismos
para que un colchón le quiebre,

but only a very loose definition of the term could include the specific actual

45 As Gerundio points out (I, p. 249) Carlos' star is unfavorable and:

si premios lloviera aquí
no se viniera uno a ti
si no es a descalabarte.
lady of high station, so plays on the vanity and greed of the gullible young dandy that he refuses the hand of the heroine. The secondary love theme is that of Doña Leonor, sister to Inés, and Don Mendo, cousin to Don Diego. This story crosses the main plot on several occasions when jealousy leads to misunderstandings.

It is interesting to note which scenes of El Narciso en su opinián Moreto has retained and to analyse the additions and subtractions he has made. In both plays, the audience is allowed to spy on the protagonist as he completes his elaborate toilet (El Narciso, I, pp. 325-327 and El lindo I, 6) and on the gracioso as he draws his word picture of the dandy for his listeners (El Narciso, I, p. 328 and El lindo I, 5). In both it is our good fortune to be present at the meeting which takes place between the girls and the men to whom their father has betrothed them (El Narciso, I, pp. 329-330 and El lindo, I, 12); to see the maids as she receives Don Diego (in Castro's play, Don Gutierre) in the rôle of countess (El Narciso, II, pp. 335-336 and El lindo, II, 8); to witness the quarrel between Don Mendo (Castro's Don Gonzalo) and Don Juan (the Marqués de Castro) which nearly results in a duel (El Narciso, p. 338 and El lindo, III, 3-4).

In no place has Moreto borrowed the dialogue or the verbatim.

Moreto's reasons for the omission of certain scenes, in part at least, may ordinarily be classified under two heads: (1) his care to preserve the dignity of his characters (See El Narciso II, 24 and III, 1-3, 10-11); (2) his desire to subordinate the sub-plot of Doña Leonor and Don Mendo and thus make stand forth in relief the main triangle of Doña Inés and her suitor (El Narciso II, 3, 7-9; 21-23; III, 6, 13-14). In Guillén de Castro's comedy, the two love stories were of almost equal importance; in Moreto's on the other hand, the love affair of Don Mendo and Doña Leonor is of interest only in that it serves to prevent the course of true love from running too smoothly for Don Juan and Doña Inés.

The scenes which Moreto has added may ordinarily be explained either by the dramatic necessity of complicating the love affair of Don Juan and Doña Inés or by the desire of the author to heighten the comic effect. In the first group come such scenes as the two of jealousy between the lovers, Don Juan's protestations of innocence, etc. (El lindo, I, 2-3; II, 17; III, 2, 4, 7-9). In the latter, we must include those having to do with Don Tello and the veiled lady (1, 6-7; II, 13-15; III, 2, 12) and more especially, those which tend to heighten the caricature of Don Diego (I, 9; II, 2, 4-5).

In developing his vain protagonist and his clever gracioso, Moreto has chosen colors that are so much more vivid, has used strokes that are so much bolder, that he has transformed Castro's comedy of manners into a comedias de figurín. But if these two characters are portrayed more firmly than Castro's, the same cannot be said for some of the others. Don Pedro, with the egotistic pride of the self-made man; the impulsive young Marqués, who, with the disarming frankness of a child, confuses his errors and is so anxious to win the heroine that he will, if necessary, renounce his own

81 Besides those named, one finds scenes in El Narciso which roughly parallel the following in El lindo: I, II, 1, 2, 3; II, 3, 12.

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title and accept that of his father-in-law; Doña Brianda who dares to tell a harsh father that it is her right to choose her husband, who complains that "only the woman of honor is without free will"; Don Gonzalo who expects to win the favor of the ladies of Madrid with doublets rather than doublets: these characters are undeniably drawn with more vigor (if less consistency, at times) in Castro's work than in Moreto's.

Lo que puede la aprehensión

and

Mirad a quien alabáis (Lope), La celosa de si misma (Tirso), etc.

Even though Lo que puede la aprehensión is a mediocre play, it is an interesting example of our author's methods, one which shows his skill in deftly interweaving materials drawn from various sources. Into his loom have gone threads from three different plays: La celosa de si misma (Tirso), La desdicha de la vez (Calderón), Mirad a quien alabáis (Lope de Vega).

There is in the Biblioteca Nacional a manuscript of Moreto's comedy entitled Lo que puede la aprehensión, o sea La celosa de si misma. (See Paz y Nella, Op. cit., No. 3916, p. 607.) Moreover, the first half of the title is also to be found in Tirso's comedy (II, 9, p. 140). Magdalena, marvelling over her lover's inconsistency, comments:

Mal ha dicho destos ojos;

y puede la aprehensión

que es bastante solo un manto

un armillos y a aburrecillos.

Moreto's debt to Tirso is not one of title alone; from him he drew also the idea of a romantic, impractical youth who falls in love with a lady whose features he has never seen. In the earlier play it is a beautiful hand which serves as so much tender to the young dreamer's imagination; in

83 Thomas Cornelle's Le charme de la vie (See Poèmes dramatiques, Bachelu, Lyon, 1699, Vol. 1) was taken from Moreto's play. In the Espagne which precedes his work, he tells us that the original comedy had been received with great applause in Madrid but that his own had failed in Paris. As Cornelle's play was written in 1635, Moreto's evidently precedes that date, though it was not published until 1654 in the Primera parte. Whether the Frenchman made use of a manuscript or whether he had before him a vuele now lost to us, I cannot say.


the later, it is a golden voice. In both comedies the hero, because of his love, holds in contempt the excellent alliance which has been arranged for him, and in both the heroine keeps her real identity secret in order thus to test the stability of her lover. In Tirso's play, as fate will have it, the beautiful hand belongs to the very lady to whom he has been betrothed. But in Moreto's, the owner of the voice is not the girl to whom he is pledged.

The characterization of our author is entirely independent of La celota de si misma. The dialogue, on the other hand, is on two or three occasions reminiscent of that of the Maestro de la Merced. Moreto has given us an expurgated version of Tirso's story of the gallant who followed a woman up the street, only to discover when she suddenly faced him that she was a negress. Moreover, the gracioso of the two plays are equally skeptical when their romantic young masters would argue that the lady must be fair because of the beauty of her hand or of her voice. The debt which Moreto owes Calderón is so small that one would hesitate to make the assertion that La dedita de la vez suggested to him the exchange of a beautiful voice for the lovely hand of Tirso's heroine, were it not that he has carried over a fragment of a song from this play. Fenias, the heroine of Lo que pude la aprehensión, sings (II, 6, p. 176):

Yo quiero bien,
y este amor de otro se infiere;
que aunque soy yo la que quiere,
no sé a quién.

Compare with this the song of Calderón's protagonist (II, 28, p. 102):

Yo quiero bien;
mas no he de decir a quién.

Far greater is the indebtedness of Lo que pude la aprehensión to Lope de Vega's Mirar a quien alaba. In the latter comedy, the king of Naples betroths the duchess of Milan to whose arrival he expects at any moment, but he is in love with Celia, sister to Don César Avila. Consequently, he gives orders that the lady from Milan be escorted back to her estates. The duchess, highly incensed at this rebuff, offers her hand to César, who has acted as ambassador in the matter. He accepts but feels obliged to concoct an elaborate plan by which he may appear loyal to his sovereign. The plan is not successful, and when the king learns the real situation, Don César is thrown into prison. Disguised as queen of Hungary, the duchess now makes her way to Naples in order to free her lover. The fickle king finds her most attractive and declares himself ready to transfer his affections from Celia to her. She remains faithful to César, however, and by a ruse she not only wins his freedom for him but obtains the king's consent to their marriage.

The story of César and the duchess, which in Lope's play forms the chief interest, has been woven into Moreto's as the subplot. In this trans-

\[La celota de si misma, I, 3, p. 130; Lo que pude la aprehensión, II, 1, p. 171.\]

\[Cf. Lo que pude la aprehensión, I, 4, p. 169 with La celota de si misma, I, 3, and II, 2, pp. 130, 136.\]
are concerned, virtually identical. It is true that there is little resemblance in phraseology and that there seems to be no influence of the verisimilitude of the original on Moreto's comedy, but there are conceits, details of characterization, and, occasionally, identical lines which show that Moreto had a copy of Cautele contra cautela near at hand while writing El mejor amigo el rey. Of the fifty-six scenes that make up our author's play, forty-one (I, 1-6, 8-10; II, 1, 4-5; 7-8, 10-11, 18, 20-25; III, 1, 3-4, 6-11, 14-17, 19-23) have their partial or complete equivalents in Tirso's, and of the sixty-four that Moreto has rejected (one in the first act, eleven in the second, and fourteen in the third), nearly all have been eliminated because of his conception of stage mechanics. There are twenty-two added (five in the first, six in the second, and eleven in the third), most of which are to strengthen the characterization, to better the motivation, or to increase the comic element.

The theme that friendship can be tested only in the crucible of adversity was a popular one with both Tirso and Moreto. To exemplify this thesis, each author presents a certain prince Enrique, dearly beloved of the king, who prays to the court that he has lost royal favor. In each case the protagonist discovers which servant, which friend, which sweetheart is faithful to him, and his sovereign, by this same ruse, is enabled to find out who are the malcontents that are plotting against his realm. The few changes in the plot are not significant: Moreto seems to have omitted many details as unessential to the development of the action.

Moreto has kept all except two of the characters of his source (Cello and one of the conspirators), but he has drawn them all with a much firmer hand. Lines which were merely traced by Tirso have been inked in by Moreto. The king is more loyal in his friendship for Enrique and, therefore, less easily deceived by the tricks of the traitors. Alejandro and Felipé stand forth in their plotting, haughty, astute, dominating the one: servile, cautious, and hypocritical the other. Isabel, a quite colorless graacia is

8 El mejor par de las doce, and Las pobres de Reinaldos (Lope). El mejor par de las doce, written in collaboration with Matos Fragoso, is, as Schaeffer has pointed out (Op. cit., II, p. 281), a reworking of Lope's Las pobres de Reinaldos. The debt of the two dramas is a considerable one. In the first half of the play (Matos' part), many lines of the original have been kept and, in Moreto's part, paraphrases of long speeches are not uncommon; even the sequence of scenes is often the same—particularly in the last half of Act I and the first half of Act III. The plots of the two plays vary little. In both, Reinaldo, angered by the arrogant presumption of the unworthy Galafán, slaps his opponent and is, as a result, banished from the Round Table. However, the loyalty and generosity which he displays toward Charlemagne eventually win out against the treachery and cowardice of Galafán, and the protagonist again takes his place of honor with the emperor.

In shortening Lope's play by some 450 lines, in eliminating the role of Malges (a wizard) and Dello (Reinaldo's young son), in telescoping the

8 The play was first printed in the Parte XXXIX of the Escogidas, Madrid, 1673.
9 El Mejor par, in the Parte VII (1617), is to be found in the Royal Academy Edition, Vol. XIII.
10 See, as examples, the emperor's address to Florante (El mejor par, II, pp. 17-18 and Las pobres, II, p. 270); Reinaldo's speech to the king (El mejor par, III, pp. 23-24 and Las pobres, III, pp. 270-277); Armelinda's words (El mejor par, II, pp. 18-19 and Las pobres, II, p. 271).
11 "El mejor par de las doce," written in collaboration with Matos Fragoso, is, as Schaeffer has pointed out (Op. cit., II, p. 281), a reworking of Lope's Las pobres de Reinaldos. The debt of the two dramas is a considerable one. In the first half of the play (Matos' part), many lines of the original have been kept and, in Moreto's part, paraphrases of long speeches are not uncommon; even the sequence of scenes is often the same—particularly in the last half of Act I and the first half of Act III. The plots of the two plays vary little. In both, Reinaldo, angered by the arrogant presumption of the unworthy Galafán, slaps his opponent and is, as a result, banished from the Round Table. However, the loyalty and generosity which he displays toward Charlemagne eventually win out against the treachery and cowardice of Galafán, and the protagonist again takes his place of honor with the emperor.

In shortening Lope's play by some 450 lines, in eliminating the role of Malges (a wizard) and Dello (Reinaldo's young son), in telescoping the
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time from ten years and more to a few days, Moreto and Matos have, as we should expect, produced a more orderly and economical play than the original. And this is true, even though our dramatist’s comedy is, from the standpoint of structure, more of a chronicle play than Lope’s: the episode wherein Reinaldos angers the king, which in the earlier play is given in narrative form as so much expository background, has in Moreto’s and Matos’ comedy been expanded to form the first five scenes of the play.

This gain in technique cannot compensate for the loss in spirit. Lope’s work is most unequal, as Menéndez y Pelayo has pointed out, but it is saved from utter mediocrity by two splendid passages. In the first of these (II, pp. 268-269), Claricia reviews the injustice that has been done her husband in a romance of such vigorous lines that Depping admitted it among his “antiguos caballerosas.” In the second (III, pp. 288-289), Reinaldos establishes his innocence and humiliates those who had thought to mock him. The majesty of these scenes has been completely lost in El mejor par de dos dos. The splendid lines of the final scene with their magnificent epic swing have become insignificant and lustless.

This same tendency toward the prosaic is evidenced in other ways. In eliminating the parts of the child Dello and of Malges (who on rare occasions practices his talents of wizardry), the collaborators have eliminated respectively the pathetic and the supernatural. In adding Coquín, a gracioso who is thoroughly characteristic of Moreto, our author takes still another step out of the land of fantasy even the change in the protagonist tends toward the conventional and commonplace. Lope had followed tradition in making Reinaldos a bandit, although his character is sufficiently punctilious to take only what his wife and child. Moreto evidently felt that his person of knightly could not under any circumstances stoop to theft. In a word the Reinaldos of epic tradition has become the impetuous courtier of Philip IV, that lifeless monarch whom Machado has characterized so aptly.

La misma conciencia acusa
and
Despertar a quien dormía (Lope)

La misma conciencia acusa, or Despertar a quien dormía, is, as Schaeffer has pointed out (Op. cit., II, p. 160), taken from a play of Lope which carries a name that is identical with that of the second title106 of Moreto’s comedy. As the title would indicate, Lope would stress the danger of “awakening sleeping dogs” whereas Moreto didactically insists (III, 18, p. 120) that man’s own conscience will betray him:

... y este ejemplo
de escarmiento a los que tratan
de hacer secretos delitos;
pues si cautelas los callan,

106 Lope’s play was published in the Parta VIII of Lope’s works, Barcelona, 1617. It may be read in the B.A.E., Vol. XLI.
The plot since much of the action of the third act of Moreto's play hinges on his rôle. And, we may add in passing, the last of the second act and the first of the third offer some rare good scenes of fun.

As is ordinarily true, Moreto's versification shows no influence of Lope's play, and while fourteen scenes out of the fifty-three of Moreto have partial parallels in Lope, there are few instances where one may say that the dialogue shows any likeness to that of the original. The closest resemblance in tone, general content, and phraseology is found in the eighth scene of Act I, p. 104. There are two lines taken from the source:

¿Puedo comer y vestir
más que por un hombre? No.

Compare with this Lope's question (I, 4, p. 346):

¿Puedo comer y vestir
más de por un hombre yo?

*No hay reino como el de Dios*

and

¡Defar un reino por otro (Monroy y Silva!)

No hay reino como el de Dios is not, as Señor Cotarelo thinks, (Bibliografía, p. 25), a variant form of Déjar un reino por otro, nor has its author used Lope's Las maldades de Madrid as a source. Rather it is a complete reworking of Déjar un reino por otro, which is, in my opinion, incorrectly attributed to Moreto.

The plot of Déjar un reino por otro, briefly told, is as follows: Enrique, having fled from Spain after killing a man whom he believes to be the lover of his sweetheart, Flora, is taken captive by the Turk Zelma. To the latter, who has for three years been searching sea and land for the lost Soliman (during his life-time commander of the Ottoman squadrons), Enrique represents a gift from Heaven in that he is the exact counterpart of the lost leader. As he has been promised death by the Sultan Amurat in case he should return without Soliman, Zelma demands that his captive impersonate the missing chieftain but stipulates that he shall not accept the favors of Luna, daughter of the Sultan, to whom Soliman had been betrothed. The plan is successful, and when Amurat dies, he names Enrique successor with the proviso, however, that he shall marry Luna. In the last half of the play, the lot of the royal prisoner is made difficult, not only by the jealousy of Zelma but also by the presence at court of Flora, his father Feliciano, and his brother Ricardo, who have likewise been made captives while searching for Enrique. Eventually, the protagonist

167 Cf. I, 5 (La misma conciencia) with 1, 1 (Despertar a quien duerme); I, 6 and 7 with I, 3; I, 8 with I, 4 and 9; I, 9 with I, 6; II, 17 with I, 11; I, 18 with I, 16; I, 19 with I, 13; and II, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 with respectively II, 13, 17, 18, 20, 22.

168 For bibliographical facts concerning the three dramas, as well as for the data which leads me to such conclusions, see pp. 125-126 of this study.

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confesses to Luna that he is a Christian and that he is pledged to Flora. Refusing to deny either his love or his religion, he, together with his brother and father, suffer impeachment. Flora dies of a broken heart.

The first act of Lope's very disjointed play, Las maldades de Madrid, is concerned with the love affair of Ricardo and Flora and with the flight of the hero and his father, Feliciano, as a result of a quarrel with the miserly Camilo. The second portrays the life of Ricardo as a soldier. In Act III, he is a captive in the Turkish court and is loved by the Sultan. Here he and his father meet Flora, who has followed her lover and has likewise suffered captivity. Here too, Ricardo meets Numan and recognizes in him a long-lost brother. The story of the latter's impersonation of the monarch's nephew follows. Ricardo refuses the Sultan's love, Numan confesses his imposture, and the three men are impaled.

In Déjar un reino por otro, the love stories of Lope's Ricardo and Numan have been combined in that of Enrique, and the rather useless rôle of Ricardo, brother to the protagonist, created. The first two acts of Lope's play have been reduced to exposition in Déjar un reino por otro, and virtually all of the story of the latter (which is but a dramatization of the long story of Numan told in the third act) takes place in the court of the Turks. The dramatic action is thus greatly concentrated.

If we were to summarize No hay reino como el de Dios, we should find it almost identical with that of Déjar un reino por otro. The few changes that have been made are, as we shall see, entirely characteristic of Moreto. The dramatically useless rôles of Feliciano and Ricardo have been eliminated, thus centering attention on the love triangle. Zelma has been turned into the sentimental Moor type, the perfect courter and the loyal friend. The sweetheart, Flora, has become the faithful wife, Leonor. The rôle of the graciosos, which is in Déjar un reino por otro detached from the stories of the chief characters, has been firmly knit with the main plot in No hay reino como el de Dios. There are other changes, particularly in the order of incidents and in the names of the characters, but they are, for our purpose, unimportant. I have noted no verbal parallels.

As for the versification, the romances have increased from 50% to 70%; the redondillas, decreased from 19% to 17%; the 300 lines of décimas, lessened to 30. There is nothing in the versification to indicate that the period which separated the two plays Déjar un reino por otro and No hay reino como el de Dios was a long one. Both were probably written between 1640 and 1665.

No puede ser
and
El mayor imposible (Lope)

No puede ser is, as Fernández-Guerra has pointed out (Op. cit., p. xxxviii), a revision of Lope's El mayor imposible.169 The two plays are iden-
tical In thesis, though Moreto has refurnished Lope's phrase, "el mayor imposible es guardar una mujer," as "no puede ser guardar una mujer," It was not a new idea, however, for we find incorporated in the comedy of the earlier dramatist (II, 22, p. 470) a ballad of similar idea which must have been hoary even in Lope's day:

Madre, la mi madre
guardas me perdió;
que si yo no me guarte,
mal me guardaréis.

In both plays there is a corollary to the idea: not only is it as impossible to guard a woman as "to grasp a handful of sand," but the very attempt carries with it grave dangers, since "suspicious will bring certainties." To prove this thesis, each playwright has presented what is virtually a play within a play. The question arises in the Academy—"Is Lope's comedy that of the queen of Naples, and in Moreto's that of a certain Doña Ana of Madrid—"as to whether it is possible to guard a woman against her will. In No puede ser, Don Pedro, broker to the lovely Inés, is so rash as to maintain the affirmative and to wager the protagonist, Don Félix, who has sustained the contrary, that he can defend his sister against the world. With the aid of Doña Ana and his own servant, Tarugo, the hero, Don Félix, proves his point, but in the meantime he falls sincerely in love with the heroine, and the play ends with wedding bells.

A general outline of El mayor imposible would differ from the one just given only in the names of the characters. Moreover, there are twelve scenes in Moreto's comedia which have virtual equivalents in Lope's. The revision, nevertheless, shows appreciable changes, the most important being in the development of the surrounding action. In Lope's work the resolution of the theme is in the nature of an entertainment to the queen which will allow her to forget her illness while she waits the arrival of her betrothed, the king of Aragón. As such, the preliminary scenes are really a prologue. In Moreto's comedy, on the other hand, the surrounding action has been closely linked with that of the inner play. Doña Ana would like to correct Don Pedro's extreme jealousy—has in fact postponed her marriage to him until he should learn to be more discrete in this respect. Moreto's change is effective, then, for it brings plot and subplot more closely together, makes the character of Doña Ana more attractive, and eliminates the figure of the king of Aragón and his retinue.

Other changes that Moreto has made are in the interest of the comic. He has eliminated Albano, a friend of the protagonist, and has replaced him with the amusingly stupid Sancho. In lieu of Lope's gracioso, who frightens the queen out of her fevers and thereby wins the reward offered for her cure, he has created Tarugo in the rôle of an eccentric indiana. In this disguise the clever servant is able to gain admission to the heroine's house, later to admit his master to her garden, and still later to effect the

escape of the lovers. The superstructure he rears has the advantage of being more closely connected with the main plot than was Lope's, but it is so elaborate as to violate verisimilitude and, in a measure, to rob the theme of its deep social significance. It is all most amusing, however, and if the play is regarded as sheer farce, the changes Moreto has made leave little to be desired.

In his characterization, Moreto displays better taste than Lope. Lisardo, the protagonist of El mayor imposible, is a truer and a philanderer, Don Félix is, as we should expect, a knight without reproach. The issue is hardly defined when he confesses to Doña Ana that he is genuinely in love with the heroine, Inés. The latter is a bit more retiring, a bit less capable than her counterpart in El mayor imposible. The queen of Lope's play is a petulant young ruler who must be amused; Doña Ana, a self-satisfied young woman who spares her fiancé's feelings nothing in the interest of truth. Don Pedro has suffered in several respects at Moreto's hands: he is much more stubborn, much less likeable, and much less intelligent than his prototype in Lope's comedy. Tarugo, finally, plays a more important part than Ramón; he realizes his intelligence and is aware that he is the clever stage director of the whole play. Unlike Ramón, his counterpart, he cares nothing for gold: he asks instead power over the other characters.

The dialogue of Moreto is good: there are few scenes in the drama of the Golden Age which sound more natural to me than the heated argument (I, 2) between Doña Ana and Don Pedro. It is a dialogue, moreover, which is reasonably independent of its source, though in a few places, Moreto has borrowed paraphrased passages from Lope. I have noted, moreover, two lines which Moreto has borrowed word for word: (1) "La mujer que sabe menos" (No puede ser, I, 2, p. 190 and El mayor imposible, I, 2, p. 467); (2) "¿Sois justicia? Ni aun piedad." (No puede ser, III, 19, p. 207 and El mayor imposible, III, 20, p. 483).

El Parecido, El Parecido en la corte
and
El castigo del penique (Tirso)

It is ordinarily assumed that El Parecido en la corte is a revision of El Parecido, also attributed to Moreto. Of the first mentioned, there are five manuscripts, all of which, however, bear the shorter form of the title. One of these, to all appearances an autograph, carries the date of January 13, 1652. There is of this version a suelta of Juan Sanz which is of the late

110 Compare the paraphrases No puede ser, I, 2, 5 with El mayor imposible, I, 2, 5; I, 8 with I, 8.
111 Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit., pp. x and xxiii) as well as Cotarelo (BIBL., p. 34) and Schaeffer (Op. cit., II, p. 165) take it for granted that El Parecido is the primitive version, and while a comparison of the two texts leads me to believe that the chronology they have given is correct, I do not consider the conclusion inevitable.
seventeenth century, though the comedy apparently did not appear in a
dated edition until 1741. As to when El Pardillo was conceived, we
know only that it was first published in 1665 in the Parte XXIII of the
Escogidas (José Fernández de Buendía, Madrid). Since it is a reworking
of Tirso’s El castigo del penesque, it was perhaps written after the death of
this author in 1648.

If we accept the chronology which is ordinarily assumed for the two
plays, we find that they offer in a measure opportunity to study the ben-
scient development of Moreto’s dramatic art. The plot of either version may
be briefly summarized as follows: Don Fernando and his servant Tacón,
have but lately arrived in Madrid from Seville, the former in search of his
sister Ana and her lover. At the church door they meet Doña Inés, daugh-
ter of Don Pedro de Luján, and Fernando falls desperately in love with
her. While trying to formulate some plan by which he may further his love,
he is accosted by Don Diego as Don Lope de Luján (a brother to Doña
Inés who has been in the Indies for fourteen years) and taken to the house
of Don Pedro. He first protests, then accepts his mistaken identity, and in
order to cover all verbal slips and at the same time woo Doña Inés under
the very eyes of her father and her fiancé, Don Diego, he feigns strange
lapses of memory. The complications that arise when the real son appears
are solved by a double marriage, for, as chance would have it, Doña Ana’s
lover is none other than Don Lope.

The changes which Moreto has made in reworking the first half of El
Pardillo are few but characteristic. His effort to inject the didactic is made
evident in the long and undramatic monologue which he has inserted in
the first scene of Act I so that Don Fernando may lament his own wasted
opportunities and at the same time assume partial blame for his sister’s
conduct; his desire to avoid the risque, in the more sedate conduct of his
heroine. In the one case she gives her newly-found suitor a tryst; in the
other she refuses (Cf. El Pardillo en la corte, I, 4, p. 314 with El Pardillo,
I, p. 6). As pointing in the same direction, one may note the excision of a
very plain-spoken bit of dialogue to be found in the earlier version (“Dime
tú de qué te paras…” II, p. 13) and in the conversion of the bedroom scene
(I, pp. 10–12) into a garden scene.

The changes made in revising the latter half of Act II are in the interest
of plot-structure. They were clearly designed to concentrate dramatic ef-
fect, particularly in the development of the secondary plot of Doña Ana
and Don Lope. Moreover, in postponing the meeting between Don Lope
and his father until the last scene of the second act, he has secured climax
within the act itself and has at the same time set the machinery in motion
which is to bring the comedy to a natural conclusion.

The variations which Moreto has made in reworking the third act of
El Pardillo are not characteristic. One expects simplification of plot, not
elaboration. Yet here there is a distinctly conscious attempt to imitate
the highly involved intrigues of the Calderonian comedy. The introduction
of a new character in the revision (with the extra shifts of scene occasioned

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thereby) seems to serve no purpose other than to afford a point of contact
between Don Lope and Don Fernando.

The dialogue of El Pardillo en la corte is simpler, more direct than that
of its source. In the primitive version Don Fernando accosts Doña Inés
(I, p. 6) in such highbrow language as this:

Si permítas que un rendido,
que lo está después de veros,
os acompañe, será
dicho para ofreceros
este corazón en alas
del vuestro divino incendio
como a bien que solicito.

In the revision, one is spared such bombast.

In versification, one may note that El Pardillo (the longest of Moreto’s
well-attested plays) has been cut from 3246 lines to 2912; that the number
of romance lines has been decreased, the silves increased; that the double
laissez de romances (I, 9) have been consciously broken up by the addi-
tion of a scene in silves.

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Many years ago Fernández-Guerra pointed out that El Pardillo en la
corte “owes something” to Tirso’s El castigo del penesque. The indebted-
ness is chiefly one of initial situation. In the play of Tirso, the penniless
Don Rodrigo, accompanied by his servant Chinchilla, has just arrived in
Flanders. Here he is accosted by a certain Roberto who addresses him as
the son of his friend Liborio. In spite of Rodrigo’s feble protests, he is
taken to the house of Liborio, is accepted by him as a son, and falls in love
with Clarita, his daughter. Eventually he marries her, but only because a
certain haughty duchess has withdrawn her favor.

The situation, then, as well as the grouping of characters who make up
the action, show much in common. The emphasis has been shifted in that
Moreto has eliminated the character of the duchess and transformed the
mercurial protagonist into a paragon of romantic virtues, one who is, in
every way, an antithesis to the contemplative Rodrigo. The other charac-
ters have as little in common as Fernando and Rodrigo, if we except Chin-
chilla who shares Tacón’s interest in food and who, like Moreto’s gracioso,
takes the responsibility of persuading his master to accept the rôle of son
and of advising him as to how he can carry it out. Of the loss of memory,
however, which plays such a part in our dramatist’s comedy and of the
many delightful hairbreadth escapes which it makes possible, there is no
hint.

The dialogue of Moreto is reminiscent of Tirso’s in one scene only.
Compare Liborio’s orders to his daughter, “Clarita, abrazo a tu hermano,”
etc. (El castigo del penesque, I, 4, p. 71) with Don Pedro’s to Inés, “Inés,
abrazo a tu hermano” etc. (El Pardillo en la corte, I, 10, p. 316). From
Chinchilla’s brief anecdote concerning the merchant and his hundred

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111 Num. 16, Antonio Sana, Madrid, 1741. See Cotarelo, Bibl., p. 34.
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"escudos." (El castigo del pescuezo, i, 10, 75), Moreto has evolved the first scene of Act III.

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Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit. p. xxxix) mentions the fact that analogies have been pointed out between El Pescado en la corte and La entrada del Cervantes, Quién engaña más a quién (Alarcón?), and the Menesteros (Plautus).

While it is certainly not improbable that Moreto knew the Menesteros, or even the other plays, I can see no evidence of influence. Undoubtedly they all belong to the same school: all are comedies of intrigue wherein the protagonist borrows the identity of another in order to obtain some desired end. In the case of the Menesteros, as with El Pescado en la corte, the impersonation is made possible by the fact that the protagonist closely resembles the man whom he impersonates, but this same statement could be made for Tirso's La ventura con el nombre o Lope de Vega's Los mártires de Madrid or Moreto's "No hay reino como el de Dios." One may also point out that however much Plautus' character may protest against the identity that is forced upon him, people refuse to believe him even as they do Don Fernando and that eventually the protagonist of each play accepts the rôle.

As for Quién engaña más a quién, the protagonist assumes, as in El Pescado en la corte, the rôle of the brother who has been in America for many years in order to obtain admission into the house of his sweetheart. The plan is upon him, however, not by the arrival of the real brother but by the machinations of a certain Enrique who learns the lovers' secret, sends his rival to an insane asylum, and usurps for himself the rôle of brother. The similarity does not extend to the characters. There is, so far as I can see, no reason to suppose that Moreto was acquainted with the play.

*El príncipe persiguido*

El gran duque de Moscovia y emperador persiguido (Lope)

*El príncipe persiguido,* written by Belmonte Bermúdez, Moreto, and Martínez de Mendoza according to an autograph manuscript which carries the censor's stamp of Dec. 1650, is drawn from Lope's *El gran duque de Moscovia y emperador persiguido.*

145 La entrada del Cervantes, first printed in 1618 in Ocho comedias y ocho enterizos, ed. Schewell y Bonilla, Madrid, 1915, Vol. VII.

Quién engaña más a quién was printed as the work of Alarcón in the Escuelas, José Fernández de Buenilla, Madrid, 1679, Tono variante (See La Barra, Catálogo, p. 702). Harzenobach (B.A.E., Vol. IV, p. 520) doubts that the work is wholly Alarcón's. Certainly it is not entirely characteristic of him. The play may be read in the B.A.E., Vol. IV.

146 See pp. 138-139 of this study for bibliographical details and for a discussion concerning the collaborators' division of labor.

147 Of date 1603... 137 according to Buchanan's *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays. Printed in Part VII* of Lope's plays, Madrid, 1617. The play may be read in the Royal Academy Edition, Vol. VI. The indebtedness of *El príncipe persiguido* to Lope's play is there pointed out, p. cxxxvii.
deems the earlier playwright’s protagonist, Felipe’s rôle, if longer than that of Lambert, is nevertheless not so distinctive. This change offers interest, however, in that the stress on the monarchical ideal of which Lope’s character was a symbol, is thus deliberately omitted. And finally, Peñino, servant to Demetrio, is the stereotyped “gracioso,” hungry, cowardly, talkative, whereas his counterpart, Rufino, is soldier and friend to the protagonist.

On the whole, the borrowing is one of plot and of layout of characters. However, there is one fragment of dialogue in each act which has been appropriated virtually in toto. Compare:

(a) the passage of Moreto (Act I, p. 3) which begins “Qué caballo sacarán!” with that of Lope (Act I, p. 603), “¿Qué caballo han de sacar?”

(b) the passage of Moreto (Act II, p. 20) which starts “Pues desdénate y cóguelos...” with that of Lope (Act II, p. 620), “Desnuda pronto y cóguelos.”

(c) the passage of Moreto (Act III, p. 32) starting, “Gran Duque, dame los brazos...” with that of Lope (III, p. 641), “Dame, Demetrio, esos brazos.”

† El príncipe prodigioso
and
Príncipe prodigioso transalviano (Lope)

In cutting Lope’s Príncipe prodigioso transalviano from some 400 lines to 2888, Moreto and Matos have in El príncipe prodigioso taken a formless chronicle play, which is at times Sencan in its brutality, and transformed it into a more unified, if totally insipid, comedy. In it, Segismundo, “defender of the faith,” contends with Mahometo, last of the Ottomans, not only for the hand of the fair Arminda, but also for the independence of Transylvania and its religion. The heroine, a captive in the court of the Turks who has been stolen in childhood from her father, the king of Austria, is mysteriously drawn to this Christian suitor who has been appointed by Heaven to break the Ottoman power and who, in order to carry out his mission, must wage war not only with the enemy but also with the treachery of his own nobles.

In order to attain some semblance of regularity in plot, the authors have had to make radical changes; among other things: (1) eliminate a veritable host of characters who throb the stage of Lope; (2) increase the comic element and the love interest, motives which in the original were almost completely lacking; (3).excise several subplots as well as a plethora of disconnected episodes which are all intended to glorify the hero. Indeed, the changes in the part which Moreto is supposed to have written are so great that his half seldom touches the original. Matos’ debt is much greater, though he has rarely borrowed the dialogue.

Moreto’s hero and his opponent have been dwarfed to the proportions of the drawing room. Segismundo is, according to the title, a “prodigious prince and defender of the faith,” but the reader feels little, if any, of that force which is the heritage of the leader of men or of that blind fanatical strength which actuates the religious zealot.

San Franco de Sene
and
El condenado por desconfiado (Tirso), La mal casada (Lope), etc.

The “reminiscences” of Tirso’s El condenado por desconfiado which Señores Hurtado de la Serna and González Palencia (Hist. de la llt. esp., p. 172) find in Moreto’s San Franco de Sene had been more specifically pointed out by Schaeffer (Op. cit., II, pp. 183-184). The analogy is largely one of character. San Franco, like Ferrico, is a blamphemous young gambler who prides himself on his evil life but who, like him, has as a redeeming virtue, a deep-rooted love for his helpless old father. In both plays the father has been reduced to dire poverty by the excesses of his spendthrift son, and in both the protagonist returns at the peril of his own life to rescue the long-suffering parent, who is being unjustly persecuted by the law.

One might point out further that the theme of repentance is common to both. In Tirso’s play, the Little Shepherd tells Paulo (El condenado, II, 10, p. 193):

No desconfie ninguno, aunque grande pecador, de aquella misericordia de que más se precisa Dios.

Compare with this the Guardian Angel’s warning to the audience in Moreto’s play (III, I, p. 135):

Pecadores, vivid con esperanza; No desconfie vuestra error, mortales; Por sus cumbres buscad la penitencia.

Were it not for the scene wherein San Franco rescues his father, I should deny the influence of El condenado por desconfiado, since the other similarities of character or theme that have been mentioned could be explained by the life of San Franco. This was one of the scenes, however, which led Schaeffer to declare (Op. cit., II, p. 183) that Moreto’s brain was

† Schaeffer (Op. cit., II, p. 184) makes mention of an El lego del Carmen, which is attributed to Lope de Vega in Vicente Sánchez’ Iria politecs, Zaragoza, 1688. Reiner (Spanish Stage, p. 196) notes that Gaspar de Torres played El lego del Carmen in 1605 in Barco de Avis. It is not improbable that the two plays are the same and that this is the real source of Moreto’s comedy.

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young daredevil; like all of Moreto's heroes, but unlike the protagonist of the earlier version, he is faithful to his lady. The women of the revised work are, as we should expect, more decorous than their prototypes, especially in their relationship toward each other. It is an interesting commentary on Moreto's patriotism, that it is the Flemish lady, not the Spanish one, who has been idealized. And finally, the part of the gondolier has increased in importance and propriety.

In versification and dialogue, Moreto's debt is a small one, if we except the last few pages of Act II. Here the author has helped himself most generously: the metre is the same and many lines (130 lines out of a possible 401) are virtually identical. It is the portion of the play where we should have least expected direct borrowing, for it is in these pages that young Sancho strangles his rival, Captain Brondeux, before the eyes of the audience. Inasmuch as the instances in Moreto's secular theatre where a character meets a violent death on the stage are rare, if they exist at all, the retention of this repulsive scene suggests a collaborating hand.

El valiente justiciero

and

El rey Don Pedro en Madrid (Lope)

Moreto's El valiente justiciero is, according to the temper of the critics, a "slavish imitation" or an "admirable adaptation" of Lope's El rey Don Pedro en Madrid y el infanzón de Illescas.\textsuperscript{111}

The story, as Moreto tells it, is that of Don Pedro the Just in conflict with one of his arrogant feudal lords, Don Tello of Alcalá. The latter, having won the favor of Doña Leonor under pledge of marriage, not only refuses to carry out his promise to her but as liege lord of a certain Don Rodrigo even dares to rob him of his bride, Doña María. The encounter of Don Tello with his king, his complete defeat at the hands of the latter, and the resolution of the two love tangles through intervention of the monarch—these form the chief interests of El valiente justiciero.

With a few changes in names the same outline will serve for Lope's play. Indeed, this is one of the few comedias of the author in which whole scenes have been appropriated and in which at times even the versification of the original\textsuperscript{112} has been retained. In the third act, at least twelve out of the eighteen scenes of Moreto are in content virtually identical with those of Lope; and of these twelve, no less than seven derive a large num-


\textsuperscript{112} First printed in a copy of the \textit{Paris XVII}, 1621. It has been attributed to Tirso, Calderón and Andrés de Caramonte as well as to Lope. For full bibliographical details, see Rennert and Castro's \textit{Vida de Lope de Vega}, Madrid, 1919, p. 488.

\textsuperscript{113} Compare III, 11-13 of Moreto's comedia with III, 11-13 of Lope's; III, 8 with III, 8; III, 15 with III, 14.

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ber of lines from the original.\textsuperscript{113} Act II is, on the other hand, almost completely reworked and offers very few evidences of borrowed dialogue, while Act I sins in the latter respect in one scene only.

To one acquainted with Moreto's usual methods of revision, it is surprising that he has retained two subplots, which, though interrelated, have little connection with the main thread of the story. The one, which is concerned with the enmity between Don Pedro and his brother Don Enrique de Trastamara, has increased in importance until it serves as so much surrounding action for the whole. The second subplot concerns the prophecy of the shadow that Don Pedro will die at his brother's hands and will "become a statue in Madrid"—this in punishment for having killed a priest within the sanctuaries of the church. The element of the supernatural in the revision has decreased in importance; the shadow appears thrice to Lope's protagonist, to Moreto's only once.\textsuperscript{114}

Even though Moreto's play, in point of construction, falls short of his best, it is, nevertheless, in this regard superior to its source. In Act I the dramatist has actually staged Don Tello's abduction of Doña María (Lope's Leonor) on her wedding day, and in so doing has given vividness to the subplot without loss of unity. The changes in the second act are even happier. Lope's device for humbling the pride of the haughty nobleman—he moves him from room to room without permitting him to see the king—has certain psychological advantages, but dramatically it is ineffective. The beginning of Lope's third act is likewise weak in that it includes a number of aimless scenes which Moreto has entirely omitted.\textsuperscript{115}

The last half of this act, like the corresponding portion of the source, err

\textsuperscript{111} In Act III, cf. scenes 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17 of El valiente justiciero with their respective originals 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19 in Lope's play. Scene eight has borrowed 14 out of a possible 36 lines; scene nine, 25 out of 70; scene twelve, 4 out of 13; thirteen, 45 out of 65; fifteen, 11 out of 42; seventeen, 2 out of 36.

\textsuperscript{112} In Act II, cf. scene 3 of El valiente justiciero with 3 of El rey Don Pedro and II, 10 with II, 18.

\textsuperscript{113} In Act I, scene eleven has retained 40 out of a possible 135 lines. There are also occasional borrowed verses—in all some 10—which are scattered throughout the pages of this act.

\textsuperscript{114} Reference to the statue of Don Pedro which was placed in the convent of nuns of Santo Domingo.

\textsuperscript{115} This is a change which Schaeffer remarks very much because he sees in it proof that Moreto failed utterly to comprehend the true spirit of his source. To the German critic, the struggle that takes place between Lope's protagonist and Don Tello is of purely secondary interest. As he sees it, it is the conflict of Don Pedro and a Higher Will which is primary. The Shadow would say to the protagonist "Judge not lest ye be judged," for Don Pedro is a rebel against spiritual authority even as Don Tello is against monarchical rule, and Don Enrique is but the instrument of fate by which the prophecies of the shadow are to be fulfilled. This is a poetic interpretation which lends both unity and beauty to the drama, but I am inclined to think it is Schaeffer's, not Lope's.
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In shifting the interest from the main story to the subplot and thus leaving the reader with a sense of the unfinished.

In the matter of characterization, the most important change that has been made in reworking El rey Don Pedro en Madrid is the transformation of the peasant girl Elvira into Doña María of the noble house of Guevara. It is a change which has involved others. Busto, the swain of Elvira since childhood days, disappears. As dramatically superfluous, Moreto has likewise omitted Don Fernando, father to Elvira, and the crowd of courtiers with which the display-loving Lope was always surrounded. The story is that of the stern Seleucus, who, finding that his son Demetrius has broken the law against adultery, orders him to be exiled. The evidence seems fairly conclusive. The story is that of the stern Seleucus, who, finding that his son Demetrius has broken the law against adultery, orders him to be exiled. But Lope's play, contrary to the historical version, the punishment is modified to one eye, Seleucus himself giving up the other eye in order to fulfil the letter of the law. Schaeffer points out (Op. cit., II, pp. 174–175) that Lope de Vega's El marqués de Mantua contains these lines (I, p. 303):

Otro por quebrar su ley
un ojo se sacó a sí
y otro se lo hubo.

It seems not unlikely then that Moreto had before him a dramatic model in which the story of history had already been altered. The supposition is strengthened by the fact that this is the only play in the secular theatre of Moreto wherein a woman is unfaithful to her husband, even in her secret thoughts.

Schaeffer's assumption of a dramatic model for Primero es la hora rests on his feeling that its plot structure is characteristic of Lope rather than of Moreto. To make specific his assertion, the German critic has drawn a parallel between the comedias of Lope's La ley ejecutada, there is no question of relationship between the two cited, one of Lope's work is a modified version of the Antiochus-Seleucus story whereas Primero es la hora is founded upon the Apollus Claudius-Virginia story. There is a similarity in the general structure, however. In each case, the desire of the dramatist for a happy ending has lead him in the third act to resurrect the heroine, who has supposedly been executed at the end of the second. In Lope's story, she assumes man's clothing as a disguise; in Moreto's the dress of a peasant girl. Both plays would have gained dramatically had they closed with the second act. The observation of Schaeffer, then, is valid, for our dramatist was certainly not as a rule given to un prerequisite dénouements whereas the reverse is frequently true of Lope de Vega. Moreover, I agree with the critic that the fantastic episodes that make up the third act are characteristic of the earlier writer rather than of Moreto. The explanation of such essential differences in structure could find its

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Fernández-Guerra (Op. cit., p. xlv) declares with regard to El valiente juestico that "una de sus más brillantes escenas está calzada sobre otra de Los sueños de Hércules de Lope." Doubtless, he referred to the scene wherein King Pedro humiliates his rival, first by ignoring him while he reads the petitions before him, then by making him pick up the glove, and ultimately by hitting his haughty head against the wall. As every detail of this episode, except that of the glove, is to be found in the corresponding scene of El rey Don Pedro, it seems pointless to search for a more distant analogy.

Certain Plays of Moreto and their Lost Sources

There are various indications that Moreto used as sources for his plays comedies which are now lost to us. We have had occasion to mention Los jueces de Castilla and its probable relation to Lope's play of the same name. Moreover, as we have pointed out (See p. 194 of this study), it is

122 Schaeffer suggests that "quebrar" is a textual error for "guardar."
124 As such, it bears a certain resemblance to Los jueces de la ley, though it is doubtful that there is any question of influence.
answer in a lost drama, such as Schaefer has suggested, or in a collaborating
hand. Given the playwright’s usual practice, either seems probable.
The critic’s reasons for concluding that Industrias contra fines had a
dramatic model, probably a comedy of Lope de Vega, do not seem so well
founded. His feeling arises from the fact that the involved metaphor of
Carlos (III, 10, p. 285) is more characteristic of Lope’s period than Mo-
reto’s. I quite agree as to the accuracy of the general statement (See, how-
ever, p. 55 n. of this study), but I do not feel that in itself this detail is
sufficient to warrant the assumption of a lost source.

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*Bruto de Babelona (Ed.), N. 50, de Don Juan de Matos Fragoso, Don
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*Car para levanlar (San Gil de Portugal), de Matos, Cánzer, y Moreto,
B.A.E., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 583-600. (Last verse carry names.) First
dated edition: Parte XVII of the Escogidas, Melchor Sánchez, Madrid,
1662.

†Cuentas en la amistad (La), de Don Agustín Moreto; Tercera parte de
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pp. 309-344. First dated edition: Parte XLIII de diferentes autores,
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Nadal, 1796.

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pp. 427-442. First edition: Parte XXIX of the Escogidas, José Fern-
ández de Buendía, Madrid, 1668.

81-100. First dated edition: Parte I de Moreto, Diego Díaz de la Ca-
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*Confusión de un jardín (La), de Don Agustín Moreto, B.A.E. Vol.
XXXIX, pp. 511-526. First dated edition: Parte tercera de Moreto’s
plays, Antonio de Zafra, Madrid, 1681.

Defensor de su apruebo (Ed.), de Don Agustín Moreto, B.A.E., Vol. XXXIX,
p. 491-510. First printed edition: Parte XXVIII of the Escogidas,
Lucas Antonio de Bedmar, Madrid, 1671.

79-76. First dated edition: Parte I de Moreto, Diego Díaz de la Carrera,
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†Déjar en su reino por otro y mártires de Madrid, Comedia famosa de Don
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not paginated (lettered A-E). Included in Tinknor Library, Boston
(D17.3.10, Vol. I). Not mentioned by Cotelero. First dated edition:
Parte XIV of the Escogidas, Roque Rico de Miranda, Madrid, 1678.

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p. 1-19. First dated edition: Parte I of Moreto, Diego Díaz de la Ca-
rerra, Madrid, 1654.

†Encaus De Dios (Ed.), de Don Agustín Moreto; 48 pp. without year or
place. Not listed by Cotelero’s Bibliografía. First dated edition: Parte
I of Moreto, Benito Macé, Valencia, 1676; here named El Caballero del
Sacramento.

†En el mejor imperio, nadie pierda la esperanza, de Don Agustín Moreto
B.A.E., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 623-637. (Carries name of Moreto in final
verses.) There was only an undated suelta of Juan Sans, which would place
it in the early decades of the 16th century.

†Encanados de un engano y confusión de un papal (La), de Don Agustín
Moreto, B.A.E., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 527-543. There is no early dated
edition. The suelta of the Viuda Lechaim should be placed about 1750
or later.

†Escaramuaje, Parte XXXVII of the Escogidas, Melchor Alegre, Madrid,
1671. This is the first dated edition.

†Escuela de su hija (Ed.), de Don Agustín Moreto, Parte III, Antonio de
Zafra, Madrid, 1681, pp. 38-66. First dated edition: Parte XXXIV of the
Escogidas, José Fernández de Buendía, Madrid, 1670 as El azote de su
patría y renegado Aldenaga.

†Fingida Arcadia (La), B. A. E., Vol. XIV. First dated edition: Parte XXV
of the Escogidas, Domingo García y Morras, Madrid, 1666.

†Fingida y amor, N. 181, de Don Agustín Moreto, Imprenta de Joseph de
Orga, ... Valencia, Año 1772, p. 32. First dated edition: Parte XV of the
Escogidas, Melchor Sánchez, Madrid, 1661.

†Fortuna miercida (La), Merecer para alcanzar, de Don Agustín Moreto,
Tercera parte, Antonio de Zafra, Madrid, 1681, pp. 185-260. First
dated edition: Parte XLIII of the Escogidas, González de Reyes,
Madrid, 1678.

81-100. First dated edition: Parte I of Moreto, Diego Díaz de la Ca-
rerra, Madrid, 1654.
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†Casa de nadar es saber guardar la ropa (Lo), Parte XXXVIII of the Escogidas, Lucas Antonio de Bedmar, Madrid, 1672. This is the first dated edition.


*Hacer remedio al dolor, de Moreto y Cán cer, Parte XI de Escogidas, Gregorio Rodríguez, Madrid, date 1658 (?) or 1659 (?). See p. 220 of this study. First dated edition: Parte XI of the Escogidas, Gregorio Rodríguez, Madrid, 1659.


†Hermanos encontrados (Lo), de Don Agustín Moreto, Antonio de Zafra, Madrid, 1681, pp. 278-309. First dated edition: Parte VI de las Escogidas, Pedro Lanaja, Zaragoza, 1663. Found here as El satisfactor callando y princesa de los montes and attributed to Lope de Vega.


Más ilustre francés, San Bernardo (Lo), de Don Agustín Moreto, Parte XI de las Escogidas, Gregorio Rodríguez, Madrid, 1659. First dated edition: one given above.


THE DRAMATIC ART OF MORETO

*Mejor luna africana (Lo), First dated edition: Suelta of Juan Sanz of the early decades of the 18th century. In a ms. of the Bib. Nac., it is attributed in the final lines to "nuve ingenios"; Moreto is one of the nine. I have not seen the play.

†Mejor por de los doce (Lo), N. 168, de Don Juan de Matos Fragoso y Don Agustín Moreto, Imprenta de Joseph y Thomáis de Orga, Valencia, 1776, pp. 32. Verses carry name of Matos, p. 17 and Moreto, p. 32. Edition listed in Cetarolo that is apparently the same except that it does not carry number 168. First dated edition: Parte XXXIX of the Escogidas, José Fernández de Buendía, Madrid, 1673.


*Nuestra Señora del Pilar, La primera jornada de Don Sebastián de Villaviciosa, La segunda de Don Juan de Matos, La tercera de Don Agustín Moreto. Without year or place, 17 leaves, not foliated. (Not listed in Cetarolo's Bibliografía.) First dated edition: Parte V of the Escogidas, Pablo de Val, Madrid, 1663.


Parecido (Lo), N. 303, de Don Agustín Moreto, without year or place, 20 leaves, not foliated (of Juan Sans, Madrid). Has name of Moreto in first verses. First dated edition: Parte XXXIII of the Escogidas, José Fernández de Buendía, Madrid, 1665.

Parecido en la corte (Lo), de Don Agustín Moreto, B.A.E., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 311-330. First dated copy: Ms. of 1652 in Biblioteca Nacional;
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first printed edition was the suelta of Juan Sanz belonging to early decades of 18th century.


_Primicia perseguida_ (El), N. 101, de Don Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Viuda de Francisco de Leedael, Sevilla, 32 pp. Not mentioned in Cotorro. First dated copy: Autograph ms. of 1650; first printed in _El mejor de los mejores libros, Alcalá, 1651._

*Principio prodigioso y defensor de la fe (El), N. 154, de doctor Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Juan Serra y Nadal, Barcelona, without year or pagination; 16 leaves. Not listed by Cotorro. First dated edition: _El mejor de los mejores libros, María Fernández, Alcalá, 1631._

*Rey Don Enrique, el Enfermo (El),_ of Zabaleta, Martínez de Meneses, Roseto, Villalvisca, Cáceres y Moreto, _Parte IX_ of the Escogidas, Pedro Rodríguez, Madrid, 1657. Incomplete copy. This is the first dated edition.

_Rosario perseguido_ (El), N. 111, de un ingenio de esta corte, Imprenta de la Viuda de Francisco Leedael, Sevilla. Burton collection of 2 vol. (G. 3353.3), Boston Public Library. Not mentioned in Cotorro's Bibliografia. There is no dated edition until Antonio Sanz' of 1745, but there is in the Bibliotheca Nacional a ms. of the 17th century.


_San Luis Beltrán, de Moreto, Parte XXVI_ of the Escogidas, Francisco Nieto, Madrid, 1666. First dated edition: _Norte de la viuda española_ Juspe Ferrer, Valencia, 1616, where it is printed as Aguilar's work.


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†Travesuras son valor, de un ingenio, _Parte VIII_ of the Escogidas, Andrés García de la Iglesia, Madrid, 1657. This is the first dated edition.

*Travesuras son valor (revised version), N. 264, de Don Agustín Moreto, Imprenta de la Platería de la calle de la Paz, Madrid, 1729, pp. 32. There is apparently a reprint of this listed in Cotorro, Bibliografia, p. 39, which is identical with it except that the publisher's name, Antonio Sanz, is given and with it the date of publication, 1747.


*Vida y muerte San Cayetano (La),_ de Diamante, Villaviscosa, Avellaneda, Maños, Arce y Moreto. _Parte XXXVIII_ of the Escogidas, Juan Antonio de Bedmar, Madrid, 1702. This is the first dated edition.


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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

1) Oponerse a las estrellas was written in or before 1649, for it is listed in the Décimas de Felipe IV, which, according to Rostori (Op. cit., pp. 30–34), were composed between 1644 and 1649.

2) Hacer remedio el dolor was probably written in or before 1649, since it is mentioned in the Décimas de Felipe IV, which Rostori (Op. cit., pp. 30–34) places between 1644 and 1649. According to Cotaorelo (Biblioth. p. 29) the play was first printed in 1659 in the Pars XI of the Escogidas (Gregorio Rodriguez, Madrid). However, that volume was probably a reprint of one published in Madrid in 1658, inasmuch as there is in the Bodleian Library a copy of one of this latter date. (See Münch, Die älteren Sammlungen der spanischen Dramen, Vienna, 1852, p. 88.) I am unable to tell whether the edition I have used in the Ticknor Collection (Boston) is that of 1658 or 1659, for the original title page is lacking. The volume tallies with Fernández-Guerra’s description of the 1659 Escogidas (Op. cit., p. i) except that there is no mention in the year of publication nor of Gregorio Rodríguez. In the book which I have at hand, however, Hacer remedio el dolor is attributed to Moreto and Canción, not to Moreto, Canción, and Matos, as the Spanish critic declares (Op. cit., p. 3xxv). A nueva de Sevilla by Don Diego López de Haro prints it as the work of Moreto and Canción. Salvá (Catálogo, 1, p. 607) says: “En una edición moderna que poseo, se dan por autores de esta a comedia a Canción, Matos y Moreto, y Meudel la cita anónima.”

3) Fernández-Guerra is of the opinion that “la tercera jornada es lo que parece por su estructura y glosas de la pluma de Moreto.” I hesitate to venture an opinion as to the division of labor in this comedy. The play is really El desdén con el desdén in embryo (see p. 162 of this study), and one acquainted with the latter finds something familiar in each act of Hacer remedio el dolor. It is the last half of Act III, however, which is to me least characteristic in dramatic structure and tone. In spirit, this part seems not out of harmony with the burlesque genius of Canción, but its lack of redondillas is hardly what one would expect. I cannot find Matos’ hand in any portion of the comedy.

4) Escaramont was, in 1715, turned into Dutch by the actor, Enoch Krook, who states in his introduction, however, that he used not the comedy in verse which is associated with Moreto’s name but a prose translation made by the Portuguese Jew, Athías. He observes in this same introduction that Moreto wrote the comedy to ridicule Gerónimo Canción. The title of the Dutch version is Spiegel der wenschicklycke tooneelslukken (Mirror of Bad Comedies). (See Van Praag, La “comédia” espagnole aux pays-bas au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle, Amsterdam, no date, pp. 63–64.)

I have at hand only the printed edition of the Escogidas. In order to solve the problem of authorship, one must needs study also the manuscript, the translation of Krook, and the prose version of Athías,—if this last is still in existence.

5) One reads in the Nuevos datos de Pérez Pastor (Bullicon Hispánique, Vol. XVI, 1914, p. 564) under date of Feb. 26, 1661: “Certificación de que
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la compañía de Escamillo ha de hacer a S. M. y está ensayando la comedia de *Finisir y amor* de tres ingenios y que por esta causa no hay función hoy en el Corral de la Cruz." The work has everywhere else been attributed to Moreto alone. I no longer have this play in my possession and so cannot reexamine it. At the time I read it, I noted nothing inconsistent with Moreto's workmanship.

(3) Stiefel (Zeitschrift für rom. Phil., Vol. XXXI, pp. 360-361) notes that there exists a *suella* of *La fingida Arcadia* which is attributed to Antonio Coello and concludes that the "Don N. N." to whom it is ordinarily ascribed in collaboration with Calderón and Moreto is none other than he.

(6) Stiefel (Zeitschrift für rom. Phil., Vol. XV, p. 221) mentions an *El mejor esposo* which is to be found in the library of Munich and which is ascribed to Moreto. *Guillén de Castro* is author of a play by this name.

(7) In the list of Moreto's brothers and sisters given on p. 3 of this study, there is no mention of Julián; yet the dramatist expressly names his brother, Julián Moreto, as one of the executors of his will.

(8) *Vense y salen Filiberto*. Such stage directions (See p. 48 of this study) are not included in the B.A.E. version of *La fingida Arcadia*, but may be found in the edition of Antonio Sanz, Madrid, 1753.
El Enca de Dios

(El caballero del Sacramento o El blasón de los Moncada)

El Enca de Dios, a seventeenth century manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional, is, as Coterelo has pointed out, a different play from the one of the same name published in Parte XV of the Escogidas. It is the comedia in manuscript which should be attributed to Moreto, not the published work. Both versions of El Enca de Dios are based primarily on Lope's play, El caballero del Sacramento, but there are details of the manuscript which have a counterpart in the printed play that prove an interrelationship.

Before asserting which of the two later dramatists was the borrower, one would have to establish the chronology of the two plays.

No. 17113. See The Dramatic Art of Moreto, pp. 144, 160, 170. The manuscript belonged to one Antonio de 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, 1929), was in 1602 an actor in Seville in the company of Juan Pérez de Tapia.

19 Melchor Álvaro, Madrid, 1501.
20 Without having seen the manuscript—for the photocast 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, 1953, I, 352-356), notes my surmise (p. 333) that the manuscript "may supply the key to the situation" and, after briefly analyzing the work, concludes: "the published play ... must henceforward be rejected as Moreto's."

21 Pas y Mella (Cadiz de los pies de teatro que se conserva 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 (Cadiz de los pies de teatro antiguo espanol, Madrid, 1800, p. 0) mentions a Held of this name attributed to him. Pas y Mella adds that it is the same play as El gran pasar dero ... Don Juan de Ribera. I have seen Aguilar's play under the latter name (included in Nueva de la poesia espanola, Jospe Ferrer, Valencia, 1616), and it has no relationship to Lope's play or to either version of El Enca de Dios.

22 Cf. the scenes of the memorable (Escogidas, II, pp. 133 v., to 135 v. and Ma., II, pp. 7-10); also the disquire of the perigos (Escogidas, II, p. 174 v. and Ma., II, pp. 1 and 8).

23 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 1650s. See his description of the sieges of Gerona (1538) in De fuerza vendido (BAE, Vol. XXIX, I, pp. 89-80). Moreover, El desenco con el estaos and Hasta el fin nadie (both published in Moreto's Parte I, Diego de la Carrera, Madrid, 1654), with their Catalan setting, give further proof of his interest in the political situation.

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Before asserting which of the two later dramatists was the borrower, one would have to establish the chronology of the two plays.

No. 17113. See The Dramatic Art of Moreto, pp. 144, 160, 170. The manuscript belonged to one Antonio de 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, 1929), was in 1602 an actor in Seville in the company of Juan Pérez de Tapia.

19 Melchor Álvaro, Madrid, 1501.
20 Without having seen the manuscript—for the photocast 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, 1953, I, 352-356), notes my surmise (p. 333) that the manuscript "may supply the key to the situation" and, after briefly analyzing the work, concludes: "the published play ... must henceforward be rejected as Moreto's."

21 Pas y Mella (Cadiz de los pies de teatro que se conserva 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 (Cadiz de los pies de teatro antiguo espanol, Madrid, 1800, p. 0) mentions a Held of this name attributed to him. Pas y Mella adds that it is the same play as El gran pasar dero ... Don Juan de Ribera. I have seen Aguilar's play under the latter name (included in Nueva de la poesia espanola, Jospe Ferrer, Valencia, 1616), and it has no relationship to Lope's play or to either version of El Enca de Dios.

22 Cf. the scenes of the memorable (Escogidas, II, pp. 133 v., to 135 v. and Ma., II, pp. 7-10); also the disquire of the perigos (Escogidas, II, p. 174 v. and Ma., II, pp. 1 and 8).

23 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 1650s. See his description of the sieges of Gerona (1538) in De fuerza vendido (BAE, Vol. XXIX, I, pp. 89-80). Moreover, El desenco con el estaos and Hasta el fin nadie (both published in Moreto's Parte I, Diego de la Carrera, Madrid, 1654), with their Catalan setting, give further proof of his interest in the political situation.
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 role, sentimentalized; the gracioso's, increased. Moreover, the play has been shortened from 3471 lines to 3141, which total includes 17 lines of song. In its general percentages, the versification is quite characteristic of Moreto: romances, 1714 (54.8%); redondillas, 1056 (34%); décima, 10; siete, 111; quintilla, 118; paredón, 57; prose, 8; liro (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 liro in Santa Olalla, and Isabel's gift of relics to Don Luis; but if there are any verbal debts, I have not noticed them.

These figures vary ever so slightly from those given by Mr. Fichter (3104 with an additional 22 lines of song). See Hispanic Review, I, 363. 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.

There is, in the Biblioteca Municipal of Madrid, a play in manuscript entitled El hijo obediente, which is of sufficient importance to merit detailed description. On the title page one finds the following: "Juan, María, José / v = d = e = v = m 16 / El hijo obediente / Comedia famosa / de / Agustín Moreto y Cavann / (a name scratched out) / 1676 / Sánchez." This is all in the same hand as Act I except the name of "Sánchez." At the end of the act I we find: "...se sacó en Madrid a 7 de Marzo de 1676"; at the end of act II, "Don Jerónimo de Cárdamos Salcedo y Zúñiga, 1676, en Valencia"; and at the end of act III, "se sacó Pizarro de Moreto." The handwriting of each act is different. Acts I and II, in spite of the difference of place, are apparently upon 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 daré (sin)
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 = e = m found in the autograph manuscript El poder de la amistad (no. 47-) 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 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 dicta laudes Moretus?"
18 Probably Jerónimo de Sánchez, 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 Hispánique, XV, 429, and Bonnet, The Spanish Stage, p. 806. 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 Indice, and this is to be expected since it has not (to my knowledge) ever been printed; but Medel, who there is reason to think had access to the Osuna library, attributes a play by this name to Moreto and still another to an ingenio, Fernández-Guerra, 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, 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 de los comediantes of date 1606, is this play in manuscript, not Beneyto's.

The characters listed are: El infante Don Fernando; El príncipe Don Carlos; Doña Blanca, dama; Elviza, criada; Garibay, gracias; el rey Don Juan; Don Bernardo Bocanorti; Don Juan de Beaumont; soldados, unos catalanes; un alcalde de villano. 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 grandmother 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.

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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 no more father than monarch; Brianda, dignified wife and loving mother; Garibay, omnipresent graciaso with his neat commentaries on the situation. These, as well as the courtly atmosphere in which they move, are entirely Moretoan. 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, 1647 (58.6%); redondillas, 848 (30.6%); silvas, 204; quintillas, 65; octavas, 104; prose, 6. All acts end in romances.

There is, finally, a detail in the play (II, p. 28) which brings to mind El desden con el desden: the adversaries 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 Bearn are two rivals of Carlos in Moreto's masterpiece. El hijo obediente is a revision of Lope's El príncipe aragones. In dealing with the characterization of the latter play, Menéndez y Pelayo 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 . . . aparece como Hamlet de la historia" is portrayed as "un ambicioso insensato y brutal, como un mal hijo . . . vengado 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 emprar y lloriquear por su ingratitude y rebeldía," in which there are "monstruos os anacronismos" whereby "D. Fernando el Católico . . . aparece ganando batallas contra el (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 an "pain in his side," as Zurita would have it, or to the many tribulations of his unfortunate life as Mariana puts it. He has,

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First published in Parte XXI, Madrid, 1655. An autograph ms. of 1623 (R. 100) 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.


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

Monóndes 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. Moreto has suppressed the two subplots formed by Fernando’s love for Doña Ana and his marriage to Isabella; has cut the cast of characters from 17 to 9; has added the characteristic gracioso, Garibay.

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 manuscript bearing the title El hijo pródigo. It is attributed to Cáceres, Moreto, and Mato, but has for its conclusion the following verses:

que al hijo pródigo aquí
• • •

da el poeta fin dichoso.

In giving these plays staged in Valencia during the eighteenth century, Sr. Juliá lists one entitled El hijo pródigo, which is attributed to Cáceres, Moreto, and Mato.

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 these plays with a Catalan setting may not possibly have a political significance.

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.

La Barrera (Catalogo, p. 554) attributes it to tres ingenios and states: “consta en Huerta” (Theatro Hispano, catalogo alfabético de las comedias, trágicas, y otras obras correspondientes al Theatro Hispano, Imprenta Real, Madrid, 1785. Pas y Molla (Catalogo de las piezas de teatro, p. 234) states that it has been printed as a suelta.


See Pas y Molla, 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. Liborio, 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 Liborio 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. 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, 28; songs, 24.
II: romances, 334; redondillas, 360; pareados, 24; décimas, 10; song, 4.
III: romances, 340; redondillas, 252; pareados, 136; décimas, 60; quintillas, 135; songs, 12.

The comedy shows a total of 2001 verses with the following distribution: romances, 1080 (41%); redondillas, 1020 (38.8%); pareados, 210; quintillas, 135; décimas, 90; silvas, 20; songs, 40. The song near the close of Act 1 (made up of 6 and 8 syllables with a rhyming echo which recalls Alcaraz’s Discursos por la hermosa Roca) is not, in so far as I know, characteristic of Moreno or his collaborator; 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.

Finally, this work gives evidence, aside from the closing lines, of borrowing 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, Cané, and Moreno did not, in their collaborated works, display such care in matters of

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

a No. 15540.

a 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., 243., III, 5 v., 10 r., 17 r.

a It is the same hand that has copied two pages of El poder de la amistad (Ms., Ya-7-4, III, pp. 25 r., v.).
All of the printed versions which I have seen carry the title La mejor luna africana, and are all attributed to tres ingenios:

La mejor luna africana

The play has likewise been linked with Calderón’s name. Medel attributes a play of this title to him, and Fajardo notes: “Mayor luna africana de Calderón entre las sueltas; suelta en Madrid, Léon [a bookstore], y dice ser de tres ingenios.” Vera Tasís 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. The part attributed to Moreto is small but characteristic enough.

W. A. Kincard, in his study of Belmonte Bermúdez, 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 or Moreto’s version of the latter, Cómo se vengan los nobles—but done in Moorish dress. The beautiful Sultana, wife to Boabdil el Chico, is accused by the traitor Gomel of illicit relations with Hazán,—with Hazán, 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. Hazán, sustained morally by the redoubtable Don Juan Chacón, makes Gomel at the point of the sword deny his charges; then, having

Vida de Fr. de Leocadia, Sevilla, without date; Antonio Sainoa, Madrid 1723; Vida de Joseph de Orga, Valencia, 1784; Alonso del Riego, Valladolid.


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

See Revue Hispanique, LXXIV, 176–178.

Printed in Parte I of Lope’s comedies, 1604. It may be read in the BAE, XXI.

First printed in Parte XXIX of the Escopidas, José Fernández de Buendía, Madrid, 1655. 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 Hazán) differs little from corresponding characters in Cómo se vengan los nobles. I have noted no verbal parallels. When Schneeffle terms this play “nicht verdientlosen,” 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 1603, the date of Alfarco’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.

Figures of versification for the different portions are as follows:

Belmonte: romances, 208; redondillas, 204.
Luis Vélez: romances, 432; redondillas, 98.
Juan Vélez: romances, 114; redondillas, 170.
Alfarco: romances, 378; redondillas, 100.
Moreto: romances, 184; redondillas, 110.
Martins: octaves, 72; redondillas, 270.
Sígular de Huerta: romances, 10; redondillas, 148; silvas, 84; proce, 17.
Cánico: romances, 106; décimas, 70; pareados, 70.
Rosete: romances, 226; silvas, 46; octaves, 24; proce, 8.

This gives a total of 3157 lines: 1668 of romances (52%); 1108 of redondillas (35%); 130 of silvas; 96 of octaves; 70 of décimas; 70 of pareados; 25 of prose.

No puede mentir el cielo

No puede mentir el cielo, which Le 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 century ascribed to Moreto.

Y este verdadero caso

da fin; vuestra piedad supla

de Don Agustín Moreto

con piedad las faltas muchunas.

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.”


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

No. 15621.
La Barrera's phrase "an 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. Medel 46 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. Cotarelo 47 lists the play as apocryphal, adding that Juan de la Calle represented a comedia of this name in Madrid during November of 1590.

The plot of the manuscript is as follows: Conrado, Duke of Francobia (sic. Francoria?) is, after some discension 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 decrees 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. 48 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 designated 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 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 dances, the attenuated drawing-room atmosphere, all proclaim it the work of the same author as Industrias contra fineszas, Hasta el fin nadie es dichoso, and La misma conciencia acusa. 49 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 %); 306 of redondillas (8 %); 90 of décimas; 168 of silvas; 46 of songs; 18 of prose. 50

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. 51 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 rôle 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 Escabache 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

47 Bibl. p. 41.
48 Cf. the romance of Galleros. See Menéndez y Pelayo, Antología de poetas hispánicos, IX, 57-58.
49 Printed in Parte XXXIII of Lope's works. It may also be read in Obras, Acad., nueva edict, Tp. de la Rev. de Arch., Bibl. y Museo, 1917, Vol. IV. If the relationship has been pointed out previously, I have not seen it.
50 Según 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 Perugria list, and that Cervantes is referring to this work when he writes (Quijote, I, xlviii): "¿Qué mayor disparate puedo 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 novelaque 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.  

**EL REY DON ENRIQUE EL ENFERMO**

Pas y Melia asserts that the manuscript El rey Don Enrique el Enfermo, which is attributed to Zabaleta, Martínez de Meneses, Roseto, Villavicencio, Cano, and Moreto was printed in Parte VI of the Escogidas. 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 vuellastesed perdonen
rudezas de un toledano,
loca planta de aquel monte.

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

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 six being the work of Zabaleta, the other five being

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written by Martínez de Meneses, Rosete, Villavicencio, Cánovas, and Moreto in the order named. Is this the play to which Barrionuevo refers in his letter 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 Enrique, el de las espaldas de carnero. En todas partes hay esperos donde se pueden ver los remedios eficaces de nuestra restauración; pero la lástima es que nadie se mira (sic) en ellos lo que 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. 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%), 720 of redondillas (26.6%), 110 of décimas, 70 of parados, 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 Pelayo was right in arguing that the version which we have of this play is probably Claírnanto’s revision of Lope’s work; and if we may judge by the final lines, the original had a tragic end:

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

The conviction that the ending of El rey Don Enrique el Enfemmo 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.

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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:

... 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-defined; 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, 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 Zabala, Roque, and Cáner are the...