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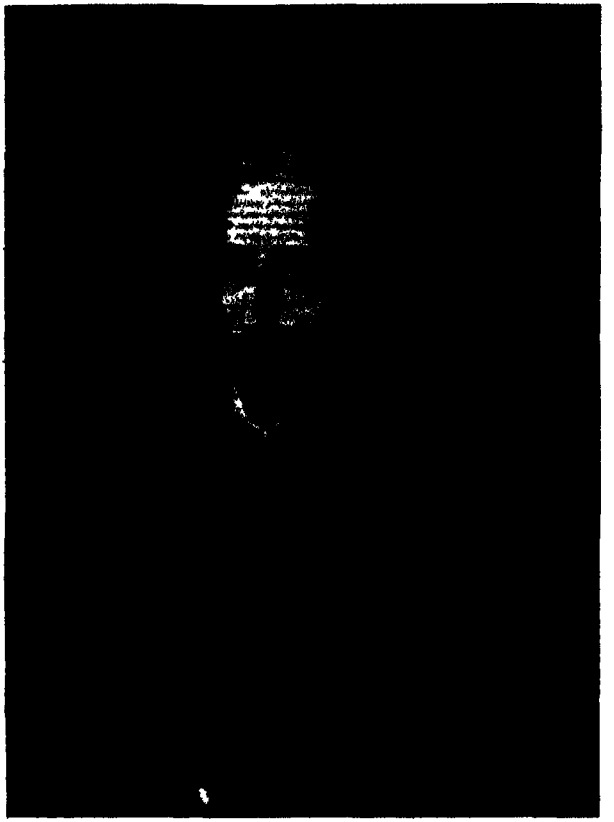
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THE LIFE OF LOPE DE VEGA



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Lope de Vega

THE LIFE OF
LOPE DE VEGA

(1562–1635)

BY

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TO THE MEMORY OF

MY MOTHER

MARGARETHE M. JAGER RENNERT

BORN MAY 19, 1835

DIED JUNE 5, 1899

I DEDICATE THIS VOLUME

A FLEETING TRIBUTE

OF ETERNAL LOVE

PREFACE

It is nearly a hundred years since a biography of Lope de Vega appeared in English,[1] and during this time investigations on the subject have naturally progressed. In this case, as in so many others, we are indebted to Ticknor for an accumulation of facts, derived chiefly from the poet's *Dorotea* and from his miscellaneous works; and likewise to Adolph Friedrich von Schack, whose *Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien* (Frankfurt am Main, 1854, 3 vols.) is still, on the whole, as valuable as when it first appeared. The article upon Lope de Vega in the *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del Teatro antiguo Español*, published in 1860, by D. Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera, increased our knowledge of bibliographical details. The same author's larger work, or 'New Biography' as he called it—*Nueva Biografía de Lope de Vega*—which had remained in manuscript since 1864, was finally issued by the Spanish Academy in 1890, and has been one of the chief sources of the present book. La Barrera, in his minute and comprehensive biography, brought together vast and varied materials of great importance to the student of Spanish literature, and was the first to utilize the correspondence between Lope de Vega and his patron, the Duke of Sessa. Three years ago an article by the well-known scholar D. Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, entitled *Datos desconocidos para la Vida de Lope de Vega*, appeared in the volume: *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, Madrid, 1900.

[1] *The Life of Lope de Vega*, by Lord Holland, London, 1807.

Later, that small part of the world which takes an especial interest in Spanish letters was not a little surprised when Sr. Pérez Pastor, in conjunction with Sr. D. A. Tomillo, published the *Proceso de Lope de Vega por libelos contra unos Cómicos*, Madrid, 1901, to which was appended a new edition of the *Datos desconocidos* just mentioned. This *Proceso* solved what had hitherto been one of the mysteries of Lope's life, *i.e.* the cause of his banishment; and in addition to this it threw much light upon other points of his career.

During the many years that I have been reading Lope's miscellaneous productions—by which I mean his non-dramatic works,—and his comedias (of which I possess an almost complete collection), it has often occurred to me that I might summarize the chief events in the romantic career of the great poet who had for so long been my favourite author. On the appearance of the *Proceso* I began to revise the notes I had made in the course of my reading, and determined to print them in the present form The idea of discussing Lope's works, especially his most important plays, had to be abandoned, as it would have made the book too bulky, or rather would have furnished material enough for several volumes.

I may say at the very outset that my essay is in no wise intended to replace the *Nueva Biografía* of La Barrera. That monumental work has a most permanent, distinct, and positive value of its own. Without it this book would never have seen the light, and I can scarcely exaggerate my indebtedness to it. It was my sole source for the great majority of Lope's letters, and in bibliographical matters also La Barrera's aid has been invaluable to me. For certain letters I have used the volume: *Ultimos Amores de Lope de Vega Carpio revelados por él mismo en cuarenta y ocho cartas inéditas y varias Poesías*, Madrid, 1876, published by José Ibero Ribas y Canfranc, an anagram of Francisco. Asenjo Barbieri, a distinguished literary and musical critic. I have in every instance given credit where I have taken anything from La Barrera or from any other writer on Spanish literature.

It has been my endeavour to record every known event in the life of the poet,—to note everything, so far as my knowledge extends, that might be of interest to a student of the great Spaniard or that might help to a better understanding of his achievement.

I wish to express my thanks to Mr. Charlemagne Tower, Ambassador of the United States at St. Petersburg, for his kindness in procuring for me the photograph of Lope de Vega, from the original painting by Luis Tristan, now in the Palace of the Hermitage.

My original purpose was to conclude this biographical essay with an alphabetical list of comedias written by, or ascribed to, Lope de Vega, and indeed the greater part of this appendix was already in type when my friend, Mr. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, drew my attention to a copy of John Rutter Chorley's admirable bibliography, minutely revised by the author. This complete re-cast had, apparently, escaped all experts with the single exception of Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, who had himself intended to issue it with supplementary notes. On hearing of my forthcoming book he at once renounced his project, placed the materials in my hands, and thus enabled me to utilize his fortunate discovery. Acting on his advice, I enlarged my first plan, and have made Chorley's important contribution more generally accessible by adopting its substance with the modifications which recent research has rendered necessary.

Apart from my obligation to him in this matter, I am profoundly grateful to Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly for many other services. He has read the proofs, has proffered much suggestive criticism, and has allowed me to draw continuously on his rare and vigilant learning. To the kindly encouragement and assiduous aid of this brilliant scholar the present volume chiefly owes its existence.

HUGO ALBERT RENNERT.

PHILADELPHIA, May 19, 1903.

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Portrait of Lope de Vega. By Luis Tristan, *Frontispiece*

Facsimile of page of Lope's MS, *facing p.* 357

CHAPTER I

THE YOUTH OF LOPE DE VEGA

Lope Felix de Vega Carpio was born on November 25, 1562, at Madrid, in the Puerta de Guadalajara,[1] and was baptized on December 6, following, in the parish church of San Miguel de los Ottores or Octoes, by the licentiate Muñoz, his sponsors being Antonio Gomez and Luisa Ramirez. His parents, Felix de Vega Carpio and Francisca Fernandez Flores, natives of the valley of Carriedo, in the mountains of the province then called the Asturias of Santander, had only removed to Madrid at the beginning of the very year in which Lope was born.[2] Lope's father,

[1] The Puerta de Guadalajara is that part of the calle Mayor included between the Cava de San Miguel and the calle de Milaneses. Lope was born in a house belonging to Jerónimo de Soto. According to Mesonero Romanos, the best authority upon ancient Madrid, the house in question is the one now modernized, situated in the calle Mayor (Nos 7 and 8, of the old, and No. 82 of the modern numbering, of *manzana* (block) 415). In one of his letters Lope says: "Yo nací en Madrid, pared y medio de donde puso Carlos V. la soberbia de Francia entre dos paredes," etc. Schack says that as the house mentioned by Mesonero Romanos is the one belonging to the Lujan family, in which Francis I. was imprisoned, the identification is perfect. It may be noted that this house, in which the great poet was born, stood diagonally over against the house in which Calderon passed the greater part of his life. *Nachträge*, p. 31. See however, La Barrera, *Nueva Biografía*, p. 18, note, who says that the birthplace of Lope was *opposite* the "casas de los Lujanes." On the "casas de los Lujanes," see Amador de los Rios, *Historia de la Villa y Corte de Madrid*, Madrid, 1862, Vol. II. Appendix.

[2] Lope's family is often spoken of as being noble, or of noble highland blood. It was, it should be remembered, a universal weakness among

himself a poet, according to the testimony of his famous son, seems to have been a man of very exemplary life, devoted to works of practical charity. The account given of him by D. Francisco de Herrera Maldonado, certainly reveals a Christian spirit rare in any age. He says that in the Madrid hospital *El Buen Suceso*, Felix de Vega and his children made the beds, swept and cleaned the passages, and washed the feet and hands of the poor.[1] Felix died,

Spaniards to be considered noble. Everybody sought to pose as a *hidalgo*, and—as a natural corollary—to avoid work. Indeed, this prerogative was claimed by this whole province of the Asturias. The reader may recall the passage in *Don Quixote*, Part II Chap. 48, where the duenna, who was "from the Asturias of Oviedo," but who, through poverty, had been reduced to service as a seamstress, and married an esquire, "as good a gentleman as the King himself, for he came of mountain stock". "hidalgo como el rey, porque era montañes" In a letter to the Duke of Sessa, Lope says · "y sabe que naci hombre de bien, de un pedazo de peña de la montaña." La Barrera, p 647. Calderon, Antonio de Mendoza and Quevedo were also *montañeses*, all deriving their birth from that "cradle of the nobility of Spain," as the latter calls it. On this point Ormsby says · "It is a mistake, no doubt, to speak of his (Lope's) family as noble, as some biographers do, nor indeed does he himself make any such claim for it. It was apparently a family *de solar conocido*, as a Spanish genealogist would have said, with a *casa solar* that had stood for several generations on the Vega de Carriedo near Santander, but it was nothing more. The escutcheon with the nineteen castles, engraved under his early portraits, which drew upon him the banter of Góngora, Cervantes, and others, was the Carpio shield, as he himself admits in the *Arcadia*, and his right to it is more than doubtful; and surely if he had had the necessary qualification of *hidalguia*, he would have received the order of Santiago, an honour conferred on his successor Calderon, almost at the very outset of his career." *Quarterly Review* (1894), p 505

[1] "Entre los amigos que tuvo el Santo Bernardino, estimó con grandes ventajas á Felix de Vega, grande imitador de sus virtudes y costumbres, que hasta su muerte siguió sus loables exercicios con notable exemplo, sin faltar dia del Hospital de la Corte (*ó Buen Suceso*), donde él y sus hijos hacian las camas, barrian y limpiaban los transitos, lavaban los pies y las manos á los pobres, y á los que iban convaliciendo consolaban, regalaban y vestian. Daba provechosas lecciones que perfeccionaron á Felix de Vega para llegar en la virtud á heroycos grados, y que despues comunicó á Isabel de Carpio, su hija mayor, que vivió con notable opinion, pasando á mejor vida el año de 1601." *Libro de la vida del V. Bernardino de Obregon*, por Don Francisco de Herrera Maldonado, p. 265, quoted by Castano Pellicer, *Origen y Progresos de la Comedia*, Mad.

apparently, at Madrid, on August 17, 1578.[1] Beside Lope, and a daughter Isabel who died in 1601, he left another son, who, as *Alférez* or ensign, accompanied Lope in 1588 on the disastrous expedition of the Armada to England, whence he never returned.[2]

Lope, who repeatedly speaks of his "humble blood" and of the "humble house of his parents," gives an account of his origin and birth in a poetical epistle to a

1804, Vol. I. p. 234. To this same Don Francisco our poet wrote a beautiful *Epístola*, which has been republished in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. I. p 309. Lope mentions his father in the fourth *silva* of his *Laurel de Apolo*; a sonnet upon his father's death was published in the second part of his *Rimas* in 1602 In his eclogue *Amarilis*, Lope alludes to his mother, though he does not name her. These are, I believe, the only references to his parents in all our poet's works.

It has been inferred that Lope's father was a basket maker, from the following verses:

"Apenas en mi nido
Que de torcidas pajas fabricaba
Mi padre, de los montes procedido."
La Filomena (Madrid, 1621).

And these lines are found in his *Circe* (Madrid, 1624):

"No ha sido ingratitud, desdicha ha sido;
Que nunca á mí me falta alguna pena
Entre las pajas de mi pobre nido."

But, doubtless, this phrase is purely figurative.

[1] The following burial-certificate, in all probability, refers to our poet's father: "Madrid, 17 Agosto, 1578—En xvii de ag° 1578 se enterró Felices de Vega bordador en la orden de quatro ducados. Murio subitamente." From this it also appears that he was by trade an embroiderer; that he died suddenly, as this notice indicates, is manifest from Lope's sonnet. See Pérez Pastor, *Datos desconocidos*, p. 222. To this same scholar we owe the confirmation record of Lope's elder sister "Isabel, hija de Felices de Vega," which is dated Madrid, July 6, 1562.

[2] In the will of Lope's second wife, Doña Juana de Guardo, published by La Barrera, p. 656, and dated August 11, 1613, there is mention of a gift by the testatrix to Luisa Debega, "niece of my said husband, . . . on account of the love and affection that I have for her." Could this have been the daughter of the *Alférez*, who perished in the Armada, or did our poet have another brother? Lope also had a nephew, for in several letters to the Duke of Sessa, he speaks of "my nephew, a friar," and once he alludes to his niece, perhaps the Luisa de Vega just mentioned.

Peruvian poetess, *Amarilis*,[1] who had addressed him in a *Silva* which, with our poet's reply, is found in the *Filomena*.[2]

We know nothing of Lope's early childhood. In the dedication of his comedia *La hermosa Ester* (Part XV. Madrid, 1621), he refers gratefully to his uncle, the Inquisitor, D. Miguel del Carpio,—"of noble and saintly memory, in whose house [at Seville] I passed some of the earliest days of my life."[3] This would seem to imply that Lope's parents had died while he was still very young, a supposition incompatible with what we know concerning his father, and unconfirmed by Lope's other statements in the *Dorotea* and elsewhere.[4] If now we turn to Lope's

[1] D. Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, *Ultimos Amores de Lope de Vega Carpio*, Madrid, 1876, p. 125, doubts the existence of this Peruvian poetess; he holds that the verses ascribed to her were written by Lope's mistress, Doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo, and afterwards retouched by her lover. To me they certainly seem the work of Lope

[2] Lope's verses are:

"Tiene su silla en la bordada alfombra
De Castilla, el valor de la Montaña
Que el *Valle de Carriedo* España nombra
Allí otro tiempo se cifraba España;
Allí tuve principio; mas ¿qué importa
Nacer laurel y ser humilde caña?
Falta dinero allí, la tierra es corta,
Vino mi padre del solar de *Vega*;
Así á los pobres la nobleza exhorta.
Siguióle hasta Madrid, de celos ciega,
Su amorosa muger, porque él quería
Una Española Elena, entonces Griega.
Hicieron amistades, y aquel dia
Fué piedra en mi primero fundamento
La paz de su celosa fantasía.
En fin, por celos soy, ¡qué nacimiento!
Imaginalde vos, que haber nacido
De tan inquieta causa fué portento"

Obras Sueltas, Vol. I. p. 470.

[3] In a letter believed to have been written to Góngora by a Portuguese, and published by La Barrera (p. 557), we read that Lope was the nephew of this Don Miguel del Carpio, "a man of whom now a days in Seville, when a thing is hot, they say: 'it burns like Carpio.'"

[4] In the *Epistola* to Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. I. p. 285, he says

earliest biographer, Montalvan, we read the following in his *Fama póstuma*[1]: "He [Lope] went to school, and, as is well known, surpassed all others in his zeal for study, and as, on account of his tender years, he was unable to articulate words, he repeated his lessons more by gestures than with the tongue. At the age of five he read Spanish and Latin, and such was his inclination for verse-making that, while he was yet unable to write, he would share his breakfast with the older boys, in order to get them to write down what he would dictate. He afterwards passed to the studies of the *Company of Jesus*,[2] where in two years he became a master of grammar and rhetoric, and before he had attained his twelfth year, he was possessed of all the accomplishments of youth, such as dancing, singing, fencing," etc. Montalvan goes on to say that Lope, "having now approached to man's estate, and being free of the fear of his father, who was now dead, and being ambitious to see the world, set out, accompanied by a friend, Hernan Muñoz. They went on foot to Segovia, where they bought a horse, and continued their journey as far as Astorga. Here they repented of their design, and determined to return by the same route. They had again reached Segovia, where they found themselves without money, and attempting to sell a chain, they were arrested on suspicion, but on confessing their escapade to the

"Verdad es que partí de la presencia
De mis padres y patria en tiernos años
A sufrir de la guerra la inclemencia."

The first campaign in which Lope engaged was, as we shall see, the expedition to the Azores in 1583, when he was twenty-one years old; not, after all, a very tender age for a first separation from one's parents.

[1] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XX. p. 28; all my references to the *Fama póstuma* are to this edition.

[2] The *Colegio Imperial de San Pedro y San Pablo de la Compañia de Jesus*, one of the most imposing structures in old Madrid, was founded by the fathers Pedro Fabro and Antonio de Arangue, in 1560. It was situated in the Calle de Toledo, at the intersection of the Calle de la Compañia, not far from the Plaza Mayor. It is questionable whether Lope ever studied at this college. He himself says that he studied at the *Colegio de los Teatinos*, a smaller institution. See below, p. 29.

magistrate, they were set free, and sent home in charge of the police." Let us now turn to Lope's own statements in the *Dorotea* (not published till 1632), much of which, by universal admission, is undoubtedly autobiographical,—Lope appearing therein in the character of Fernando.

In his dedication of the work to the Count of Niebla, the author says: "I wrote the *Dorotea* in my early years (*en mis primeros años*), and having exchanged studies for arms under the banners of the most excellent Duke of Medina Sidonia, it was lost in my absence, as often happens; but now I have pruned it of the exuberance of my early youth, and return it to your illustrious house," etc. In brief the story, or rather that part of it that is of interest to us, is as follows. Dorotea, a young widow, whose husband Ricardo has died at Lima, is in love with Fernando. She is, however, constantly persecuted by her mother Teodora, who, aided by the machinations of Gerarda, induces her to accept the attentions of Don Bela, a rich South American. Finally Dorotea, unable to endure these persecutions any longer, seeks Fernando in his house, and tells him she must give him up. On hearing this Fernando at first affects great indifference, but directly Dorotea has left, he contemplates suicide; finally, however, he determines to leave Madrid for Seville. To his friend Julio's question as to where the money for the journey is to come from, Fernando answers that he will palm off some excuse on Marfisa, and so get it from her, adding: "Marfisa, whom I have always despised, although we were brought up together, and whom I unjustly left for this ungrateful one, will liberally succour our necessity." Nor is Fernando at all circuitous in his appeal to Marfisa: "See whether you have anything to give me, for I am going to Seville." Marfisa: "Woe is me! I have nothing to give thee save my jewels; but let them go, too, since I lose thee, who wast my greatest jewel. . . . I have searched all my chests and all I have that is of gold I have wrapped up in this cloth." She gives it to Fernando, who, with profuse protestations of love and gratitude, leaves with Julio for Seville. Here he remains three months, going in the meantime to Cadiz,

whence he returns again to Madrid. Nothing of interest to our narrative occurs until we reach the fourth Act, which opens with a scene in the Prado, at Madrid. Marfisa, Celia, Dorotea, and Felipa appear, and after a number of extravagant compliments exchanged between Marfisa and Dorotea, the latter says: "You know much about me, for Fernando must have told you." Marfisa: "How can he know, who has been so long in Seville?" Dorotea: "Do you feign this ignorance? He has been in Madrid these many days." Dorotea declares that, although she has not seen him, she has heard him singing in the street before her house, and has heard that he had wounded someone in a street brawl, though not seriously. Marfisa then leaves Dorotea and Felipa, who continue their way, and observe two gallants approaching them. These are Fernando and Julio. Dorotea covers her face with her veil, saying. "Let us sit down by this fountain, for I am somewhat agitated, and besides, seated here, I can the better remain disguised." Felipa engages the men in conversation. Don Fernando, who is at first loth to talk, finally speaks, and, in substance, delivers himself as follows: "I was born of noble parents, and, though my education was not princely, yet my parents desiring that I should acquire virtues and letters, they sent me to Alcalá at the age of ten, with the person whom you see here, who was then twenty years old, and who has since served me with singular love and loyalty. At the age of which I speak I knew Grammar, and was not ignorant of Rhetoric, but found that I had the greatest aptitude for making verses, which I wrote in Latin and Castilian. I had a good knowledge of Latin, knew Italian well, and was acquainted with French. My parents died, and an administrator of their estate, gathering together what he could, made off to the Indies, leaving me poor, etc. . . . I returned to the court [Madrid], to the house of a lady, a relative of mine, rich and generous, who was kind enough to favour me. She had a daughter aged fifteen years, when I was seventeen, and a niece, slightly younger than myself." He tells us that idleness and dissipation diverted him from his studies, though this was due in no

small measure to the fact that he fell in love with this niece. The lady was named Leonarda, and the niece Marfisa. Meanwhile this niece was married to an older man, a *jurisconsulto*, "and the day he took her to his house, we both wept behind the door, so mingling our words with our tears, that anyone looking at us, would hardly know which were the tears and which the words." Marfisa's black spouse (as Fernando calls him) having died, she returned to her aunt's house. On the day of Marfisa's wedding, Fernando had received through a friend a letter from another lady in Madrid, named Dorotea, with whom he had previously been acquainted, and who had taken a great liking to him. "I put on my finery, and assuming my most gallant air, I called upon her, with every preparation of a suitor, modesty, neatness, perfume and all. . . . I do not know what star propitious to lovers was then in the ascendant, but we no sooner saw each other than we fell in love." Fernando describes Dorotea's many attractive qualities, saying that she so loved accomplishments as to permit him to absent himself from her side, in order to take lessons in dancing, fencing, and mathematics.[1]

At this time Dorotea's husband was absent, and was not expected to return soon; but, unfortunately for the hero, a foreign prince had won the affections of Dorotea before she met Fernando. Naturally Fernando has a number of encounters with this prince, including a night adventure in which he narrowly escapes being stabbed by his rival, "who would certainly have killed me, had not the King at that time conferred upon the Prince a post suitable to his high station; but, at the same time, my rival made every effort to induce me to go with him as his secretary, not because he needed me, nor because I was of sufficient age, but merely

[1] In a funeral oration on the death of Lope de Vega, by Dr. Fernando Cardoso, we are told that at the age of twenty-four, when already known to fame, Lope daily took three lessons,—in philosophy, mathematics, and arms. This would be in 1586; the date is of some importance, for it helps to determine when the action of the *Dorotea* occurred. See *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XIX. p. 482.

to get me away from Dorotea, who, before the next morning dawned, had already sent a servant to inquire about my health. Finally he absented himself, and I remained in peaceful possession of such a treasure." Soon, however, the thought of his poverty, and the fear that he might not be able to retain his mistress, began to torment Fernando, although Dorotea assured him that she was so entirely his, "that she stripped herself of her fine attire, her jewels, and even took her silver plate and sent it to me in two coffers. . . . And so our love lasted five years, during which time Dorotea lived bereft of almost everything, and learned to perform such labour as she had never known before, in order to maintain her household And I confess to seeing myself a thousand times so overcome with shame and pity, that, not being able to cover those beautiful hands with diamonds, I bathed them in tears, which she considered jewels more precious for rings, than those which she had sold and despised." In answer to the question what his rivals did, Fernando replies · "They did not then pay so much attention to Dorotea, for when fine raiment does not attract the attention of men, it seems that beauty is timid." "Finally," Fernando declares, "I resolved that our friendship must come to an end, since her mother and relatives chided her because of our relation, and we had become the common subject of gossip in the capital; for which I was not a little to blame, as I had by means of my verses made the matter better known than it would otherwise have been. I therefore pretended that I had killed a man during the previous night (and I spake truth, for I was the dead man), and that I would have to flee or fall into the hands of the law. Marfisa gave me all the gold she had, and the pearls of her tears, and therewith I set out for Seville." Here, however, sadness overcame Fernando, who had a great desire to see the sea, and soon left for San Lucar : thence he went to Cadiz, "where I had a relative, a dignitary of that church." Felipa then says : "from what you have told me I am now certain that it was Dorotea who wanted to kill herself in despair, as a friend related to me, on the evening of the departure of a

gentleman whom I now hold to have been *you*." To which Fernando's friend Julio answered: "You may well believe this, for Dorotea would have been of marble not to have felt the cruelty with which you deserted her," etc. "You speak rightly, Julio," Fernando replied, "but I erred through my youth; I might have been the cause of Dorotea's death, and so have deprived nature of her greatest wonder, and the world of her beauty: therefore I beg you, my lady, to forgive me, for my heart and my eyes are filled with tears" Here Dorotea, who had been silent and veiled, so that Fernando was not aware of her presence, revealed herself. There is much mutual recrimination: Fernando accusing Dorotea of receiving the attentions of the rich South American, Don Bela, whom Dorotea's mother and Gerarda had been urging her to marry, but whom she dismisses. In the seventh scene there is an interesting dialogue between Marfisa and Clara. The former expresses surprise at Fernando's return from Seville, and at his presence in Madrid, adding that his friend Fabricio, had informed her why Fernando had left Madrid; that it was on account of his jealousy of an American, who visited at Dorotea's house, though little favoured by her. That, moreover, Fernando had not killed anybody, and that his story was merely an invention, "in order to get from me what you know I gave him, in order that he might flee." Marfisa afterwards meets Fernando, and reproves him for having deceived her, and obliged her to give up her jewels, in order to aid him in his escape to Seville, etc. Here, too, as he has done throughout his whole dishonourable course, Fernando vows by his "honour" to make reparation to Marfisa: "Fernando.—Hago testigo al cielo . . . á mi honra . . . á pagar á Marfisa tan justa deuda." It appears, moreover, from Marfisa's words, that Fernando had betrayed her—the fruit of their love being a son. Marfisa says: "Solo te suplico por nuestra crianza y por aquella ternura con que nos prometimos la fé, que tan mal han logrado mis desdichas y tus mal empleadas imaginaciones, que si hallares nuevas de aquella prenda tuya, exposito del

furor de mis parientes, me des aviso y licencia para poder cobrarle." (*Obras Sueltas*, Vol. VII. p. 358).

Meanwhile Fernando's love for Dorotea was waning. "Dorotea did not seem what I imagined her to be during my absence; not so beautiful, nor so gracious, nor so clever; what consumed me was the thought that she loved Don Bela, . . . so that when the hour of parting came, instead of grieving I hailed it with delight." Finally, in Act v. Scene VIII., occurs one of the most important passages, for our purpose, in the whole work. Fernando's friend Caesar, "who is skilled in the science of Astrology," which he had learned in his youth from that most learned Portuguese, Juan Bautista de Labaña, makes the following prophecy concerning Fernando. "You will be persecuted by Dorotea and her mother in the prison in which you will be thrust, and at the end of this imprisonment, you will be banished from the kingdom; a short time before this you will pay court to a young lady, whose love your fame and your person will win for you; you will marry this lady, though it will be without the approval of your relatives or of hers; she will share your exile and your sorrows with great loyalty, courage, and constancy, in every adversity, and in the seventh year she will die. With the deepest grief you will again return to Madrid. Dorotea, who has become a widow, will seek your hand, but will not succeed, for your honour will be more potent than her wealth, and your revenge more powerful than her love and caresses. . . . Great sorrows and troubles await you, because of your love-affairs; and beware especially of one who will ensnare you, although you will come safely through all. One person is to esteem and favour you much, whose love you are to preserve till the end of your life, which will be a long one." Lope alludes to the part he afterwards took in the Armada, in these words of Fernando's: "I know that my peace of mind consists in leaving my country for a time; I therefore intend to exchange letters for arms in the emprise that our King is planning against England."

All critics are unanimous in holding that throughout the *Dorotea*, the character of Fernando represents Lope de

Vega. As to the date when the *Dorotea* was written, there are, in addition to Lope's statement in the dedication, a number of allusions scattered through the work that enable us to fix its date with some precision. Fernando says he was sent to Alcalá by his parents when he was ten years old, and afterwards says (Act I. Sc. v.) · "I have not yet completed my twenty-second year." This would bring us to the year 1584. Again Fernando (*ibid.*) says: "At seventeen I first saw you [Dorotea], and Julio and I left our studies, more forgetful of Alcalá than the soldiers of Ulysses were of Greece." In Act III. Sc. VII. he says: "Alas for my twenty-two years, and my twenty-two thousand torments! When are they or this wretched life to end?" In Act II. Sc. II. Dorotea speaks of the *Galatea* of Cervantes, which did not appear till the beginning of 1585. In Act III. Sc. IV. Ludovico says to Fernando: "Write a poem, for you know it will divert you." A grave subject is suggested, to which Fernando replies: "More fitting for my weak shoulders would be some subject treating of love, like *La Hermosura de Angélica*." This poem, Lope says, was written during the expedition of the Armada, in 1588, and we are perhaps justified in referring this passage in the *Dorotea* to 1586 or 1587, when Lope was contemplating the writing of his epic.[1] In Act V. Sc. III. of the *Dorotea* (f. 247, *v.* ed. of 1632), Caesar, the astrologer, speaks of the wedding festivities on the occasion of the marriage of the Count of Melgar to Vittoria Colonna, the daughter of Marco Antonio Colonna. According to Fitzmaurice-Kelly (*History of Spanish Lit.* p. 244), this marriage took place in 1587. Finally, the reference at the end of the excerpts from the *Dorotea* (p. 11), in which the King of Spain is represented as making preparations for the Armada, brings us to the

[1] In the prologue to his *Angélica* (Madrid, 1602), Lope says: "En una jornada de mar donde con pocos años yua á exercitar las armas, forçado de mi inclinacion exercité la pluma, donde á un tiempo mismo el general acabó su empresa y yo la mia. Allí pues sobre las aguas entre xarcias del Galeon *San Juan*, y las vanderas del Rey Catolico, escriui y traduxe de Turpino estos pequeños cantos," etc.

same year, 1587 or the beginning of 1588, at which time the *Dorotea* was therefore originally written.

Accepting the autobiographical character of the *Dorotea* as undisputed, it is important to determine how far its statements are disguised by the veil of fancy or romance, or how far they have been intentionally distorted to suit the author's purpose. We shall therefore review them, and see whether they are corroborated or contradicted by known facts or by other statements scattered through Lope's works. Before doing this it is well to bear in mind the narrative of this portion of our poet's life, as given by his friend Montalvan. After recording the runaway escapade mentioned above, he continues: "As soon as Lope returned to Madrid, not having much means, as a help to his support he entered the service of Don Jerónimo Manrique, Bishop of Ávila, whom he greatly pleased by a number of eclogues written in his honour, and also the comedia *La Pastoral de Jacinto*,[1] which was the first play in three acts that he wrote; for up to this time a Comedia consisted only of a dialogue of four persons, which did not exceed three sheets, and of these Lope had written many.[2] The applause with which this *nuevo género de Comedias* was received, induced Lope to write a great many of them, so that his name became widely known. But, recognizing the importance of a thorough knowledge of philosophy, he entered the University of Alcalá, where he remained four years, until he was graduated. Learning that the Duke of Alba was in Madrid, Lope repaired thither. He was received with marked favour by the Duke, who made him his secretary, a favour which Lope repaid by writing, at the Duke's instance, the pastoral romance *La Arcadia*, in which distinguished personages

[1] *La Pastoral de Jacinto* was first printed in a volume entitled *Quatro Comedias famosas de D Luis de Gongora y Lope de Vega Carpio, recopiladas por Antonio Sanchez*, Madrid, 1617. It appears here under the title *El Zeloso de si mismo*. Ticknor says the play also appeared as a *suelta*, with the title *La Silva de Albania y Zeloso de si mismo*. It was also printed in Part XVIII of Lope's Comedias, Madrid, 1625.

[2] None of these *dialogues* has apparently been preserved.

appear disguised as humble shepherds." Montalvan goes on to assert that after being in the service of the Duke a considerable time, living at Alba with him, and making frequent visits to Madrid, in the performance of his duties, Lope married Doña Isabel de Urbina, "with the consent of the relatives of both contracting parties."[1]

Now, to return to the *Dorotea*. Lope says that at the age of ten years his parents sent him to the University of Alcalá, and that he left his studies at the age of seventeen, when he first met Dorotea. It was not altogether improbable that a boy who could read Spanish and Latin when he was five, should enter the University at ten, especially in Lope's day, when students matriculated very early. But it is not at all likely that Lope remained at Alcalá seven years. He says elsewhere (p. 7), that he returned to Madrid from Alcalá on the death of his parents. Unfortunately, we do not know when Lope became an orphan. In his *Epístola al Dr. Gregorio de Angulo, Regidor de Toledo*, in *La Filomena* (1621), he states he was brought up by the Bishop of Ávila, and this statement is directly contradicted by what he himself says in the *Dorotea*, unless he entered that prelate's household[2] after his return from Alcalá. Montalvan, as we have seen, says that Lope entered the University *after* his service with the Bishop I am inclined to believe that this latter statement is correct. Had Lope entered Alcalá at a very early age, we may be sure that Montalvan would not have lost the opportunity of emphasising the precocity of his friend. Moreover this agrees much more closely with

[1] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XX. p. 31.

[2] The passage in the *Epístola* in the *Filomena* is as follows.

"Crióme Don Jerónimo Manrique,
Estudié en Alcalá, bachilleréme,
Y aun estuve de ser clérigo á pique.
Cegóme una mujer, aficionéme,
Perdónemelo Dios, ya soy casado;
Quien tiene tanto mal, ninguno teme."

La Barrera, p. 26, says that Don Jerónimo Manrique, Bishop of Ávila, was already dead in 1579. Don Jerónimo Manrique de Lara,

what Lope says in the passage quoted from his *Filomena*. All this early part of Lope's life is still involved in the deepest obscurity. It has even been denied that he ever studied at Alcalá; but his many direct and unmistakable assertions can leave no doubt on this point, though an examination of the University registers between 1572 and 1584 has so far failed to reveal his name.[1] Nothing could be clearer than the verses just quoted, but other evidence abounds. In the dedication of the comedia *La Arcadia*, Lope speaks of "the most illustrious Sr. Iñigo de Mendoza, Professor in the University of Alcalá when I studied within its walls." And in the dedication of the play *El Desconfiado*, he writes. "that famous University [Alcalá], when I studied in it *las primeras letras*."[2] With Góngora, and a host of lesser lights ready to pounce upon him at the first opportunity,—for they were all envious of his unexampled popularity—it is incredible that Lope should have repeatedly made such an assertion, and that it should have passed without contradiction had it been untrue.[3] There is a parallel case. We know that Tirso de Molina

Inquisitor General, former Bishop of Cartagena, did not become Bishop of Ávila until 1591, and died in 1595. I owe this information to the kindness of Sr Menéndez y Pelayo, who sent me the following list of Bishops of Avila, taken from La Fuente, *Historia Eclesiástica de España*, Vol. v., and Carra-Molino, *Historia de Ávila*

1577—D. Alvaro de Mendoza, trasladado á Palencia. 1578—D Antonio Mauriño de Pazos, trasladado á Cordoba sin tomar posesion. 1579—D Sancho Bustos de Villegas, d 1581. 1581—D. Pedro Fernandez de Temiño, d 1590. 1591—D. Jerónimo Manrique de Lara, antes Obispo de Cartagena, Inquisidor General, d 1595 (no se dice el dia). 1596—Fr. Juan Velazquez de las Cuevas.

[1] La Barrera, *Nueva Biografía*, p. 613

[2] *Comedias*, Parte XIII Madrid, 1620, fol 107

[3] In his *Rimas Sacras*, Lope provokes a smile at the expense of a Bachelor of Alcalá

"Todos vieran como estais
En esse blanco Agnus Dei,
Que aunque mas lo dice el Cura,
Nadie lo puede entender.
Y él lo entiende menos, siendo
Por Alcalá Bachiller."

Obras Sueltas, Vol XIII. p. 413.

also studied at Alcalá, and his name, like Lope's, has not been found in the University records. A more careful search among the matriculation books should certainly disclose Lope's name, unless the volumes or leaves for his period are missing. Nor can we doubt Lope's other statement—that he was brought up by Don Jerónimo Manrique. He alludes so often, and always with such deep gratitude, to the Bishop of Ávila—but who must, as we see, have been Bishop of Cartagena at the time to which Lope refers,—that it may be taken as certain that Lope was, for a while, at least, in the service of that prelate, and that to the Bishop's favour he owed the privilege of studying at Alcalá. Not only at the close of the eighth Canto of his *Dragontea* (Valencia, 1598), and in Book XVI. of his *Jerusalem Conquistada* (Madrid, 1609), but much later, in 1624, in the dedication of his comedia *Pobreza no es Vileza*,[1] he alludes in most feeling language to the kindness and protection shown him by Don Jerónimo Manrique. Montalvan's account, that Lope entered Alcalá after his service with the Bishop, has everything in its favour. In all probability Lope matriculated at the University when he was about fifteen years old, *i.e.* in 1577, and remained there four years, leaving in 1581-82. His *liaison* with Dorotea began shortly after his return to Madrid, say in 1582-83; nor is there anything improbable in supposing that he had written the eclogues and the comedia *La Pastoral de Jacinto* at this time. Still, we should not lose sight of Lope's statement in the *Dorotea*, i.e. that he was seventeen years old when he first mêt Dorotea in Madrid; that he had then left the University, and that his love-affair lasted for five years. This would fix the period between 1579 and 1584. Moreover, we are here confronted with another difficulty. Lope tells us in the *Huerto deshecho*, that at the age of

[1] "Criéme en seruicio del illustrissimo señor don Geronymo Manrique . . . y quantas vezes me toca al alma sangre Manrique, no puedo dexar de reconocer mis principios y estudios a su heroyco nombre, como en tantas partes se conoce mi agradecimiento," etc. *Comedias*, Parte XX. Barcelona, 1630.

fifteen he took part in the expedition against the Portuguese, on the Island of Terceira.[1] We know that the Spanish squadron under Don Alvaro de Bazan, Marqués de Santa Cruz, set sail from the port of Lisbon on June 23, 1583.[2] If we take our poet's words, *tres lustros*, literally, they bring us to the year 1577, so that, at the time of this expedition to the Azores, Lope was really six years older than he represents himself to be. In the verses we have quoted, the exigencies of the metre doubtless compelled him to write *tres*, instead of *quatro*; but we have here an example of Lope's tendency to represent himself as younger than he actually was, a weakness of which many instances occur in his writings. In the *Dorotea* Fernando several times declares that his *liaison* with the heroine of this dramatic story lasted five years, and I agree entirely with Ormsby, who says on this point [3] "There cannot be a doubt that these five years are the years between Lope's return from Terceira and his departure to join the Armada, 17 and 22 of Fernando's

[1] In the *Huerto deshecho*, an epistle addressed to Don Luis de Haro, he says.

"Ni mi fortuna muda
Ver en tres lustros de mi edad primera
Con la espada desnuda
Al bravo Portugués en la Terceira,
Ni despues en las naves Españolas
Del mar Inglés los puertos y las olas"

Obras Sueltas, Vol. IX p. 379.

[2] *Don Alvaro de Bazan*, por D Eduardo de Navascués, Madrid, 1888, p 251 This campaign lasted less than two months, Don Alvaro disembarking at Cadiz, on September 15, 1583. There is an excellent account of the expedition to the Azores, in Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *Life of Cervantes*, London, 1892, p. 91. Lope refers to this expedition in his epistle to Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, mentioned above.

[3] See his admirable article on Lope de Vega in the *Quarterly Review* for 1894, p. 486 and foll, although I should add that I do not agree with all Mr. Ormsby's views concerning the poet. A very instructive criticism of this article by Mr James Fitzmaurice-Kelly is printed in the *Revue Hispanique* for 1895, p 108, and on p. 363 there is an account, by the same scholar, of the life and work of Mr. Ormsby, whose death, on October 30, 1895, was regretted by every student of Spanish literature

counting as 21 and 26 of Lope's. There is, in fact, no other explanation possible."

We have seen that the *Dorotea* must have been written after 1585, and before the sailing of the Armada, in 1588. Several times, in the course of this work, Lope alludes to himself as a poet whose works are well known. In Act IV. Sec. II., after naming some of the older Spanish poets, he also mentions "*este Lope de Vega, que comienza ahora*," and there can be no doubt that he had already won considerable reputation as a poet as far back as 1584, and even earlier. He was a contributor to the *Jardin Espiritual* of Fr. Pedro de Padilla, printed at Madrid in 1584, and also to the *Cancionero* of Lopez Maldonado, published at Madrid in 1586, but with a license to print dated April 19, 1584.[1]

At this period also Cervantes, in the *Canto de Caliope*, towards the end of his pastoral romance, *La Galatea* (1585), mentions Lope among the most distinguished Spanish wits of the time.[2] But long before this, "in his tenderest youth," probably when he was ten years old, according to La Barrera (*ibid.* p. 39), Lope translated Claudian's Latin poem, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, into Castilian verse, dedicating it to Cardinal Colonna.[3] Of his early dramas we shall speak later. For the moment, it will be more convenient

[1] I have a copy of this very rare *cancionero*, and Lope's poem occurs on one of the preliminary pages, marked *3. It is a *cancion en loor del Autor* beginning: '*Al sacro assiento de la Cypria Diosa*,' and, did it not bear his name I should not have believed it possible that Lope could ever have written such poor verses.

[2] In the forty-first *octava*, Cervantes says;

"Muestra en un ingenio la experiencia
Que en años verdes y en edad temprana
Hace su habitacion ansi la ciencia,
Como en la edad madura, antigua y cana:
No entraré con alguno en competencia
Que contradiga una verdad tan llana,
Y mas si acaso á sus oidos llega,
Que lo digo por vos, Lope de Vega."

La Galatea, Madrid, 1784, Vol. II. p. 277.

[3] See also the 'Eclogue to Claudio,' where he says of this translation.

"Vive sin luz, por ser en tierna infancia."

Obras Sueltas, Vol. IX. p. 366.

to set forth the history of Lope's early career as disclosed in official records.

From what precedes, it will be seen that we have but a stray milestone here and there to guide us on the long road which extends between 1562 and 1584. In the latter year we find Lope de Vega ranking as an eminent poet in Madrid, and possibly we must accept the fact that we shall never learn much more of his earlier life. But from 1583-4 onwards details are more plentiful. Recent discoveries have thrown light on the *liaison* with Dorotea,[1] concerning which Lope's friend and biographer, Montalvan, never breathes a syllable. This silence cannot be due to simple uninquiring ignorance. It may be true enough that Montalvan had no minute knowledge of Lope's early life—of his childhood and his days at Alcalá. The disparity of age was too great to allow of any real intimacy. Montalvan was not born till 1602, when Lope was forty years old. And we must further remember that Montalvan who, like Lope, was a priest, was too much concerned for his friend to let drop anything that might reflect upon the great man's character. Doubtless he frequently suppressed information that must have been known to him, since it was the common property of all who moved in Lope's circle It is beyond belief, for instance, that the stinging, venomous gibes of Góngora remained an enigma to Montalvan. The subsequent pages will show how utterly untrustworthy was the latter's account of the events which are about to occupy us, and will demonstrate that the true facts must have been wilfully distorted and omitted by him. However, as Montalvan's account has been for over two centuries the chief source of our information concerning Lope de Vega's life, it may be well to give his version of what happened during the next few years.

[1] This period (1583-1587) embraces the time during which Lope was in the service of the Marqués de las Navas, as he has himself stated. See below, pp. 28-29.

After mentioning Lope's marriage to Doña Isabel de Urbina, Montalvan relates how rudely Lope's happiness was shattered :—"for there was at this time in Madrid a shady hidalgo (*hidalgo entre dos luces*) of small means, but great cunning, who, having entertained his auditors one evening at Lope's expense, the latter satirized him in a ballad, whereupon the would-be knight challenged Lope, who, in the encounter that followed, got the better of his adversary." This, together with the frowns of fortune and his youthful indiscretions, magnified by his enemies, as Montalvan alleges, "obliged him to leave his home, his country and his wife, with deep sorrow, although it was somewhat lightened by the kind manner in which he was received by the citizens of Valencia, while he was their guest. . . After spending several years in that kingdom, his affection for his native country, and his desire to see his wife, caused him to return"; but within a year "the sharp steel of death, which severs the firmest bonds, snatched her suddenly from his sight, a blow which cleft his heart in twain," etc. At this time the preparations for the great Armada, under the Duke of Medina Sidonia, were being made, and Lope enlisted as a soldier, "with the intention of losing his life, and thus putting an end to his anguish." He left Madrid, crossed the whole of Andalucia, arrived at Cadiz, and went thence to Lisbon, where he embarked with a brother of his, an *alférez*, whom he had not seen for many years. Even this happiness was also to last but a short time, for in an encounter with some Dutch vessels, Lope's brother was struck by a ball and killed.[1] Returning from this unfortunate expedition, Lope went to Madrid, and entered the service of the Marques de Malpica, and afterwards, in the same capacity, he served the Conde de Lemos, etc.

This is the story as told by Montalvan. The principal events he recounts, in their order, are Lope's marriage to

[1] It is certainly strange, as La Barrera remarks, that Lope, in the whole course of his works, never once referred to this tragic incident: a fact which is sufficient, I imagine, to make us hesitate in accepting it as authentic history.

Doña Isabel de Urbina; his quarrel with an *hidalgo*, his subsequent banishment; and lastly, his return to Madrid. There can scarcely be a doubt that in this narrative Montalvan puts forward deliberate untruths in order to mislead the reader. The actual facts concerning these years of our poet's life have only been recently revealed to us through the investigations of the well known scholar, Sr. Pérez Pastor. From the documents which he has published and which we shall now proceed to consider, we learn, for the first time, in addition to much other matter entirely new to us, the true story of Lope's imprisonment and exile. These new discoveries illuminate what has hitherto been one of the obscurest passages in the poet's life. We shall find the current presumption that the *Dorotea* is, in its main features, autobiographical in character, established beyond all cavil. We shall learn that Dorotea was the *Filis* of Lope's ballads, that she was Elena Osorio, the daughter of Jerónimo Velazquez, an *autor de comedias*, or theatrical manager, and that Lope's imprisonment and exile were the consequences of his conduct in circulating scandalous libels reflecting on Velazquez. Finally, by means of these documents we shall find the 'prophecy' of the *Dorotea* corroborated in every particular. So far as this 'prophecy' of the astrologer Cæsar is concerned, it was not, of course, a part of the *Dorotea* as originally written in 1586-1587, but was added to the work shortly before it was published, in 1632. It was, therefore, not a prophecy,—it was a retrospect. Lope in his old age was briefly reviewing his past life. And there are few more curious commentaries upon human frailty than the complacency with which the aged priest recounts deeds of his stormy youth enough to scandalize the most hardened reader. Many of the statements that Lope makes in the *Dorotea* we have no means of substantiating, and we may hope, for his own sake, that they are false. But many of the incidents reflected in the prophecy of Caesar, and the prophecy itself, will be amply verified in the succeeding pages, and thus the *Dorotea* acquires a positive historical value which it did not previously possess.

CHAPTER II

THE ACTION FOR CRIMINAL LIBEL AGAINST LOPE DE VEGA

THE documents to which reference has been made were a genuine revelation to students of Spanish literature. They contain the complete record of "the trial of Lope de Vega against certain actors," or, more specifically, they are a faithful transcription of the testimony taken in an action brought by Jerónimo Velazquez, an *autor de comedias* (theatrical manager), against Lope de Vega, for "libelling him, the said Velazquez, and various other members of his family."[1] It shows that Montalvan's account of our poet's banishment,—that he lampooned a would-be knight, was challenged, fought a duel with his adversary, wounded him, and was banished the kingdom,—has no foundation in fact, and is simply the pious invention of an obsequious biographer. A hint of the true state of affairs had been given long ago by Ticknor, who relied upon an instrument which he published; but this document now proves to be a trifling item in the mass of materials recently brought to light by Pérez Pastor and Tomillo.

It must be confessed that a study of these documents leaves us with no very high esteem for Lope's private character, and thus confirms the impression produced by the *Dorotea*. Lope would seem to have been a foppish

[1] *Proceso de Lope de Vega por Libelos contra unos Cómicos, anotado por D. A. Tomillo y D. C. Pérez Pastor é impreso á Expensas del Excmo. Sr. Marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros. Siguense los "Datos desconocidos para la Vida de Lope de Vega," publicados por primera vez en el "Homenaje á Menendez y Pelayo."* Madrid, 1901. The latter *Datos* first appeared in 1899, and are reprinted here in an enlarged edition. These documents, as the editors observe, are not published from the originals, but from a copy existing in the General Archives at Simancas. Many of the papers of the "Archivo de la Sala de Alcaldes de Casa y Corte," where these records were kept, *were sold by weight*; and of the criminal cases only eleven volumes of Indexes remain. *l.c.* p. xii note.

young libertine devoid of all moral sense, consorting principally with actors and actresses, and spending much of his time in the *corrales*, as the theatres of Madrid were called. We shall, however, let the documents speak for themselves, without further comment

It appears that towards the close of the year 1587, there were circulated in Madrid two poems, one in Latin macaronic verse, entitled *In Doctorem Damianum Velazquez*; the other a ballad in the vernacular, in which one Jerónimo Velazquez, a theatrical manager, and various members of his family were held up to contempt and derision. The persons especially ridiculed and vilified therein were, beside Jerónimo Velazquez, his wife Ines Osorio, his daughter Elena Osorio, his son Doctor Damian Velazquez de Contreras, and his niece Ana Velazquez, a daughter of Jerónimo Velazquez's brother A criminal action being finally brought, Lope de Vega was arrested in the *Corral de las Comedias* in the calle de la Cruz, on the afternoon of December 29, 1587, and taken to the Royal prison in Madrid. The testimony of the various witnesses, and the deposition of Lope himself are before us in their entirety, and a perusal of the evidence—though that is almost wholly circumstantial—can scarcely leave any doubt in the reader's mind that Lope was justly convicted. One of the chief witnesses was Rodrigo de Saavedra, an actor in the company of Velazquez. His testimony was most damaging to the accused. He testified[1] that he had seen the libellous poetry on two sheets of paper joined together; that the language and style were Lope's, and that the handwriting, though disguised at the beginning, was Lope's. The witness was sure of this, for he had many papers in his possession in Lope's hand, and had often seen him write. He further deposed that, for about six months past, he had observed Lope's hostile attitude towards Velazquez,[2] in

[1] See Appendix A for the testimony in full, of the witnesses here quoted.

[2] Jerónimo Velazquez was one of the best known, as well as one of the most successful theatrical managers of his time As early as 1570 he produced two *autos* at the Corpus festival in Segovia. In 1575 and

inducing the actors of the latter's company to leave him and join the companies of others. He also added that he knew of various copies of these satires in the possession of divers persons in Madrid; that he knew Lope de Vega to be a man who was accustomed to making satires, and that he had heard that he [Lope] had made a satirical sonnet against the company of Cisneros, and had boasted of it, and that Lope had told him he was going to do all the harm to Velazquez and his family, that he could," etc.

Another witness, the Licentiate Alonso de Ordoñez, testified that he knew Lope de Vega, the accused, and that about two months ago he saw a satirical sonnet, defaming the person of Dr. Velazquez, son of the said Velazquez, the plaintiff, in which sonnet it was said that he [Dr. Velazquez] should not meddle with the law, as he was the son of an actor, but that he would do better to occupy himself with theatrical matters (*causas farandulicas*), and that he had no need to practise law, as his sister earned money for all; that he had not seen the above sonnet, which was only read to him, but that he had afterwards seen the macaronic poetry, which was of the same tenor, in the possession of Dr. Velazquez: that the macaronic verses rendered the said Dr. Velazquez infamous, by declaring that he knew nothing of his profession, and that he consented that his sister should lead an evil life, treating her as a procuress, and likewise treating her father as a pandering actor, who consented that his daughter should be a known bawd; and likewise accusing Ines Osorio, the wife of the said Velazquez, with consenting [to the conduct of her daughter], and defaming her as a procuress; and that the witness saw the handwriting of the said satire in Latin macaronic verse, and that although the first two

1576, we find him representing *autos* in Madrid, and again in 1581 and 1582. In the following year we find him with his company at Seville. After this he seems to have been in Madrid during some portion of every year, and in 1589, the year after the action against Lope, he is representing in Madrid. He died on February 25, 1613. Alonso de Cisneros was also a theatrical manager at least as early as 1582. Concerning him and his petition to the Corregidor of Madrid, requesting that women be permitted to act upon the stage, see *post*.

pages of the handwriting seemed unfamiliar to him, the third page revealed its form more clearly, and that it seems certain to this witness that it is the handwriting of Lope de Vega; that besides, the witness had heard the said Lope de Vega twice recite the said satire in macaronic Latin, from which it appears certain to the witness that the said Lope de Vega and no other person wrote the said satire against Dr. Velazquez and the persons mentioned. He likewise testified that he knows Lope de Vega to be the enemy of Jerónimo Velazquez, the plaintiff, for in a number of conversations which he has had with Lope and other persons, in which the said Jerónimo Velazquez and his affairs were mentioned, the said Lope de Vega defamed and abused the said Velazquez with words of great dishonour and infamy; wherefore, and because this witness knows and has heard that the said Lope de Vega is a man who is in the habit of making satires in Latin as well as Castilian against honourable persons of this court [Madrid], and that he has seen some of them, and because the said Jerónimo Velazquez has no other enemy—a poet—in this city, except the said Lope de Vega, and having seen the handwriting of the said satires and it seeming to him to be of the said Lope de Vega, etc., . . . the witness is certain that the said satire was written by the said Lope de Vega and nobody else, etc. . . .

A third witness, Cristóbal Fernandez, swore that he knew the plaintiff and his family, as well as the defendant, who is a poet; that he had heard, about three weeks before, that a satire in the vulgar tongue had been published, and "that he had a great desire to see it, in order to learn what it said"; and that, being one day in the house of Doña Juana de Ribera, who lives in the Lavapies [a street], there entered the said Lope de Vega with Melchor de Prado,[1] a friend of his, and another man whom he did not remember, and the said Doña Juana de Ribera said

[1] Concerning Melchor de Prado, the following entry is found in the "Archivo de la Sala de Alcaldes de Casa y Corte":—"1589. Proceso contra Melchor de Prado y Francisco Muñoz, sobre cuestion y heridas y haberse querido ahorcar el primero." Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos acerca*

that she had heard of the satire, and would be pleased to see it, and then asked Lope de Vega to recite it to her, "for he certainly knew it"; and the said Lope de Vega replied that he would recite what he could remember of it, and he began to recite a ballad, which was the said satire, wherein he defamed, as it seemed, the said Elena Osorio and Ana de Velazquez, etc.

Some conception of the contents of this ballad, or of these ballads, is furnished by the testimony of Gonzalo del Castillo, an *alguacil*, who said that he had seen a copy of the said satire; that it was defamatory of the said Elena Osorio and of Ines Osorio, her mother, and of Ana Velazquez, niece of the said Jerónimo Velazquez, and of Doña Juana de Ribera, who all live in the same street in *Lavapies*, and that he remembers certain parts of the said satire which related to the persons above mentioned, which is defamatory of the said Elena Osorio, for it said that Ana Velazquez used to sit at her window in order to take away the chances [Sp. *percances* = perquisites; Ger. *Nebengewinn*] from the said Elena Osorio; and of the said Ines Osorio, her mother, for if they should hold out as an inducement to her half a real, there is no doubt that she would take the said Elena Osorio anywhere, and [mentioned] the said Ana Velazquez making a memorandum of the many gallants that she said had served her; and finally that nobody could tempt her with money but what she would not do him a favour, and many other injurious things against the said Doña Juana de Ribera, etc." Jusepe Enriquez de Arcila, another witness, testified that on returning home one night about eleven o'clock, one of his mother's servants found a paper at the street door, which proved to be the ballad in question. Pedro de Moya testified that a copy of the Latin macaronic verses was found at his door, though when he confronted Lope with the verses, the latter indignantly repudiated the

del Histrionismo Español, Madrid, 1901, p 26, to which the editor adds: "This must be the friend of Lope who is mentioned in the matter of the Satires, and who afterwards hanged himself in the Puerta del Sol."

authorship of them. On January 2, 1588, the Court called for additional testimony, and Lope, on the same day, presented a petition to the Court for a *curador ad litem*, or guardian, stating that he was less than twenty-five years old, and requesting that Diego de Izmendi be appointed, who, being present, accepted, and took the oath, declaring that he would defend the said *minor*, etc. On the following day additional witnesses were examined, among them one Amaro Benitez, who declared that he knew all the parties to the action, and that about ten days ago, being in the theatre (*en el Corral de las Comedias en la calle del Príncipe*), listening to the Italians, one don Andrés, for he does not know any other name, save that they say that he is the son of a physician, and is in the habit of going with the son of the *corregidor* of this city, being seated on a bench with this witness, and don Luis de Vargas [Manrique], the said don Andrés read them a ballad, in the manner of a satire, which spoke ill of Elena Osorio and of Ana Velazquez, and of another, doña Juana de Ribera, whom this deponent did not know; and don Luis de Vargas at once said: "This ballad is in the style of only four or five [persons] who could have made it: it may be by Liñan, who is not here, or by Cervantes, and he is not here, and since it is not mine, it may be by [Juan Bautista de] Vivar, or by Lope de Vega, although Lope de Vega would not speak so ill of himself if he had made it," etc., and thereupon they heard the comedia, and at that time nothing more was said until six or seven days thereafter, when this deponent, being at the comedia of the said harlequin, Lope de Vega entered, and the witness, making room for him because he came in late, asked him whether he had heard it said that he [Lope] had made the ballad which begins:

> "Los que algun tiempo tuvistes
> Memoria del Lavapies."

The said Lope replied: "Whom did you hear say so?" And the deponent said that hereabouts they say so [*i.e.* that you made it], "and I have heard it from so many

that they make me believe it, because they say it is your style." And to this the said Lope de Vega replied and swore to God that whoever said this to the witness had lied, because he was not the man to write such things, etc. Thereupon no further mention was made of the matter until two or three days after, when this deponent saw the *alguacil* Diego García take away, as a prisoner, the said Lope de Vega from the theatre in the calle de la Cruz, and somebody said that Lope had been arrested, to which this deponent said "Do you know why? Because of the ballad;" which this deponent said, inasmuch as it was common rumour, etc. The witness further deposed he had heard it stated that Velazquez and Lope de Vega had been friends, but that now "they do not speak, nor does the said Lope de Vega write comedias for him now, as he used to do, and this is what many say." He also testified that "the first day the said Velazquez gave a representation in this Court [Madrid], the said Lope de Vega went to hear him, and said to this deponent. "This is the time Velazquez says that he does not want me to enter [to hear] his comedia, and I must tell him that, although it may displease him, I intend to enter by paying a half real;" from which this deponent understands that they are not friends, etc. It was also testified that when the bailiff Diego García went to Lope's prison cell to sequestrate his papers, etc., Lope said, concerning a package of letters which was found, "it grieved him that anyone should see them, as they were letters written to him by Elena Osorio, the daughter of Jerónimo Velazquez, with her own hand."

In Lope's own deposition, taken on January 9, 1588, he declares that he is a native of Madrid, the son of Felix de Vega and of Francisca del Carpio; that he lives at the *Portería de los carros de la Vitoria*, and that he is about twenty-four years old;[1] that up to the present time he has been in the service of [D Pedro Dávila], Marqués de

[1] He was actually twenty-five years and four months old at this time

las Navas,[1] as Secretary, and that now he resides in the house of his parents, as he did not wish to go to Alcántara, where the Marqués then was. In answer to the question whether he had studied Latin, or any other faculty, he answered "that he had studied grammar [Latin] in this capital in the *Colegio de los Teatinos*, and that he had likewise heard Mathematics and the Astrolabe and Sphere in the Royal Academy, and this he had heard for the last two or three years." Questioned whether it is true that he is engaged in making comedias, and has made them, and has given some to theatrical managers, he said that he does not deal in them, but that he makes them for his pastime, as do many other gentlemen of this capital, such as Don Luis Vargas and Don Miguel de Rebellas, and others, who like to make them for their entertainment, and that it is true that he made [wrote] some, and has given them to Velazquez and to other managers, that they might represent them. Questioned as to his acquaintance with Velazquez, he answered that, by reason of what he had just said, he knows him and not otherwise, and that they had known each other for more than four years [*i.e.* since 1583]. Questioned whether during this time he had visited Velazquez in his house, he answered that he had visited him several times, as others [had visited him] during the said time. Asked whether he knew Elena Osorio, daughter of the said Velazquez, he said that he knows her, and that he has spoken to her in conversation at her father's house the various times that he was there, as others [had done], that he knows that she is married, that he holds her to be a very reputable woman, and that he has always been of this opinion. He also said that he knew Dr. Velazquez, and likewise Ana Velazquez, the cousin of Elena Osorio; that he knows her from having seen her in the house of the said Velazquez, her uncle, and that she is married to a book-seller,

[1] Don Pedro Esteban Dávila, the third to bear the title, is the hero of *El Marqués de las Navas*, a play contained in the thirteenth volume (1902) of the Academy edition of Lope's *Obras*. He was the son of Lope's former patron

whose name he does not remember. Questioned whether he is in the habit of walking through the quarter of Lavapies,[1] where the said Velazquez lives, he said that he had not passed through it during the past year; that prior to that time he was in the habit of passing through there sometimes, in order to visit the said Velazquez; that he does not go there now, because the said Velazquez has not been in this capital, and that once, during Lent, the said Velazquez had invited him to dine with him; and that he dined with him and his company. He also said that he had not visited Velazquez the last time the latter was in the city, but that Velazquez had visited him several times. He added that he and Velazquez are great friends To the question why they are now hostile, if they were such great friends, he answered "because I now give to Porras the comedias that I used to give to Velazquez," adding that he made the comedias for his own pleasure, in idle moments, and that it was his pleasure to give them to one rather than to another. He said that he was not hostile to Velazquez, and denied having spoken ill of him; that, on the contrary, he had always respected and defended him, saying that his company was the best, and other like things, such as are discussed at the theatre. Asked whether he had any knowledge of the ballad beginning:—

"Los que en un tiempo tuvistes
Noticias de Lavapies"—

he admitted that he had, because he had seen it in the possession of Jusepe Enriquez, a student. He declared that he

[1] At the present day the Lavapies quarter is in the heart of the slums of Madrid, and we may be sure that it was not very respectable in Lope's day. Sr Menéndez Pidal writes to me as follows. "El barrio de Lavapies, al sur de Madrid (Calle de Lavapies, de la Plaza del Progreso á la Plaza de Lavapies, Calle del Ave María, etc.) es el corazón de los *Barrios Bajos* de Madrid (al sur de la Calle de la Magdalena, y de la Calle de Segovia), el centro de la chulería madrileña, la cuna de todos los chulos pintados por Don Ramón de la Cruz, y por nuestros autores de Zarzuelas chulas y del *genero chico* ('El Barberillo de Lavapies,' 'La Cancion de la Lola,' etc.), el pintado por Lopez Silva en sus *Barrios bajos*, y demás obras que ha escrito."

could not well remember the said ballad, as he had only heard it read a single time, there being present the Licentiate Moya,[1] Francisco de Lala, and Melchor de Prado, and that he had found it in the doorway of his house, about twenty or twenty-two days ago. Questioned whether he could write the four verses of the ballad in which his name was contained, he wrote :—

" Conocido por Belardo
Como Juan de Leganes "—

and then said that he did not remember any more. He added that he had also heard the ballad at a game of billiards (*trucos*) in the house of Ruiz, in the Calle de las Dos Hermanas, and likewise at the theatre. Asked as to who was generally said to have written it, he replied : Castillo, an *alguacil*, who had persecuted Ana Velazquez, a married woman, with his attentions, as is well known ; and that this *alguacil* fled from the city when this deponent was apprehended. Questioned as to his knowledge of the macaronic satire beginning :—

In Doctorem Damianum Velazquez Satira Prima,—

he said that he had seen it in the possession of the Licentiate Moya, who read it to him three or four times before he saw the ballad in the hands of Jusepe Enriquez. That Moya said that he had found it in his room ; that it had been thrown in through the door, etc. He denied, in answer to a question, that he had ever made macaronic or Latin verses, for although he understands Latin and can speak it, nobody had ever seen any work of his that was not written in Castilian. He said that he had seen no copies of the satire, or the ballad, except those in the hands of Moya and Enriquez ; that he did not know who the author of the macaronic verses was, nor had he ever heard it said who had written them, as they are of a kind which has never been seen in this capital. Nor did he know in whose handwriting the ballad was, although he

[1] The Licentiate [Pedro de] Moya is probably the person to whom Lope alludes in the *Peregrino en su Patria*, lib iv., where he says.

"Moya es notable y celebre Arithmetico."

looked at it attentively. The macaronic verses were likewise shown him, and he was asked in whose handwriting they appeared to be He answered that it seemed to be the hand of the Licentiate Ordoñez, because he had often seen him write, and because, on the other hand, it seems to him that he who wrote them could not have known how to write Latin, "as the spelling was bad, nor were there any quotation marks, nor commas nor diphthongs." He repeated that the last page, and the last but one, of the macaronic satire seemed to him to be in the hand of the Licentiate Ordoñez, but not the remainder of it, and said that he had no doubt Ordoñez wrote it, because he has spoken much ill of that family [Velazquez], as well as of the said Velazquez, and of Elena Osorio, to this deponent and also to other persons; and because, three or four nights before Christmas, Ordoñez importuned him to tell him what he knew of the said satire; and also because the Licentiate Ordoñez knows how to make the said macaronic verses and has often made them. Questioned as to what macaronic verses Ordoñez had made, he answered that it used to be said, many years ago, in the *Colegio de los Teatinos* [that he made them], but as these are childish things, he does not remember; but this has always been his opinion."

This last answer, being in direct contradiction to what he had said only a few minutes before, must have been damaging to his cause. Lope admitted that he could not tell where or with whom he had discussed the satires, as it was usual to speak of them.

The testimony of Lope de Vega is followed by a *Ratificacion de Testigos*, a confirmation of their testimony, in which, moreover, some new matter is introduced. It is dated January 15, 1588. For example, Jusepe Enriquez testified that he had heard the said Lope de Vega speak ill of Elena Osorio and Ana Velazquez; that he had heard him say that Elena Osorio was growing old; that she was not as beautiful as she used to be, etc. Cristóbal Fernandez, confirming his previous testimony, added that Lope de Vega was a man without means or calling, or

any employment by which he could support himself (*que no tiene comodidad ni oficio, ni trato ninguno de que sustentarse*). The Licentiate Castaño, (a new witness) testified that he had seen a satirical sonnet which spoke ill of Dr. Velazquez and of Elena Osorio, his sister; that he does not remember the verses particularly, but that it seems that one of them said: "and the lovely Filis earns money for her parents" (*y la bella Filis gana para sus parientes*), etc.

As a result of this trial Lope was found guilty, and was sentenced "to banishment from the Court [Madrid], and five leagues therefrom, for a term of four years, under penalty of having the term doubled for any infraction of the sentence; and also to banishment from the kingdom [of Castile], for the term of two years, under penalty of death for any infraction of the sentence; and that, moreover, he make no satires or verses henceforth against any of the persons mentioned in the said satires and ballads, and that he may not pass through the street where the said women live."

On February 4, 1588, supplementary testimony was taken. Domingo de Arrieta, a servant in the house of the Licentiate Moya, testified that one night—he did not remember how long ago—after his master had left the house, he found Lope de Vega there, and met him just as he was going out of the door; that Lope bade him tell his master that he [Lope] would see him at the game of billiards (*trucos*), and thereupon he left; that the deponent then went to his master's room, and behind the door he found a paper, consisting of four or five leaves; that he did not see any other person that evening who could have thrown the papers into the room; and that before he met the said Lope de Vega he had gone into his master's room for his sword, and the paper was then not there. A paper was shown the witness, which he identified as the one he had found in his master's house.

Another servant of the Licentiate Moya testified substantially to the same facts The Licentiate Moya was then recalled; he confirmed his previous testimony and corroborated the testimony of his servants.

On the following day, February 5, 1588, Jerónimo Velazquez, his brother and Elena Osorio, appeared before the Alcalde Espinosa, and declared that after Lope de Vega was sent to prison, he uttered words most injurious to them, and also infamous satires and sonnets; and that, in particular, he has devised and falsely uttered a letter, saying that the said Elena Osorio had sent it to him, in which letter he defames her and injures her anew falsely and maliciously, the said Elena Osorio being a married woman and of good repute; and that he has given the said letter into the possession of Juana de Ribera, a friend of his (*muger enamorada amiga suya*), in order that she should make the said letter public, and threatening the said Elena Osorio that if she did not pardon him [Lope], and cause him to be set at liberty, that she [Juana de Ribera] would send it to the husband of the said Elena Osorio, etc., and that the said Juana de Ribera by his order had shown the said letter and asked that he [Lope] be pardoned; if not, that she had orders, as well as the necessary money, to send it to the husband of Elena Osorio, who, if he had knowledge of this, would kill her.

In consequence of this supplementary declaration, the Alcalde Espinosa commanded an officer to go to the prison in which Lope was confined, and to search his trunk and papers for the said letters and other papers relating to the said insults and offences. Accordingly, between ten and eleven o'clock on the night of February 5, 1588, the officer visited the prisoner's cell. Lope was lying down, undressed, when the bailiff took him by the hand and led him forth from his cell in his night-shirt, and with only an additional cloak that was given to him by the turnkey, he was compelled to remain in the prison yard while his clothes, trunk, and bed were searched. The letter, however, was not discovered, though, according to the testimony of the bailiff, many letters from women were found. When the bailiff questioned him as to the whereabouts of the letter written by Elena Osorio, Lope said that on the previous day, a woman named Doña Juana had come to his cell and

brought the letter that the bailiff was seeking; that he had taken the letter away from the said Doña Juana, as he had given it to her on the understanding that she should show it to nobody, because it was from Elena, whom he had much loved; that he had learned that the said Doña Juana had shown the letter to certain women, that he had therefore taken it away from her by force, snatching it from her bosom, where she kept it concealed, and that he then tore it to pieces. Lope further said to the bailiff: "I loved Elena Osorio much, and I gave the comedias that I made, to her father; with them he earned his living, and because, on account of a certain quarrel, I gave my comedias to Porras, he now persecutes me; for if I were to give him my comedias, he would not persecute me."

Another prison-warder corroborated this testimony. His evidence as to the words used by Lope, however, is slightly different, and is as follows: "He [Lope] said that he had loved Elena Osorio much, and had been on terms of intimacy with her for four years (*y [había] tratado con ella quatro años*); that when he gave the comedias to her father, he did not pursue him or injure him, and now that he gave them to Porras, they pursue him," and the said Lope de Vega said: "so may the Señor Alcalde not persecute me, for I swear to God that I was intimate with her (*que la t até*), and this is the truth, and it is notorious (*es publico*)."

Another witness, Maria de Robles, "a single woman," testified to going one night to the house of Doña Juana de Ribera; that the latter showed her a letter which Lope de Vega had given her in prison, and asked her to read it; that from what she could remember, the letter said, among other things, these words: "If I were free, I would marry you." At the end of the letter, Doña Juana said, was the name *Elena*. And as it appeared to this witness that this letter was a fraud of Lope's, and that he must have written it, and not Elena, and that it was an infamous libel against a married woman, and because of the harm that might result from it, this deponent seized the

said Doña Juana and took the letter away from her, and immediately the said Doña Juana took it away from her again by force, and it was a little torn, for this deponent tore it with her teeth; and after the said Doña Juana had taken it away from her, this deponent said to her: "since you have taken it from me, tear it up, for it is not right to keep it, being against a married woman, and it is impossible that Elena should have written it." The witness added that she held Lope de Vega to be a man who had falsely imputed to Elena Osorio many things which had never entered her mind, and she is therefore certain that he wrote the paper which the said Doña Juana had; and that he gave it to her in order to defame the said Elena Osorio.

Doña Juana de Ribera then testified to visiting Lope de Vega in his cell in prison on Thursday, February 4, 1588; that he gave her a paper, which she did not then read; that he said it was from Elena Osorio; that deponent then came away, and read it in the presence of Maria de Robles, etc.; that a short time after this the said Maria de Robles came, with the said Elena Osorio, and asked for the paper that Lope de Vega had given to her; and this deponent said that she could not give it, as she was under obligation to return it to Lope de Vega; and so, on the same day, the said Lope de Vega sent for her, etc.; and yesterday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, this deponent went to the prison to see the said Lope de Vega, who asked for his letter, and this deponent said to him that it was torn in pieces; and he said that she should burn it in his presence, and as this deponent put it in her bosom and kept it, the said Lope de Vega seized her, and snatched it from her by force, etc.

In view of this supplementary testimony, the Court on February 7, 1588, doubled the sentence of banishment from the Court [Madrid] and five leagues therefrom,—making the term eight years,—besides the two years' exile from the kingdom; and the Court further decreed that any infraction of the latter sentence would be punished with death, while as regards the former sentence any infraction

would be punished by the prisoner's being sent to serve his time in the galleys, at the oar and without pay.

This evidence leaves little doubt, as we have already said, that Lope de Vega was justly convicted upon the charge of defamatory libel, and if the sentence seems, at first sight, to be somewhat harsh, the supplementary testimony concerning Lope's action after he had been arrested and confined in prison, revealed circumstances of a most aggravating nature, which amply justified the severity of the Court. To have wronged the woman he had loved, and who had loved him to the extent of sacrificing everything for him, as Lope himself declares in the *Dorotea*, was an act base and despicable enough. In attempting, after his arrest, to blacken her character and ruin her reputation still more effectually by means of a forged letter, Lope sank to the lowest depth of turpitude.

Directly after sentence was passed, Lope began to serve his period of exile from the kingdom [of Castile], by going to Valencia. But as the rest of the story is circumstantially told by the testimony in Jerónimo Velazquez's subsequent petition for Lope's pardon, we shall let the Court records once more tell their own story.

On March 18, 1595, Jerónimo Velazquez presented a petition to the Court, requesting that Lope de Vega should be forgiven. In this petition it was set forth that "whereas the said petitioner had entered an action against the said Lope de Vega, criminally accusing him before the Court of having uttered certain satires against Elena Osorio, his daughter, and other persons, in the year 1587-1588 now past, and whereas the said Lope de Vega was condemned to ten years of banishment, to wit: eight years from this Court [Madrid] and five leagues therefrom, and two years from the kingdom, as will appear by a reference to the said sentence, to which this petitioner here refers; and whereas the said Lope de Vega, in fulfilment of the said sentence, has undergone eight years thereof; and whereas now, for the service of God and for the desire this petitioner has of serving him as a

Christian, he considers it proper to pardon the said Lope de Vega all the crime which he committed and for which he stood accused before the said judges, he hereby remits and pardons, and consents and considers it fitting that the aforesaid [Lope de Vega] may enter this Court, notwithstanding that portion of the said banishment yet to be fulfilled," etc.

Considerable testimony was taken in support of this petition, of which nearly all is extremely interesting · and we shall give some extracts which throw light upon this very obscure period of the poet's life. First there is a petition of Diego de Izmendi, Lope's attorney, to the Judge, D Francisco Arias Maldonado, reciting that part of the sentence which his client had fulfilled, and requesting the Judge that testimony in support of these facts be taken in due legal form. In response to this the Court issued an order directing testimony to be taken on this point, and the first witness examined was Gaspar de Porras,[1] a theatrical manager, who, after going over the facts of the trial and sentence of the Court, says "that he knows and saw that as soon as Lope de Vega came out of prison he went from this Court to the city of Valencia, which is without the kingdom [of Castile], because this deponent accompanied him from this capital to the said city of Valencia, going in the company of Claudio Conde, a native of this city; and that this deponent left the said Lope de Vega in the said city of Valencia, settled in his house, *with his wife* and servants, and that this deponent returned to this Court, leaving the said Lope de Vega in Valencia; and he knows that the aforesaid Lope de Vega remained in the said city of Valencia two full years, fulfilling the said two years of banishment from the kingdom, because this deponent during the said two years sent for comedias every two months to the said Lope de Vega in the said city of Valencia, where he used to write them, and that the

[1] In other contemporary documents this name is spelled Porres, which is undoubtedly the correct form

servant whom he sent for them brought them to this capital; that besides sending his servants to Valencia, this deponent used to write to the said Lope de Vega, sending his letters by persons who were going to the said city, and he, the said Lope de Vega, used to reply to these letters, until, having completed the two years of exile in the said city, this deponent sent him money to Toledo, and with it he came to the said city, in which, and in Novés[1] and Alba [de Tormes] and other places without this capital, the said Lope de Vega has completed six years, more or less, of the eight years of banishment from this Court and five leagues therefrom, in the service of the Duke of Alba," etc.

Another witness, Juan Bautista de Villalobos, an actor in the company of Gaspar de Porras, after recalling the action and sentence of the court in the case, testified that "he knew that a few days after Lope de Vega came out of the prison in which he was confined, the said Lope de Vega went to Valencia to fulfil the two years of exile from the kingdom, because this deponent saw him in the said city of Valencia *with his wife and family*, living in the said city, and expiating his banishment; for this deponent, having gone to the city of Valencia and being in the company of Osorio,[2] a theatrical manager, saw him [Lope de Vega] for more than two months, fulfilling his said banishment in the said city; and there this deponent saw that he [Lope de Vega] gave to Quiros,[3] a theatrical manager who was in the said city, a comedia which he had written there; and that during the whole time of the said two years this deponent

[1] A city in the province of Toledo.

[2] Francisco Osorio on June 7, 1579, petitioned The *Comisario de Comedias* of Madrid for a place where he might represent his comedias with his company. The *Corral de la Valdivieso* was assigned to him, he agreeing to pay 10 reals for every representation He is again found in 1583 and afterwards, with his company, at the *Corral de la Cruz* and *Corral del Principe*, Pellicer *Origin y progresos*, etc., Vol. I. pp. 57, 75; and in 1588 he had a company in Madrid. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos acerca del Histrionismo en España*, p. 23.

[3] Quiros was also one of the early managers at Madrid, where he appeared at the *Corral de la Pacheca* and *Corral de la Cruz*, in 1579.

knows that the said Lope de Vega was in Valencia, fulfilling the said banishment from the kingdom, for wherever the managers of theatrical companies were, they used to write to the said Lope de Vega, in the said city of Valencia, and he would reply to them and send them comedias, until he had completed the said two years, etc.; and after he had completed these, this deponent saw the said Lope de Vega come to Toledo and remain in that city, fulfilling the banishment from the Court and five leagues, and that he has been in Toledo and in other places in the service of the Duke of Alba until now," etc.[1] Finally, we shall give the petition of Lope, which is as follows:

"Sire. Lope de Vega Carpio declares that the Judges of your House and Court banished him for ten years,—two years from the kingdom and eight from the Court [Madrid] and five leagues therefrom, on account of an action brought by Jerónimo Velazquez for certain satires which he [Lope de Vega] is said to have written against him, the said Jerónimo Velazquez and other members of his family; and whereas he has completed the term of banishment from the kingdom, since the beginning of the year 1588 now past, and of the eight remaining years he has expiated six; and whereas the said Jerónimo Velazquez has pardoned him [Lope de Vega] and has withdrawn from the action which he brought against him, as appears by these papers which, with the said withdrawal and his offence, he now presents. He begs your Majesty to command the unexpired portion of his exile to be remitted, and that he be given permission to enter freely and abide in this capital, seeing that his offence was very slight, as it shall appear to your Majesty, and that in the fulfilment of the said sentence of exile he has suffered and still suffers, great

[1] In taking up these documents chronologically we have reversed the order in which they are published in the *Proceso de Lope de Vega por Libelos contra unos Comicos*, by Pérez Pastor and Tomillo. The case as published by the latter begins with Lope's petition to the King for a pardon. As a result of this petition, supported as it was, by the petition of Jerónimo Velazquez, the whole testimony in the original action was copied and placed before the King. Hence the reversal in the order.

privation, sickness and hardship, and that he will thereby receive very great favour."

Lope's pardon was accordingly granted, though there is no special memorandum of this fact, save the word *fiat*, and beneath it the word *hecho* in the margin of the petition or renunciation (*apartamiento* = withdrawal), as it is called, of Jerónimo Velazquez.

Here, then, are settled, at once and for ever, a number of most important questions that have heretofore baffled students of Lope. When was Lope banished and why? For how long was he exiled? Where did he pass this period of banishment? And incidentally we learn a great deal that is of very curious interest in the life of our poet,—as, for instance, that Lope was married in 1588, a matter to which we shall return shortly.

CHAPTER III

LOPE'S REFERENCES TO HIS IMPRISONMENT AND EXILE IN HIS WRITINGS THE CHARACTERS OF THE *DOROTEA*. LOPE'S MARRIAGE TO DOÑA ISABEL DE URBINA

MANY allusions to his imprisonment and exile are to be found scattered through Lope's various writings.[1] We shall refer to some of them, as nearly as possible in chronological order In the *Segunda Parte de las Rimas*, Madrid, 1602, occurs the following sonnet —

"Hermosa Babilonia, en que he nacido
Para fabula tuya tantos años,
Sepultura de propios y de estraños,
Centro apazible, dulce y patrio nido;

[1] The references in the Ballads will be considered in the following chapter.

Carcel de la razon y del sentido,
Escuela de lisonjas y de engaños,
Campo de alarbes con diuersos paños,
Elisio entre las aguas del oluido ;
Cueua de la ignorancia y de la ira,[1]
De la murmuracion y de la injuria,
Donde es la lengua espada de la ira
A labarme de ti me parto al Turia
Que reir el loco lo que el sabio admira
Mi ofendida paciencia buelue en furia."
(fol. 310)

This was evidently written when Lope was about to leave his native city—beautiful Babylon, as he calls it—for Valencia, in pursuance of the sentence of exile recently passed upon him. In a sonnet to his friend Pedro Liñan de Riaza (l.c fol 282), he likewise says that he can no longer sing in fair Babylon :—

"Cantar no puedo en Babilonia bella"

So in Sylvio's song, in the *Arcadia*, Book II. —

"Sola esta vez quisiera,
Dulce instrumento mio, me ayudaras,
Por ser ya la postrera,
Y que despues colgado te quedaras.
De aqueste sauze verde,
Donde mi alma llora el bien quepierde
Mas, pues que de ti siento
Que estás con mis desdichas accordado,
Suene tu ronco acento
En mis amargas quexas destemplado ;
Celebre mi partida
Qual Cisne al despedirse de la vida.
Destas verdes riberas
Que el rico Tajo con sus aguas baña,
Parto a ver las postreras
Que vierten las que beue el mar de España,

[1] Perhaps *mentira*, cp. l. 11.

Si primero que allego
Entre las de mis ojos no me anego.
Ya quedarán vengados
Mis fieros embidiosos enemigos
. . . . . .
Que como el viento agrado
Suele arrojar el paxaro del nido,
O del granido elado
Suele ser derribado y combatido,
Assi del patrio suelo
Me arrojan iras del contrario cielo.
. . . . . .
¡ Ay destierros injustos,
Que en la mañana hermosa de mis años
Anocheceis mis gustos !
Mas puede ser que viua en los estraños ;
Que lo que desestima
La tierra propia, la estrangera estima "
(fol. 106, ff. ed. 1605).

" Much," said Silvio, " did the leave-taking of Belardo, for so was the Spanish poet called who composed this song, resemble that which now threatens you."

Another poem, and a more important one for our present purpose, is published by the editors of the *Proceso*. It is an *epístola* in which Lope begs the President of the Council of the Indies to use his influence to procure his pardon The President of the Council from 1584 to 1590 was D. Fernando de Vega y Fonseca The verses, published in the *Segunda Parte del Romancero General*, bear the following rubric —

Un hombre estando desterrado en Valencia por una satira que hizo, escriuió assi al Presidente de Indias.

In part, it is as follows :—

" Vega famosa, fertil, Vega llana,
Y aunque Fonseca, fuente de agua viva,
Fonseca noble que virtudes mana.

Dexé, señor, la Babilonia ciega
De aquesa confusion confusa y varia,
Triste de aquel que en ella teme y ruega ·
Y aunque parece cosa necesaria
Para quien como vos la vituperia,
No ha sido mi partida voluntaria.
Parti de vuestros pies, y de manera
Senti pesar el hierro de los mios,
Que allí pluguiera Dios morir me viera.
Mis discursos y ciegos desvarios,
Yguales a mis años, me han traido,
Prestos al mal y para el bien tardios.
A donde el que perdi desconocido
Conozco a mi pesar, que aun la memoria
Está muy tierna para tanto olvido.
No me debe mi patria aquella gloria
Que en su destierro lamentaba Ovidio,
Y Roma dió al autor de la Oratoria.
Un tiempo fui su fabula o fastidio,
Al fin me conoció per hijo suyo,
Que ni el sacro laurel, ni el roble envidio.

. . . . .

Dichosa fuera y bienaventurada
La estrella mia, si viuir pudiera
Al rayo de ese Sol vivo humillada."

This petition, as we know, was made in vain

In the *Filomena* Lope again refers to his exile, attributing it to "love-vengeance disguised as justice".—

. . . . . .

Quando nynfa cruel que yo querria

. . . . . .

Otro pajaro amó, grande y lustroso,
Yo pienso que oropendola seria
Del bosque, a Manzanares toldo umbroso,
Mas rico de vestidos y colores,
Pero no de tan dulce melodia,

Aunque cantaba en oro sus amores.
Elisa se llamaba
La ninfa. . . .
. . . . . .
Esta, porque yo quise
Vengarme amando a Nise
. . . . . .
Mandó por dar venganza a sus enojos
A un cazador que en lazos me prendiese.
Prendióme. . . .
. . . . . .
Y en su carcel me tuvo tiempo largo;
. . . . . .
Y con injusto cargo
. . . .
Desterróme de selvas y de prados,
Disfrazada en justicia
La venganza amorosa."

Obras Sueltas, Vol. II. p. 452.

Likewise in the *Epístola á Don Antonio de Mendoza*, he speaks of "love in early youth, whose triumphs end in exile or in tragedies" —

"Enseñandome versos y deseos
Amor, padre del ocio y las excusas;
Amor en tierna edad, cuyos trofeos
O paran en destierros ó en tragedias,
Con mil memorias para dos Leteos."

Ibid. Vol. I. p. 285

The passage in the *Epístola á Balthasar Elisio de Medinilla*, beginning —

"Bendiga el cielo aquellos desengaños," etc.

Ibid. p. 430.

seems also to allude to his exile. Another account of his imprisonment and his enlistment in the Armada, is of infinitely greater importance. It is in plain prose, and is the only clear and succinct statement by Lope concerning this portion of his career It is his dedication of the

comedia *Querer la propia Desdicha* to "his true friend Claudio Conde,"[1] though it is again misleading, inasmuch as no mention whatever is made of his marriage. His words are: "This play, entitled 'Courting one's own Misfortunes,' if not in substance, at least in title, is well suited to those adventures, notably when with so much love you accompanied me to prison, whence we departed for Valencia, where we ran no less dangers than at home, and where I repaid you by liberating you from the tower of Serranos [a jail at Valencia], and the severe sentence you were undergoing. . . . Before the first down appeared on our cheeks, necessity and similarity further strengthening our love, we left for Lisbon; whence we embarked on the expedition to England, which Philip II. was then preparing One cannot, without some emotion, recall to memory events so many and so various, for Vergil has well said of fortune · *Et tantum constans in levitate sua est.* Finally, the dangers of war, of the seas and of such numerous occasions, oblige me to select, among many, this comedia (for all were misfortunes which I courted, banishments which I loved, and wanderings which an unbridled desire cherished, in years when mad appetite plants its heel upon the neck of prudent reason), and to dedicate it to you, in order that it may be remembered that among so many Princes, amid so great an army, and so many Generals, Captains, galleons, arms, banners, friends and enemies, we were always considered brothers; and that this memory is confirmed by the title of blood, so that time may not efface it, and the diversity of professions, and the change of conditions are powerless in such just obligations, nor can the gratitude of mine fail in my breast while life lasts."[2]

[1] Claudio Conde was born in 1568 or 1569 in Valladolid He was the son of Pedro Conde and Doña Isabel Dueñas, the latter of whom died on March 25, 1581. Conde was a wild, ungovernable youth, who gave his guardian, Francisco de la Cruz, much trouble, even as late as 1587, when he made off with a mule belonging to one Pedro de Torres, for which his tutor had to pay thirty-eight ducats = about 420 reals plate. *Datos desconocidos*, p 234.

[2] *Comedias*, Parte xv (Madrid, 1621), fols 24 and 25

This account, it should be observed, does not agree with the testimony of Gaspar de Porres, given above (p. 38). The latter alleged that he had accompanied Lope de Vega and Claudio Conde from Madrid to the city of Valencia; that, to his knowledge, Lope remained there two whole years, because during this time he sent to him *every two months* for comedias, etc. If this were true, Lope could not have enlisted in the invincible Armada, for the Spanish fleet sailed from Lisbon at the close of May, 1588, and did not return to Cadiz till December. I shall return to this point, later If I have given at some length Lope's allusions to his imprisonment and exile—especially the vague references in his verses—it is because I do not think they are entirely without interest even now, when we have learned that much is hidden

"Sotto il velame degli versi strani."

They show, at least, upon what slippery ground scholars have hitherto been forced to tread, when there were no other sources of information. We see, for instance, that Lope alludes to his "long imprisonment" in the verse:

"Y en su carcel me tuvo tiempe largo."

We know now that, in reality, it could only have lasted about forty-two days, from December 29, 1587, to February 8, 1588 We can also identify from the criminal action for libel against Lope (and this is not the least important fact of all) the *Filis* whom he so desperately loved, the subject of many of his finest ballads. *Filis* is Elena Osorio, the daughter of the theatrical manager Jerónimo Velazquez This is a discovery in our day, but of course it was a well known fact at the time in Madrid. Lope, we have seen, says in the *Dorotea* (v. p. 12), that his relations with Dorotea had become the subject of common gossip in the capital, for which he was not a little to blame, as he had made the matter better known by his verses than it would otherwise have been. As the name Dorotea is never introduced into his verses, Lope evidently refers in this passage to his ballads to *Filis*, under which name he sang the praises of his mistress. There is,

besides, a copy of the *Romancero General* of 1604, in the National Library at Madrid, on the margin of which a contemporary hand has written: "we know this *Philis* is Elena Osorio, the daughter of Velazquez, the actor."[1] The *Filis* and *Belardo* of the ballads are Elena Osorio and Lope de Vega. According to Fernando's narrative in the *Dorotea*, he first met Dorotea and fell blindly in love with her when he was seventeen years old, and their love affair lasted five years. But in his deposition in the action for libel he said, in January, 1588, that he had known Elena Osorio four years; afterwards he declares he had been her lover for four years. As he stated besides, that he had not been in the street where she resides for a year, it would place their *liaison* between the years 1583 and 1586; that is, Lope was really, as already stated, about twenty-one years old when he first met *Filis*

A brief examination of the characters of the *Dorotea* may not be out of place here. The Fernando of the story is Lope (= *Belardo*); the Dorotea is Elena Osorio (= *Filis*), the daughter of Jerónimo Velazquez and his wife Ines Osorio. Concerning Elena, the researches of Pérez Pastor have disclosed a number of interesting facts. In the Archives of San Justo at Madrid, the original notices of the betrothal[2] and marriage[3] of Elena Osorio have been discovered. According to the first of these documents Elena Osorio and Cristóbal Calderon were betrothed on March 11, 1576; and on June 27, following, the marriage took place. I shall not attempt to describe the appearance or disposition of Elena Osorio,—*un tantico desenvuelta*, and *tan bella como olvidadiza de la fidelidad conyugal*, as she has been depicted. We really know nothing of her except what may be inferred from what is here set down Her husband, Cristóbal Calderon, probably an actor,[4] died on

[1] "Sabemos la tal *Philis* Elena Osorio hija de Velazquez el representante" *Datos desconocidos*, p 117.

[2] *Datos desconocidos*, p 206.

[3] *Ibid*

[4] His name appears in the list of actors in the company of Velazquez, as it was composed in Jan 1590. This list is as follows Rodrigo de

March 30, 1595, in the house of his father-in-law, Jerónimo Velazquez, in the Calle de Lavapies.[1] It is very probable that Elena Osorio, having been married in 1576, was at least as old as Lope de Vega, if not older. Whether she had any part in inducing her father to obtain a pardon for Lope, we do not know, nor do we know whether (as Sr. Pérez Pastor suggests) she hoped to marry Lope later. As we shall see, it is almost certain that on March 18, 1595, when Lope was pardoned, his wife, Doña Isabel de Urbina, was dead. The husband of Doña Elena, however, did not die until March 30, of the same year. When the petition was made, she may have hoped, of course, that her husband would not tarry long, though we have, perhaps, no right to infer this; still, it is possible that the death of her luckless husband was no very great grief to the widow, then about thirty-five years old. On the other hand it should be remembered in her favour that she never married again, although she survived her husband by many years. In fact, she was still alive on January 25, 1637,[2] and therefore outlived her old lover She seems to have been in easy circumstances,—a plausible explanation of her prolonged widowhood. In 1606 she lost her mother, Ines Osorio, and in 1613 her father, Jeronimo Velazquez, also died. Cristóbal Calderon figures in Lope's dramatic story as *Ricardo*; this, at all events, is the name given, in the beginning, to the husband of Dorotea. Ricardo, as

Saavedra; Juan de Vera, musico, Jeronimo de Galvez, mi compañero y autor; Pedro Rodriguez y Mari Florez, su mujer, Miguel Ruiz y Ana Ruiz, su mujer, Luis Calderon y Jeronima de los Angeles, su mujer; Pedro de Zorita, Fabián de Ribera, Juan de Almaguer; Melchor de Villalba, Alonso Martinez, Jeronimo Mayuel, Cristóbal Calderon, and Diego de la Rocha" *Datos desconocidos*, p 146 Several of the persons here named afterwards became prominent in the annals of the Spanish stage. Rodrigo de Saavedra, born in 1559, we have seen as one of the witnesses in the libel suit against Lope He afterwards had a company of his own, as did also Pedro Rodriguez, Miguel Ruiz, and Melchor de Villalba

[1] *Datos desconocidos*, p 221.

[2] *Ibid* p 217

Pérez Pastor points out, is an imperfect anagram of Calderon; but in the last Act, Lope calls Dorotea's husband *Calidonio*, with the not very wise intention, as we are told, that his contemporaries, on reading the name, should incontinently recall Calderon.[1] After the two principal characters in the *Dorotea*, Fernando (Lope), and Dorotea (Elena Osorio), the personage that most excites our curiosity is the rival of Fernando, the rich South American, as he is called, *Don Bela* Fernando speaks of his rival as having recently arrived at Madrid; as being unmarried, wealthy, of high station, and aged about thirty-seven years. "For the few gray hairs that he has are from the hardships of the sea, which the air of the Court will soon take away; and, indeed, I saw a sign in the street the other day, which said: 'A wash for gray hair for sale here'" (Act. I. Sc I.). "He has a fine presence, with bright eyes, white teeth, which gleam beneath his black moustache like a string of pearls in velvet" (*Ibid.*). Don Bela's gold made him a dangerous rival, and he had, besides, the support of Dorotea's mother, Teodora, who hoped that Dorotea's husband might conveniently and speedily die, so that she might marry the "rich Indian." The latter caused the youthful and exceedingly jealous Lope many a pang. "What consumes me is the thought that she was in love with Don Bela," Fernando says (Act IV. Sc. VIII.). Pérez Pastor notes two passages in the *Dorotea*; both of them play upon the word *vela*, and he thinks that the puns are not unintentional.[2] They acquire added importance, the learned editor contends, when taken in

[1] *Datos desconocidos*, p 221

[2] The first occurs in Act V Sc II., where Don Bela says.

"¿ Qué cantaba Dorotea ?
Gerarda Velador, que el castillo velas,
Velale bien, y mira por ti,
Que velando en él me perdí."

¿ Qué te parece cómo alude a tu nombre ? etc.

This *antigua copla castellana*, it may be noted, was made use of by Lope in his comedia *Las Almenas de Toro*, Act II., and is also introduced into

connection with a marginal note on the copy of the *Romancero General* of 1604, in the National Library at Madrid, to which we have already referred. To the ballad beginning —

> "De la armada de su Rey
> A Baza daua la vuelta," etc.

we find the marginal annotation. "This was Don [Tomas] Granuela, nephew of [Cardinal] Perrenot de Granuela, and the *Felisarda* is Elena Osorio, the *Philis* of Lope, daughter of Velazquez, the actor."[1] The words in brackets had been cut away by the binder. Cardinal Granuela, as Pérez Pastor shows, had two nephews, the elder Don Francisco, and the younger Don Juan Tomas, and both were in Madrid in 1586-1587, the very period when the *Dorotea* was written. He also shows that 'Tomas' is the name which should be inserted where the page has been cut away, and that, as the new rival for Dorotea's favour is described as rich and influential, this applies much better to Tomas than to Francisco for Cardinal Granuela bequeathed the bulk of his wealth to Tomas. Sr. Pérez Pastor adduces other proofs in support of his conjecture that Don Bela is D. Juan Tomas Perrenot de Granuela; and even if these are not conclusive, the name which Lope gave to his rival—*Don Bela* (Gran Bela)—distinctly suggests the name of the Cardinal's nephew. The one serious objection to this identification is that Don Juan Tomas de Granuela was even younger than Lope: he perished in the Armada expedition at the age of twenty-two. The *Teodora* of the *Dorotea* is, in all probability, Ines Osorio, the mother of Elena, upon whom

the comedia *La Baltasara*, written by Luis Velez de Guevara, Antonio Coello, and Francisco de Roxas.

The other passage is in Act III Sc. VII

Fernando: Qué hará ahora Dorotea?

Julio. Estará con dos velas a tu retrato haciendo oracion, porque su dueño vuelva

Fernando: ¡O enemigo mio! ¿no bastaba la burla, sino tambien con Don Bela? Piénsas que no entiendo el equivoco?

[1] *Datos desconocidos*, p 127.

Lope vents all his wrath; to Jerónimo Velazquez he does not make the faintest allusion throughout the work. Who the unhappy *Marfisa* was, we do not know. Fernando says of her (Act V. Sc. III.): "We were brought up together, Marfisa and I, as you have heard; and although it is true that she was my first love in the springtime of my youth, her unhappy marriage and the beauty of Dorotea made me forget her good qualities as completely as if my eyes had never seen her."

The astrologer *Caesar* is shown, with a high degree of probability, to have been Lope's close friend Luis Rosicler or Sicler, a Frenchman by birth, and an embroiderer by profession, whose skill in astrology brought upon him a prosecution by the Holy Inquisicion, concerning which a number of documents are published by Sr. Pérez Pastor.[1]

One of the important facts disclosed by the evidence in the criminal action for libel is, as we have seen, that Lope de Vega was married in 1588. Concerning this first marriage of Lope there had been much discussion. According to Montalvan, who astutely eschews all dates, this marriage took place some time after Lope's entrance into the Duke of Alba's household, and presumably after he had written the pastoral romance *La Arcadia*. This is several years too late. La Barrera and Ticknor conjectured that the marriage occurred in 1584. This is several years too early. The evidence we now possess dispenses us from discussing (save as regards a single point) the reasoning by which both writers arrived at this date. One of the questions they sought to determine was whether Lope married before, or after, the sailing of the Armada in 1588? With such data as they had before them, the right answer was obviously not easy to find. In Lope's writings there are phrases which certainly seem to imply that he was not married when he sailed on that star-crossed expedition. "Who could imagine," he says, "that on

[1] *Datos desconocidos*, p. 269 Lope mentions him in the *Peregrino en su Patria*, Book IV as "Luis de Rosicler, famoso Astrologo." *Obras sueltas*, Vol. V p. 345 He died in 1612.

returning from the war, I should find a sweet wife? Sweet because so loving, and dear for the misery and hardship through which she had passed"[1]

Schack had likewise asserted that Lope was not married till after his return from the Armada, and in support of his opinion, he quotes a letter from Lope to the Duke of Sessa, written many years afterwards[2] and asks: "denn laszt sich wohl denken dasz er (Lope) im entgegengesetzten Falle desgleichen von sich berichtet haben wurde?" What to Schack seemed incredible need not astonish us now, knowing that at this very time to which he alludes, Lope had been married not quite three weeks.

Among the records published by Pérez Pastor is a certificate of the marriage of Luis de Rosicler, "in the name and by virtue of a power of Lope de Vega Carpio," to Doña Isabel de Alderete.[3] This marriage of Lope by proxy took place at Madrid on May 10, 1588. The evidence by which Pérez Pastor establishes the identity of Doña Isabel de Alderete and Doña Isabel de Urbina y Cortinas, the name by which Lope's wife was known, seems to me conclusive. The young lady was a grand-daughter, on her father's side, of Don Diego de Urbina and of Doña Isabel de Alderete; she was baptized by her grandmother's Christian name,

[1] In his *Egloga á Claudio La Vega del Parnaso*, Madrid, 1637, fol. 93.

[2] This letter, dated September, 1611, is as follows "Quiero contarle á V. E un cuento, y es que llegando yo mozuelo á Lisboa, quando la Jornada de Inglaterra, se apasionó una cortesana de mis partes y yo la visité lo menos honestamente que pude Dile unos escudillos, reliquias tristes de las que habia sacado de Madrid, i una vieja madre que tenia, la qual, con una melindre entre puto y grave, me dijo asi No me pago quando me huelgo" La Barrera, *Nueva Biog* p. 48 Schack's version, in *Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien*, Vol III. *Nachtrage*, is slightly defective

[3] "En diez dias del mes de mayo, año de mil y quinientos y ochenta y ocho años, se desposó, con licencia y mandamiento del señor Vicario general de esta villa de Madrid, Lope de Vega Carpio, vezino de esta villa, y en su nombre, y por su poder bastante Luys de Rosicler con Doña Isabel de Alderete; fueron testigos el Secretario Tomas Gracian, Juan de Vallejo, alguazil de corte; Juan Perez, boticario, y Juan de Vega y Alonso Diaz, estantes en esta dicha villa." *Datos*, etc. p. 236.

and afterwards adopted the latter's surname as well, in accordance with a common custom of the time. She was the daughter of D. Diego de Ampuero Urbina y Alderete and of Doña Magdalena de Cortinas Salcedo y Sanchez de Coca. Her father was a man of considerable distinction, having been *Regidor* of Madrid, his native city, and King-at-arms to Philip II. and Philip III. It is somewhat strange, however, that Lope, in the earliest of his two Wills which have come down to us (dated Madrid, February 4, 1627), should say: "I declare that I have been married twice, the first time to Doña Isabel de Urbina, *sister* of the *Regidor* Diego de Urbina, King-at-arms of his Majesty, by whom I had two children, Teodora and Antonia, now deceased,"[1] etc. But, as there can be no doubt of the real relationship, this must be a mere *lapsus calami* of Lope's.

Nevertheless, the whole episode of Lope's marriage, exile and pardon, is not quite so simple as it might appear up to this point, for there is another document extant which again introduces some uncertainty and mystery into it, and which might, perhaps, have been dealt with sooner, had I not preferred to postpone it to the present stage because of its bearing on a subsequent matter. This document has been known for many years, and was first published by Ticknor, in the third edition of his *History of Span Literature*, issued in 1863. But, strangely enough, this curious instrument seems to have escaped La Barrera. It is a petition by Lope to the King,[2] dated 1596, setting forth that because of certain satires against Jerónimo

[1] The entire text of the Will is given in the Appendix

[2] After alluding to the lack of information on this portion of Lope's life, Ticknor says "Some light, however, is thrown on it by a letter which he addressed to the King in 1598 (*sic*), and a copy of which I obtained from the kindness of the last Lord Holland, to whose father, the biographer of Lope, it was sent many years ago, by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete As it is important, and, I think, unpublished, I give it entire It seems to have been written from the *villa* de Madrid." The petition is as follows

"Señor Lope de Vega Carpio, vecino de esta villa dice: Que V M^{d}. le ha hecho merced de alzarle lo que le faltaba por cumplir de diez años

Velazquez, *autor de comedias*, and others of his house, he had been sentenced to ten years of banishment, two of which he suffered in full, and that the King had graciously remitted the unexpired portion of the remaining eight years, during which he was forbidden to reside within five leagues of Madrid; and that because during the said banishment, being compelled by circumstances, he had entered Madrid and other places, in violation of the terms of his banishment, he had thereby incurred penalties from which he entreated the King in his clemency to relieve him.

This document which, in view of what we have said in the preceding pages, is now free from most of the difficulties which it once presented to Lope's biographers, still raises one point which is by no means clear. It is evident that Lope had been guilty of violating the decree of banishment, and had failed to state this in his first petition to the King for a pardon in 1595. He also deemed it politic to wait more than a year before making this supplementary petition, although during this time he was constantly liable to the penalties incurred by the infraction of his sentence. But what were the occasions when Lope entered Madrid and other parts, in violation of his sentence? The only evidence that has reached us is found in the following entry In the General Inventory of the Criminal Causes, in the *Archivo de la Sala de Alcaldes de la Casa y Corte de S.M.*, on fol. 135 we read · "Lope de Vega, Ana de Atienza and Juan Chaves, *Alguacil*, for the abduction of Doña Isabel de Alderete" (*Datos*, p. 239). "Admitting

de destierro en que fue condenado por los Alcaldes de Corte, los dos deste reino, que cumplió, y los ocho della y cinco leguas por que se le opuso haber hecho ciertas satiras contra Geronimo Velazquez, autor de comedias, y otras personas de su casa, y porque durante el dicho destierro a cosas forzosas, que se le ofrecieron, entró en esta corte y otras partes en quebrantamiento dél; suplica a V M^{d}. le haga merced de remitirle las penas en que por ello incurrió" *Datos*, p 80 This copy is more accurate than the transcription given by Ticknor. The latter was, moreover, under the impression that this petition was dated 1598, whereas Srs. Tomillo and Pérez Pastor found it among papers of the year 1596, which is doubtless its true date.

the identity of persons, Pérez Pastor says, this entry in the Criminal Archives of Madrid ceases to be a disconnected fact, because this criminal trial dove-tails perfectly with the marriage register, and because the abduction and the subsequent marriage explain each other, and supplement each other in a manner that is historically, if not morally, satisfactory. On the other hand we must bear in mind the criminal action against Lope for libelling certain actors,[1] which took place about this time, because the criminal action being previous[2] to the abduction of Doña Isabel de Alderete, it may well have been the moving cause of the said abduction and of the consequent indictment. In fact, Lope being indicted for his satires against the actors, and being sentenced to banishment without the kingdom, understood that with the exile, the displeasure with which his own family looked upon this marriage, and the little affection which the Urbinas bore him, his relations

[1] 1588 "Lope de Vega Carpio, autor de Comedias, sobre haber hecho ciertas satiras contra unos comicos" *Inventario de las causas criminales que se hallan en el Archivo de la Sala de Alcaldes* When Pérez Pastor wrote the above words, this entry was the only information he had of the *Proceso*

[2] I quote the argument of Perez Pastor on this point "Admitiendo como se debe admitir, que los rollos de las causas criminales se entregaban para su custodia en el Archivo de la Sala de Alcaldes, y que entonces se registraban los procesos, no como incoados, sino como ya conclusos, teniendo en cuenta la rapidez con que procedían los Alcaldes de Casa y Corte al sustanciar estas causas, puede admitirse, en tesis general, que dentro de este Registro el orden de los procesos fenecidos es paralelo al de los mismos incoados, y, por ende, que las causas registradas dentro de un año en los primeros lugares, presuponen hechos anteriores á los de las causas que se registran después dentro del mismo año Ahora bien los Alcaldes de Casa y Corte de Madrid, durante el año 1588, sentenciaron 300 procesos criminales, segun consta en el ya citado Indice, correspondiendo el num. 110 al que se promovió contra Lope por los libelos, y el núm 205 al proceso por rapto de Doña Isabel de Alderete. Por consiguiente, segun nuestra humilde opinion, el proceso por las sátiras debio empezar á fines del año 1587 ó al principio del 1588, y poco después la causa criminal por rapto de Doña Isabel." *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, p 591. This portion is omitted in the second edition of the *Datos*, contained in the *Proceso*. When Pérez Pastor made this conjecture, the records of the libel case had not been discovered, we see now how strikingly his conjecture has been verified.

with Doña Isabel would grow cold and even cease. In these circumstances he decided to abduct her, and by this means obtain the consent of both families to the said marriage."[1] I must confess that I cannot see why Lope's 'own family' should view this marriage with displeasure. In the first place, Lope was now twenty-six years old, and whether he had a family at this time is doubtful His father was dead Undoubtedly he deposed in the libel case that he was then residing with his parents, but the statements which he makes concerning them in his works are not reconcilable. We know, further, that throughout his deposition he shuffles and palters with the truth, and his statements must be received with great caution. On the other hand, there is every reason why the Urbinas, a family of considerable distinction, should object most strongly to the marriage of their daughter with a young man of tarnished reputation, whose *liaison* with Elena Osorio had become the common talk of Madrid, as he himself rather boastingly tells us The criminal abduction of Doña Isabel is consistent with what we know thus far of Lope, who would face any risk in pursuit of his amours.

If we admit the correctness of these records, or rather of the Index of Cases in the Archives of the Criminal Court of Madrid (and I see no reason for doubting it), how can we explain the arrest of Lope for criminal abduction *after* the action for libel? Directly after his conviction in the latter case, we are told by Gaspar de Porres, one of the witnesses who accompanied him, that Lope left Madrid for Valencia, and remained there two years The testimony of this witness must be accepted with some reserve. By Lope's own account, in the dedication of "Courting one's own Misfortunes," he remained in Valencia with Claudio Conde long enough for the latter to get into trouble and undergo a 'severe sentence' in prison. From this imprisonment Lope liberated him, and the two evidently lost no time in leaving for Lisbon, whence the Armada was to sail at the close of May. It

[1] *Datos desconocidos*, p 240.

is possible, and even probable, that, while crossing the peninsula from Valencia to Lisbon, Lope secretly entered Madrid, and that the abduction of Doña Isabel then took place. But this is mere conjecture, without a particle of evidence to support it. According to the note on p. 68, the suit for libel against Lope corresponds to number 110 on the Index, while the action for abduction corresponds to number 205. Now, inasmuch as about three hundred criminal cases had been disposed of in the course of the year 1588, the second case against Lope cannot have come on for hearing till some four months after the beginning of the first trial. This brings us to the month of April, 1588[1] At this time Lope had been tried, sentenced, and undergoing banishment for two months which he had passed at Valencia. If he was arrested, and the Index is conclusive proof, he was certainly never tried, and in all probability fled the jurisdiction of the Court. His marriage by proxy, on May 10, following, to Doña Isabel de Urbina, certainly shows that he did not think it wise to risk his head again Besides, it was not necessary. His object had been accomplished. The 'paltry scoundrel,' as he has been called, knew that the opposition of the Urbinas had now been overcome, and that they would now consent to the marriage of their daughter

[1] The explanations given by the editors of the *Proceso* is as follows· "About this time, February to April of 1588, the abduction of Doña Isabel de Alderete must have taken place, on which account a new action was instituted against Lope de Vega If this amorous adventure was accomplished in the fortnight preceding the departure into exile, Lope could have directed all the machinery with ease, but if it happened after his banishment had commenced, the business was much more complicated and of very difficult execution It was liable to fail because of the absence of the bridegroom, wherefore we suppose it most probable that the matter in hand being of such importance, Lope escaped from Valencia, and being concealed in Madrid, moved the pieces in this trick against the Urbinas," *l c* p 181 And again "La persecución de los Velázquez contra Lope hizo que éste precipitara los acontecimientos de una manera tan vertiginosa que en poco tiempo llegó á convencer á Doña Isabel de que era necesario se dejara robar; burló la vigilancia de los Urbinas verificando este rapto; sufrió por esta razón nuevo proceso, casóse, por fin, con Doña Isabel," etc *ibid.* p. 247.

to a man who was, apparently, in every respect, a whole heaven beneath her.[1] The rational conclusion is that the criminal action against Lope was discontinued at the instance of Doña Isabel's family.

CHAPTER IV

THE ARMADA. LOPE MARRIED AND LIVING AT VALENCIA THE BALLADS

It was, of course, not to be expected that a man of Lope's moral character should remain faithful to his young wife. We have already had evidence of this in the letter which he wrote to the Duke of Sessa (p. 53, note 2). But what shall we say of a lover who is married on May 10, voluntarily enlists in the Armada, and sails from Lisbon on May 29? The simple, pious Montalvan, it will be remembered, has told us that Lope's young wife died before the Armada sailed, and that he enlisted in that emprise in the hope of meeting death, and thus ending his sorrows. The real Lope, as we see, was of very different stuff. He did not hesitate to abandon his young wife *en plena luna de miel.* And yet the attempt has been made to justify this strange conduct. "As it is evident from all documents known up to the present how passionately (*entrañablemente*) Lope loved his wife,—so say Srs. Pérez Pastor and Tomillo,—we ask: What motives

[1] That Lope married Doña Isabel without the consent of her parents is shown by the 'prophecy' given above, which declares "You will marry this lady, though it will be without the approval of your relatives or of hers." The 'your,' of course, is inserted merely to save Lope. Besides, Montalvan states that Lope "married the beautiful Doña Isabel, with the consent of the relatives of both parties." *Fama póstuma*, p. 31. This affords a strong presumption that the contrary was the actual fact

impelled Lope to go on this perilous expedition under circumstances so exceptional? Was it the desire to distinguish himself by his valour, and so procure the remission of his banishment as a reward for his services? Or knowing that Don Juan Tomas Perrenot de Granuela was to go with the Armada, did the spur of revenge incite him, trusting that this would be an excellent opportunity to settle accounts with his rival?" (*l.c.* p. 182). All of which, it seems to me, is a very peculiar view of the matter

Did Lope's wife accompany him in his exile to Valencia? The testimony of Gaspar de Porres, in the libel suit, is positive on this point. He says that he accompanied Lope and Claudio Conde from Madrid to Valencia, and that he left him there with his *household established, his wife and servants*, etc. We know now, however, that this is false; for Doña Isabel was still in Madrid in May, 1588. Moreover, Lope's free and not very deliberate movements while with Claudio Conde in Valencia, are evidence that he was not hampered by a wife and servants. Besides, these would have to be supported, and we may be sure that Lope's purse was not well-lined. But there is, on the other hand, some evidence for believing that the beautiful and unhappy Doña Isabel contrived to make her way to Lisbon before the Armada sailed.[1] At least a ballad of Lope's—one of the finest he ever wrote—might lead us to think so; though possibly the whole episode is fantastic. The Invincible Armada, as it was called, weighed anchor in Lisbon harbour on May 29, 1588, Lope embarking on board the galleon *San Juan*, and abandoning his *dulce Belisa* (the anagram of Isabel), who had sacrificed everything to her love for him. The ballad is as follows:—

[1] A serious obstacle in the way of such a meeting is the great distance from Madrid to Lisbon, about 300 miles, and the fact that there were but eighteen days in which to accomplish the journey. Yet, as the stage coach in the middle of the last century performed the journey in about twelve days, via Badajoz, this alone would not make it impossible

"Leaning on a lofty tower[1]
Which the sea surrounds and threatens,
Gazing on the mighty vessels
Which for England now are sailing,
With her sad tears fair Belisa
Now augments the gleaming waters
For the love who sails and leaves her

Go, cruel one, for with me doth remain
On whom to avenge your wrong, if I were fain

Not the wrong alone I suffer
Of your sword and my dishonour,
For there rests within my bosom
Of Aeneas the very semblance;
And though innocent, yet guilty,
If a sin one may inherit;
I shall kill myself to kill him,
And will die that he may perish

Go, cruel one, for with me doth remain
On whom to avenge your wrong, if I were fain

Yet will I change my intent
And await his birth, if haply
He in aught should thee resemble,
To slay him who bears thy semblance
Yet to wait I'm not desirous,
For 't will be a pois'nous viper
That will come, bursting my bosom,
Forth, and death will be my portion.

Go cruel one, for with me doth remain
On whom to avenge your wrong, if I were fain.

[1] There is a reference to this ballad in one published originally in the *Romancero General* (ed. 1604, fol 243). It is given by Duran, *Romancero*, No. 250, among the *Romances Moriscos Satiricos*. The lines are

"Póngase á llorar Belisa,
De pechos sobre una almena,
La partida de su esposo", etc.

Thus lamenting was Belisa
When the moment was approaching ;
At a signal all the vessels
To the winds their canvas hoisted.
Stay, O stay, she cried, O husband
Fugitive, stay, don't forsake me .
But alas ! in vain I call thee ;
May God ne'er grant thy returning.

Go, cruel one, for with me doth remain
On whom to avenge your wrong, if I were fain." [1]

[1] " De pechos sobre una torre
Que la mar combate y cerca,
Mirando las fuertes naves
Que se van á Inglaterra ,
Las aguas crece Belisa
Llorando lágrimas tristes
Al que se aparta y la deja
Vete, cruel, que bien me queda
En quien vengarme de tu agravio pueda

No quedo con solo el yerro
De tu espada y de mi afrenta,
Que me queda en las entrañas
Retrato del mismo Eneas ,
Y aunque inocente, culpado,
Si los pecados se heredan ,
Mataréme por matarle
Y moriré porque muriera.
Vete, cruel, que bien me queda
En quien vengarme de tu agravio pueda

Mas quiero mudar de intento
Y aguardar que salga fuera,
Por si en algo te parece
Matar á quien to parezca
Mas no le quiero aguardar,
Que será víbora fiera,
Que rompiendo mis entrañas
Saldrá, dejandome muerta.
Vete, cruel, que bien me queda
En quien vengarme de tu agravio pueda.

Asi se queja Belisa,
Quando la prisa se llega ,
Hacen señal á las naves
Y todas alzan la vela.

There is nothing nearly so tragic as this in all the shoreless sea of Lope's poetry. Did his faithful Isabel, bearing within her bosom the fruit of her first love, follow Lope in his flight to Lisbon? Was she really present when he sailed, as the ballad describes, watching with broken heart and tear-dimmed eyes, until the last gleam of the sail that bore away her faithless spouse had disappeared from the horizon? I fear this is merely a figment of the poet's fancy, but the ballad is so magnificent that its quotation is amply justified

In any case, Lope was not the man to allow such an incident to prey upon him long. He immediately turned to poetry once more, and it was during this expedition,[1] on board the galleon *San Juan*, that he wrote his epic, *La Hermosura de Angélica*, in imitation of Ariosto—using the verses he had written to *Filis* for gun-wadding —

"El arcabuz al ombro,
Volando en tacos del cañon violento
Los papeles de Filis por el viento"

'Aguarda, aguarda, le dice,
Fugitivo esposo, espera.
Mas ¡ay! que en valde te llamo,
¡Plega a Dios que nunca vuelvas!
Vete, cruel, que bien me queda
En quien vengarme de tu agravio pueda'"

Romancero General, Madrid, 1604, fol 160v

[1] In his *Corona Tragica*, (Madrid, 1627) Lope says, alluding to this enterprise

"Ceni en servicio de mi Rey la espada
Antes que el labio me ciñiese el bozo,
Que para la catolica jornada
No se excusaba generoso mozo" (Fol 41v.)

In the dedication to "Courting one's own Misfortunes," it will be remembered that he also said "We left Lisbon before the first down appeared upon our cheeks" It is sufficient to bear in mind that Lope was then 26 years old Cf *Dorotea*, Act I Sc I "The most common reproach in this world is taking off from one's own years, and adding them on others, and it is a useless folly, for he who adds them to another thinks the same thing, and each one takes them from himself." And, in the elegy on Lope by D. Francisco Sotomayor, are the verses:

The Invincible Armada, or what was left of it, returned to Spain in December of the same year, Lope disembarking at Cadiz, proceeding thence, as he tells us in his *Filomena*, to Toledo.[1] But this flatly contradicts the testimony of witnesses in the libel case. To have appeared in Toledo before the early months of 1590 would have been an infraction of his sentence, punishable with death, according to the decree of the court. After a brief stay in Cadiz, Lope must have returned to Valencia, where he settled down with his wife and servants, passing some happy days with his family There is every reason to believe that one, at least, of his daughters, Teodora, was born during his sojourn in Valencia. He alludes to his return in those beautiful lines of his *Egloga á Claudio*, already referred to in another connection (p. 63).

Let us hope by this time Lope had quite forgotten his *Filis*, that *ingrata Filis* who tormented him so, and who, as the ballads amply show, seems to have been no less a torment to Doña Isabel, the *dulce Belisa* All of these ballads, or most of them, in any case, belong to the period before his marriage in 1588.

About the time of Lope's sojourn in Valencia, the new

> "Tomando ya la pluma, ya la espada,
> Allí y en Cadiz escribió entre el fiero
> Estruendo de la cólera de Marte
> *La Angélica*, que fue su afan primero"
> *Obras Sueltas*, Vol XX p 348.

Judging from the length of the *Angélica*, Lope grasped the pen much oftener than the sword. Cp. Garcilaso's Third Eclogue.

Our poet also alludes to his part in the Armada in the *Filomena* See *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. II p 453

> [1] "Volvi desde los blancos Albiones
> A la torre famosa del Thebano,
> Donde puso el Romano
> Eternas inscripciones.
> Y desde allí á las selvas y montañas
> Por donde manso y ledo
> El Tajo celebrado,
> Dormido entre mastranzos y espadañas,
> Pretina de cristal ciñe á Toledo"
> *Obras Sueltas*, Vol II. p. 454.

ballad poetry began to appear there in collected form. Lope had, doubtless, deliberately chosen this city as the most suitable spot in which to pass his exile from the kingdom of Castile, nor could he have hit upon a more attractive place of residence; for, in addition to being a wealthy commercial centre, it was foremost in culture, famous throughout the peninsula for its artists, poets and dramatists. The theatre especially flourished in Valencia, and this, together with its delightful climate, may have been the chief charm for Lope. Here he certainly met the dramatic poets, Francisco Tárrega and Carlos Boyl, and probably also the younger poets, Gaspar de Aguilar and Guillen de Castro. About this time, as we have said, or a little earlier, ballad poetry (always much in vogue among the common people, who created it) received a new impulse through the efforts of the courtly poets, and again became very popular. This new ballad poetry (as distinguished from the older ballad books containing the traditional or popular ballads printed in book form at Antwerp and Saragossa) was first collected under the title of *Flor de varios Romances nuevos y Canciones, recopilados por Andres de Villalta, natural de Valencia.* The *princeps* of this first part must have been issued at Valencia "soon after 1588."[1] Thirteen parts appeared these were finally collected in the third edition of the *Romancero General*, Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1604.

Lope seems to have been one of the most frequent and one of the most popular contributors to the successive instalments of this *Flor de varios Romances*, and even the first part (1588 ?) contains four or five of his ballads, written several years previously. It was, indeed, as a writer of ballads, as Ormsby says, that Lope first won his spurs.

Of this new ballad poetry that now came into fashion, two kinds were especially cultivated by the poets. (1)

[1] Wolf, *Studien zur Geschichte de Spanischen u. Portugiesischen Nationalliteratur*, Berlin, 1859, p 344 An edition of the *Primera y Segunda Parte* of the *Flor de Varios Romances* that appeared at Barcelona, Jayme Cendrat, 1591, is not mentioned by Wolf. See also Salvá, *Catálogo*, No. 363, and Ticknor, Vol. III. (1888), Appendix B.

The Morisco ballads (*romances moriscos*),[1] as distinguished from the older traditional, historical or border ballads (*romances fronterizos*) and the historico-legendary ballads (*romances histórico-fabulosos*), produced by the wars with the Moors · and (2) about the same time, the Pastoral ballads (*romances pastoriles*) But there was no radical difference between a Morisco ballad and a Pastoral ballad. In both cases the poet sang his own or some fictitious love-adventure · in the former case Moorish names and costumes were introduced, while in the latter those of shepherds were employed. To transform a Morisco ballad into a Pastoral one, all that was necessary, as Wolf says, was " to exchange the *marlota* for the *pelluo* (dress of skin or fur), and change Adulce and Gazul into Belardo and Lisardo, who then direct to the *querida Belisa* and the *ingrata Filis* the love plaints which a short time before they had poured out to *Zelindaja* and *Jarifa*." [2]

The Pastoral ballad owed its popularity to the imitation of the Italian eclogues then in vogue, and to the Pastoral Romance introduced into Spanish literature by Montemayor. Since the publication of the *Proceso* and the *Datos desconocidos*, Lope's ballads have, of course, lost much of the biographical interest—always extremely vague—that once attached to them Any strict chronological arrangement is impossible. We know that some ballads are older than others, not necessarily because they appear earlier in the Ballad-books, but from internal

[1] Wolf has shown what an influence the historical romance of Gines Perez de Hita, *Las Guerras civiles de Granada* (first ed 1595), had in bringing into fashion the later artificial Morisco ballads, and assigns the period between 1575 and 1585 as that of their first appearance They continued to increase in popularity until 1610, the date of the complete expulsion of the Moriscos (l c pp. 334, 533) That Perez de Hita was not, however, the first poet to write these pseudo-moorish ballads is proved by their appearance in the different parts of the *Flor de varios Romances* before the *Guerras civiles* was issued Cp also Sr Menéndez y Pelayo's *Tratado de los romances viejos* (Madrid, 1903), the first volume of which has been issued while these pages were passing through the press

[2] *Studien*, p 537 cf what Lope says of these ballads in the *Dorotea*, Act I Sc ii.

evidence. The oldest, or among the oldest, are in all probability the *Filis-Belardo* ballads, some of which perhaps date back to Lope's first acquaintance with *Filis* (Elena Osorio) in 1583. The *Belisa-Belardo* ballads must have followed these rather closely,—perhaps as early as 1586, certainly not later than 1587,—for some of them show that Lope had not yet broken with *Filis* when he wrote them ; then follow the ballads on his banishment, on his life at Valencia, etc. But when we leave the Pastoral ballad and come to the Morisco ballads, the question of ascription baffles us. Deprived of such ear-marks as the names *Filis*, *Belisa* and *Belardo*, we are instantly at a loss; and to attribute this or that ballad to Lope, simply because it contains the names *Zaida* or *Zaide* or the title *Almoralife*, is hazardous The ballads in the *Romancero General* are printed anonymously, and it is not safe to assign a ballad to Lope merely because of its brilliancy or excellent craftsmanship We are told, for instance (*Datos*, p 91): "Although Lope de Vega on account of his youth was not apt to keep his love-affairs with Elena Osorio a secret, he tried nevertheless to throw off the scent those who were in the secret, and especially the family of Filis, by disguising the two lovers under the names *Zaide* and *Zaida*" And accordingly this fine ballad is ascribed to Lope —

"Gallantly Zaide passes
Street and portal of his lady,
For to view again her image
And adore it he desires

. . . .

and concluding —

O more beautiful and lovely
Than the pearl-bedewed Aurora!
Lovely Mooress of mine eyes,
Whom no other beauty equals!
Tell me, prithee, doth thy health
Fail thee since to see thee fails me?
But from all the signs I saw
Love it is which thou art lacking

Cruel Goddess, do but look
What to my sad soul thou costest,
And the many nights I slept
Overcome beneath thy window!

. . . . .

Zaida, no less than he,
From the window now withdraweth,
And tho' parted are their bodies,
Their fond souls remain together." [1]

So another ballad, which Duran considered to be one of the most beautiful as well as one of the most popular of the whole Morisco section, is now almost certainly to be attributed to Lope de Vega This ballad, incorporated by Gines Perez de Hita in his *Guerras Civiles de Granada*, opens thus —

" Mira, Zaide, que te aviso [2]
Que no pases por mi calle," etc

[1] " Gallardo passea Zaide
Puerta y calle de su dama,
Que desea en gran manera
Ver su imagen y adorarla,

¡ Oh, mas hermosa y mas bella
Que la Aurora aljofarada!
¡ Mora de los ojos mios,
Que otra en beldad no te yguala!
¿ Dime, faltate salud
Despues que el verte me falta?
¡ Mas segun la muestra has dado
Amor es el que te falta!
Pues mira, diosa cruel
Lo que me cuestas del alma,
Y quantas noches dormi
Debaxo de tus ventanas!

. . . . .

Zaida, no menos que el,
Se quita de la ventana,
Y aunque apartaron los cuerpos,
Juntas quedaron las almas "

Romancero General, ed 1604, fol 212

[2] Duran says this ballad has maintained its popularity in Andalucia down to the present day See the burlesque ballad " Haganme vuestras mercedes," *Romancero*, No 257

The second line may refer to the sentence of the court in Lope's trial for libel: "*Condenanle en que de aqui adelante no haga satiras . . . ni pase por la calle donde viven las dichas mugeres*," etc. Zaida, at all events, reproves her lover for his indiscretion in speaking of their love-affair;—prodigal of speech, she calls him (*que eres prodigo de lengua*),—a weakness of the young poet that is noted in the *Dorotea*, and to which allusion is made in a ballad, to be mentioned hereafter. This evidence of authorship seems to be strengthened by another ballad, undoubtedly Lope's; I mean that beginning: "*Al pie de un roble escarchado*." The last line of the *Zaide* ballad is the old popular refrain: "*Quien tal hace, que tal pague*,[1] which also forms a sort of refrain in the afore-mentioned verses. The second stanza of the latter, moreover, refers distinctly to the *Zaida* ballad, only the names are changed, *Fili* being substituted for *Zaida*. The editors of the *Proceso* likewise attribute to Lope, on apparently good grounds, the ballads *De quando acá tantos fieros* and *Este traidor instrumento* On the other hand, the ballad *Sentado en la seca yerba* is ascribed to Pedro de Osuna, in the copy of the *Romancero General* of 1604 in the National Library at Madrid, on the margin of which is written "*Hizole Pº. de osuna á lope su amigo*," etc. In the same volume, on the margin of the ballad —

> "De la armada de su Rey
> A Baza daua la vuelta
> El mejor Almoralife," etc.
>
> *Romancero General*, ed. 1604, fol. 7.

we read: "Era Don Tomas Granuela sobrino del Card. Perrenoto de Granuela y esta Felisalua es Elena Osorio la Philis de Lope, hija de Velazquez, el representante."[2] It is also very probable that the ballad *El mayor Almoralife*, which

[1] How old this refrain is I do not know, but it occurs in the *Auto de Cain y Abel* by *el Maestro Ferruz*, written about the middle of the XVI. century. See the *Coleccion de Autos, Farsas y Coloquios del Siglo XVI.*, ed. par Léo Rouanet, Madrid, 1901, Vol. II. p. 162.

[2] *Datos*, p. 127.

reflects the passage on the portrait in the *Dorotea* (Act V. Sc. V.), belongs to Lope, and in like manner the satirical ballad *Oidme, señor Belardo*, points to our poet as the author of the *Adulce* ballad, beginning *En la prision está Adulce*.[1]

As a writer of ballads Lope stands quite alone. In brilliance of versification, in beauty of thought, in mastery of expression, in consummate craftsmanship, no Spanish poet has ever equalled him. His nearest rival, perhaps, was Góngora; that is, the Góngora of the *Romancero General*—the youthful, simple, unaffected poet,—not the crabbed, disillusioned, disappointed courtier of later days. Thirty-six ballads by Lope—all taken from the *Romancero General*—are published in the *Obras Sueltas* (Vol. XVII.), to which at least three more may be added from the *Romancero*, numbered 1464, 1494 and 1497 in Duran's collection, and the following, which are not in Duran: *Contemplando estaua Filis* (*Romancero Gen.*, ed. 1604, fol 21); *Filis, las desdichas mias, Ibid* fol. 53; *Apartaste, ingrata Filis, Ibid.* f. 95; *Quando las secas enzinas, Ibid.* f 386, and the *cancion Divina Filis mia, Ibid.* f. 382 These, with the *Zayda* and *Felisalua* ballads above, would make the number of ballads contributed to the *Romancero General* more than fifty. Still, in more than one case the authorship is extremely doubtful, and will probably always remain so. Of these the *Filis* ballads are perhaps the most finished and interesting. In one of them Lope complains of his grief at thinking that he is not to see Filis for even one hour —

> "Pitiful, the sad Belardo,
> Jealous rendered by the absence
> Of the fairest of all, Filis,
> Humbly now his lot bewaileth
> Lady mine, ah me! how woful
> Is the very apprehension
> That for only one brief hour
> I must live and may not see thee."

[1] *Datos*, p 144

[2] "El lastimado Belardo
Con los zelos de su ausencia

In the *valentísimo romance*, as it has been called, of the *Nido de Tórtolas*, the Turtle-dove's nest, beginning *El tronco de ouas vestido*, Belardo envies the loves of two turtle-doves in the branches of a tree, and throwing a stone, destroys their nest and drives them away, only to see them alighting in a 'green pine' tree, to continue their love-making :—

"Saw he of two turtle-doves
Up on high the fair nest woven,
While with impassioned murmurings
One another they are kissing.
Then the shepherd took a stone
And high in the air he scattered
Branches, turtle-doves and nest,
Saying happily and proudly .
Cease this tender meeting, etc.

. . . . . .

Standing by the tree he watches
Where again they have alighted,
These two frightened, hapless lovers,
And beholds them in a pine tree
Once again renew their kissing." [1]

A la hermossima Filis
Humildemente se quexa .
¡ Ay, dize, señora mia,
Y quan caro que me cuesta
El imaginar que un hora
He de estar sin que te vea !" etc.
Romancero Gen. fol. 366.

[1] "Vió de dos tórtolas bellas
Texido un nido en lo alto,
Y que con arrullos roncos
Los picos se estan besando.
Tomó una piedra el pastor,
Y esparzió en el aire claro
Ramos, tórtolas y nido,
Diziendo alegre y ufano :
Dexad la dulce acogida, etc
. . . .
Desde el tronco está mirando
A donde yran á parar

As the doves are again united, so he hopes to be united once more with Filis :—

"Since I drove you from your nest
And again you are companions,
So I hope some day or other
With my Filis to be mated."[1]

In the following ballad there is a distinct allusion to Filis' abhorrence of her husband .—

"Filis rivalling in splendour
Fair Aurora, now ariseth
From the bridal bed abhorrèd,
Fleeing from the hateful chamber."[2]

Filis is angry, and frowns upon Belardo —

"When will ever cease the anger
Of thy scorn so undeservèd,
Verily the night I've wearied
With my calling to behold you,
Fortune with my prayers to aid me,
And the moon with prayers to hide her.
I who e'en could not content me
With thy many sweet embraces,
Now seek solace 'gainst thy anger
In returning and returning
To behold the street that holds thee.
Love ordains that I should worship,

Los amantes desdichados
Y vio que en un verde pino
Otra vez se estan besando

[1] "Pues que del nido os echê
Y ya teneys compañia,
Quiero esperar que algun dia
Con Filis me juntaré."

Romancero Gen fol. 31

[2] "En competencia del dia
Sale Filis con la aurora
Del tálamo aborrecido,
Huyendo la cama odiosa."

Segunda Parte del Romancero General, Valladolid, 1605, quoted in the *Datos*, p. 91.

And should kiss your window bars,
Wholly to thy soul devoted,
Whence his cruelty he learneth
O thou long and rare misfortune!
But 'tis wrong that I bewail me;
Iron,[1] thee 'tis meet I worship,
Whom fate's irony[1] ruled ever.
These cold stones bear testimony
That with drifting snow all covered
Countless times the sun hath found me
Ere thine on this world had risen"[2]

Belardo grows weary of serving Filis and receiving no favours in return —

"Filis sweet, if thou awaitest

'Tis not just thus to inflame me
Without now and then a favour

[1] In the original *hierro* means both 'iron' and 'error,' a play upon words which cannot be reproduced in English

[2] "Quando cessaran las iras
De tus injustos desdenes"

Cansada tengo la noche
De llamarla para verte,
Da ventura de ayudarme,
Y la luna de esconderse
Yo que no me concentaua
Con tus braços muchas vezes,
Ya me consuelo, enemiga,
Con ver tu calle, y boluerme
Los hierros de tu ventana
Quiere Amor que adore y bese
A deuocion de tu alma,
De quien su dureza aprende
¡O larga desdicha mia!
Mas no es razon que me quexe,
Bien es, hierro, que te adore
Quien anduuo errado siempre
Estas piedras son testigos
De que cubierto de nieue
Me hallo mil vezes el sol
Antes que el tuyo saliesse, etc"

Romancero Gen fol 228.

Which is saying much in jesting
But in truth is very little.
Keen as hell's intensest torment
Are the cruel pains I suffer,
Though the banquet lies before me
I of hunger's pangs am dying
For thy tarrying is a torture,
Since the favour thou art giving
Sooth, is saying much in jesting,
But in truth is very little." [1]

In the ballad "*Al pie de un roble escarchado*" we see Belardo repaying Filis in kind Filis has 'killed' Belardo with jealousy, and rejected his love; now she is to reap what she has sown —

"With disdain I once did war,
Now disdain with me is warring.
I with jealousy Belardo
Slew, now jealousy doth slay me.
All entreaties passed unheeded
Now none hears my entreaties,
Therefore with just cause I suffer;
As one metes, so may one measure.
Seeing that I once disdained Belardo,
Therefore love, athirst for vengeance,

[1] "Dulce Filis, si me esperas

No es bien que encenderme quieras
Sin favor de quando en quando,
Que es mucho para burlando,
Y poco para de veras.
A las del infierno ardiendo
Es mi pena semejante,
Que con el manjar delante
Estoy de hambre muriendo
Con tu esperar desespero,
Pues el favor que vas dando
Es mucho para burlando
Y poco para de veras," etc

Romancero Gen. fol. 153

Wills that now, in turn, I love him,
And that he forgets me, spurns me."[1]

We shall close this brief review of some of the Filis ballads with one which is specially interesting, because it refers directly to a passage in the *Dorotea*. We may be quite sure, from all we know of Lope, that he was a terribly indiscreet lover; his effusive vanity made it utterly impossible for him to keep a secret. We may well believe that he lost no opportunity when with his friends, in the theatre or elsewhere—at the game of *trucos*, for instance—of boasting of his conquests. He tells us in the *Dorotea* that, on account of his ballads and other verses that he had written, his *amour* with Elena Osorio was the common gossip of the city. This must, naturally, have been a source of the most painful anxiety to Elena, who had a husband to cozen and blind And certainly she seems to have been equal to the occasion, despite all that Lope could say or do. In Act III Sc. VI. of the *Dorotea* there is a letter by Dorotea to Fernando, in the course of which she says "I do not reproach you for the hardships I have suffered for your sake, nor for the injury to my health, to my reputation or to my possessions; but I do reproach you for the want I have suffered, even to making myself no longer appear fair to your eyes, because I had not wherewith to clothe myself." At the end of the letter Dorotea writes: "I do not ask you to reply to me, nor do I ask you to remember me, for

[1] "Hize á los desdenes guerra,
Guerra desdenes me hazen,
Maté á Belardo con zelos,
Zelos es bien que me maten
No atendi siendo llamada,
Agora no me oye nadie,
Con justa causa padezco,
Quien tal haze, que tal pague
Desamé á Belardo un tiempo,
Y el amor para vengarse
Quiere que le quiera agora,
Y que él me olvide y desame."
Romancero Gen. fol. 153

that is not done by prayers, but is a matter of feeling; I only beg of you that you will not complain of me in your verses, for if, in your praising me, they take from me my good name,—in your speaking ill of me they will certainly destroy me"[1]

Lope alludes clearly to this in the ballad · "*Este traydor instrumento*" ·—

"Now they say thou art complaining
That to-day my soul thee praises,
That thou can'st not sleep secure
Of what will be said to-morrow.
As a discreet being, Filis,
And one who long hath been a lover,
At thine ignorance, I marvel,
Of commonplace experience.
He who any object loses
When he hopes not to regain it,
With his tongue depreciates it
While for it his soul is sighing.
When I think of thy rare beauty
Both my prose and verse extol thee
To the very Heavens which made thee,
Wondering at their own creation.
Nay, thou fain must make avowal
That to me thou art beholden,
Since my most malign reproaches
Through the world thy fame have carried.
A good enemy is surely
He who what he blames exalteth,
For by weeping his misfortunes
And proclaiming all thy graces,
Many who have seen thee never
Nor might ever feel the enthralment
Of thy beauty, are enkindled
By my amorous bewailings.
And if this be so, fair Filis,
Little cause hast thou for grievance,

[1] This reference was first pointed out in the *Datos*, p. 109.

Since even all my evil speeches
Have redounded to your honour." [1]

. . . . . .

When Lope de Vega first became acquainted with Doña Isabel de Urbina we do not know. It was probably not before 1586, when his passion for Dorotea was cooling. In his verses, as we have noted, he calls her *Belisa*,—the anagram of Isabel,—and some of these ballads to Belisa are among the loveliest in all the treasure-trove of Spanish ballad poetry At first Belisa was unmindful of Lope's

[1] "Dizeme que estas quexosa
De que oy mi alma te alaba,
Y que no duermes segura
De lo que dire mañana
Para ser discreta, Filis,
Y auer gran tiempo que amas,
Mucho me espanto que ignores
Liciones tan ordinarias.
Quien alguna cosa pierde,
Quando no espera cobralla,
Con la boca la desprecia,
Y quierela con el alma
Quando pienso en tu hermosura
Mi prosa y verso te ensalçan
Hasta atrauerme a los cielos,
Que te hizieron, y se espantan
Mas confesarme deurias
Lo que me estas obligada,
Pues diziendo mal de ti,
Te he dado en el mundo fama
Mira qué buen enemigo,
Que aprovecha en lo que daña,
Pues llorando sus desdichas,
Y con publicar tus gracias,
Muchos que nunca te vieron
Ni tu hermosura engañara,
Los enamora, y encienden
Mis quexas enamoradas
Si esto es assi, bella Filis,
Con poca razon te agrauias,
Pues te hazen buenas obras
Hasta mis malas palabras"

. . .

Roman Gen fol 44.

(Belardo's) attentions to her; he accuses her of being inconstant and changeable; Belisa, however, is jealous of Filis, and well she might be, for the names *Filis* and *Belardo* trip together from the tongue of every tattler in Madrid. To this Lope answers with an argument that is certainly curious: "If Filis has caused you jealousy, time will undeceive you, for as she loves someone, he, on the other hand, could leave her for another, and if the village murmurs it, no matter; people are always mistaken, and it is better that you should love me, even if she have the repute of doing so" —

"Shepherdess, beloved mine,
Thine indifference makes me suffer,
Thy disdain doth leave me wretched,
Thine injustices destroy me.
When the night comes you abhor me,
And you love me on the morrow;
Now at mid-day I offend you,
And in th' afternoon you call me;
Now you tell me that you love me,
Then you say that you were jesting;
Now you mock my careless actions,
Now my words turn you to weeping
Jealousy, when pain it causes,
Makes you more content and joyful,
And when I am most confiding
Then you view me with displeasure.
To mine enemy you praise me,
To my friend chide me unkindly,
If I see you not, you seek me,
If I seek you, you're ill humoured.
When one day from thee I parted
Thou bewailedst my long absence,
Now that once again I'm with thee,
With thine absence dost thou threaten.
Without sea nor mount between us,
Without watchers, without danger,
Mountains, seas and spies thou raiseth
With a single word of anger.

The walls of thine humble cabin
Seem to me the highest mountains,
A sea when I now behold them
And thy frowns a thousand favours.
Love and fickleness dost thou
In the selfsame moment show me,
But 'tis well a child they paint him,
Small of face and wings so mighty.
If Filis has made thee jealous,
Surely time will undeceive thee,
For, as she another loveth,
For another he may leave her.
If they gossip in the village,
People always are mistaken,
Better 'tis that you should love me,
Though she have the reputation,
And with this you make me fearful,
Make me jealous and me threaten.
If you weep, how can you hate me?
If you jest, how can you love me?
This Belardo now was saying,
In his hand he held a letter,
'Neath an olive tree reclining,
Which the gilded Tagus waters" [1]

[1] "Amada pastora mia,
Tus descuydos me maltratan,
Tus desdenes me fatigan,
Tus sinrazones me matan
A la noche me aborreces,
Y quieresme a la mañana,
Ya te ofendo a medio dia,
Ya por la tarde me llamas
Ahora dices que quieres,
Y luego que te burlauas,
Ya ries mis tibias obras,
Ya lloras por mis palabras
Quando te dan pena zelos,
Estás mas contenta y cantas,
Y quando estoy mas seguro,
Parece que te desgracias
A mi amigo me maldizes,
Y a mi enemigo me alabas;

But Belisa is cruel; her heart is unmoved by Belardo's tears. There is no remedy now but death. He adjures the trees, the plants, and the fishes to be the witnesses of his woes, that they may proclaim aloud his pitiless misfortunes :—

"Jealous and deeply enamoured,
His two eyes turned into fountains,
A forgotten, wretched shepherd
Tenderly his fate bewaileth.
Saying: Ungrateful thou Belisa,

Si no te veo, me buscas,
Y si te busco, te enfadas
Partime una vez de ti,
Lloraste mi ausencia larga,
Y agora que estoy contigo,
Con la tuya me amenazas
Sin mar, ni montes en medio,
Sin peligro ni sin guardas,
Mar, montes y guardas tienes
Con una palabra ayrada
Las paredes de tu choça
Me parecen de montaña,
Un mar en llegar a vellas,
Y mil gracias tus desgracias
Como tienes en un punto
El amor y la mudança,
Pero bien le pintan niño,
Poca vista y muchas alas
Si Filis te ha dado zelos,
El tiempo te desengaña,
Que como ella quiere a uno,
Pudo por otra dexalla
Si el aldea lo murmura,
Siempre la gente se engaña,
Y es mejor que tu me quieras,
Aunque ella tenga la fama
Con esto me pones miedo,
Y me zelas y amenazas
Si lloras ¿como aborreces?
Y si burlas ¿como amas?
Esto Belardo dezia
Hablando con una carta,
Sentado al pie de un oliuo
Que el dorado Tajo baña"

Roman Gen. fol. 13.

How canst thou be so hard-hearted
To one who has been so faithful,
Showing thyself so disdainful?
Can it be that all my sighing
Leaves thy heart unmoved as marble?
And that my sad, ceaseless sighing
Wakes in thee no tender echo?

. . .

Remedy that now may help me
Know I not, nor plan to follow,
Better were it, I imagine
Once for all with death to end it.
This he said and to the Tagus
Turning him with eyes all tearful,
A deep sigh he utters, saying

.

Witnesses of my afflictions
Be ye, trees and plants and fishes,
That ye may go forth proclaiming
My unmerciful misfortunes.
But what say I? With whom speak I?
What if my words be unheeded?
Ah, but yes, for brutish beasts
Even are wont to feel compassion.
Then I thought that time would change this
All, but here I was mistaken,
For 'tis ten years since I serve thee,
And more cold art thou than marble.
If perchance by day I seek thee
Thou fleest, that thou may'st not see me,
And by night if I address thee
Thou dost answer me unkindly.
When to please thee I endeavour,
Then thy hatred waxeth strongest,
Hence the only boon I ask for
Is that death be now my portion.
This he said and then departed,
His way through the rushes taking,

Still complaining of Belisa
And addressing stream and fishes:
Hold back, O gilded Tagus, now thy current," etc.[1]

[1] "Enamorado y zeloso,
Hechos sus dos ojos fuentes,
Un pastorzillo olvidado
Se quexaua tiernamente.
Ingrata Belisa, dize,
¿Como es possible que puedes
Ser pedernal a mi fé,
Mostrando tantos desdenes?
¿Possible es que mis suspiros
Tu duro pecho no mueuen,
Y que mis lagrimas tristes
En algo no te enternecen?
. . . . . .
No sé qué remedio busque,
Ni sé qué traça me ordene,
Pues lo mejor imagino
Será acabar con la muerte
Dixo, y boluiendose al Tajo,
Entre lagrimas que vierte,
Arroja un suspiro y dize.
.
Sed testigos de mis males,
Arboles, plantas y pezes,
Para que digais a vozes
Mis desdichas inclementes
¿Mas, qué digo? ¿con quien hablo?
Si hablo con quien no me entiende;
Pero sí, porque los brutos
Aun suelen compadecerse
Que todo el tiempo lo muda
Tuue por cierto, engañéme,
Que ha diez años que te sirvo,
Y en todo es mas frio que nieue;
Si acaso de dia te busco,
Huyes de mi, por no verme,
Y si de noche te hablo,
Me respondes agriamente
Quando procuro agradarte,
Entonces mas me aborreces,
Y assi el remedio que pido
Es solo que me dés muerte
Esto dixo, y se partió
Por entre las juncias verdes,

In another ballad Lope assumes a very humble tone; he is no longer the proud and boastful Belardo of the *Filis* ballads. He begs Belisa not to despise him because of his humble raiment; because he wears no plumes and fine lace, bestrides no spirited steed, and is unaccompanied by pages and lackeys. He bids her leave all these things to empty-pated coxcombs;—what Belisa wants is, in fine, just such a gallant as Belardo. The fact that this is one of Lope's finest ballads vindicates our right to quote from it:—

"Do not hold, O sweet Belisa,
In but slight esteem Belardo
For the rude shoes that he weareth,
Or because of his poor raiment,
That he wears no nodding feathers,
Nor is decked with valiant laces;
That before your house resounding
You hear not his charger's clatter;
That he does not go attended
By pages nor yet by lackeys;
That he cannot boast the riches
Which set off the foppish courtiers.

. . . . . .

And the nodding plumes and laces
Leave them to the empty-pated,
To the swaggering, idle ninnies.

. . . . . .

For, in all truth, thy deity
And thy youth, tender and flow'ring,
Are not meet for dashing troopers,
Nor for wealth of vain possessors,
But demand a simple suitor
Courteous and of proved discretion,
Who appreciates thy virtues
And is proud that he may serve thee.

Quexandose de Belisa,
Y hablando con agua y pezes:
Deten, dorado Tajo, tu corriente," etc.
Romancero Gen. fol. 449.

And who ever for thy favours
Makes his breast a reliquary,
There to keep them and adore them,
And for aye to hold them secret.
Think of this and much beside
With a plain man when you're treating.
But if joyous meads and meadows
Thou dost wish to leave, Belisa,
Thy now happy state exchanging
With the dwellers in a palace,
Of such wealth wilt thou grow weary,
Of the silks, brocades, and laces,
Since for these are honoured many
In themselves not worth a farthing.
Sue they for the hands of maidens
Only backed by weight of ducats,
Buying them with ready money
Just as bales of cloth are bartered.

. . . . . .

But Belardo, O Belisa!
By another path doth journey,
For to be thine own enchants him
Tho' a poor and lowly shepherd,
Nor has he incidental merits
Due to dignity of station.
If you punish and maltreat him
Than a slave he grows more humble,
But with looks benign and friendly
If you greet him, and with kindness,
He appreciates the favour
As a thing akin to wonder.
He adores thy slender fingers,
For to kiss them fain are thirsting
Many immemorial nobles.
But thy hands so fair, Belisa,
Not for perjured lips are destined,
That bestow peace with their kisses
And are plighted to the devil.
No one e'er deserves to kiss them

Saving only thy Belardo,
Who, that he may have his bosom
Wholly free and unencumbered,
Has transferred his loving heart
To his lips for a new dwelling,
Whence thou easily may'st know
How sincere must be his purpose." [1]

[1] "No tengas, dulce Belisa,
En poca cuenta a Belardo
Por las abarcas que lleua
O porque viste de pardo;
Porque no lleua garçotas,
Ni va con puntas gallardo;
Porque no huella tu calle
Con un brioso caballo;
Porque no va guarecido
De pajes ni de lacayos;
Porque no tiene riquezas
Que paran los hombres brauos.
. . . . .
Y las garçotas y puntas,
Déxalas a cascos vanos,
Para fantasmas de bouos.
. . . .
Porque aquessa tu deydad,
Y aquessos tus verdes años
No piden gente de guerra
Ni bienes de duendes vanos,
Mas piden solo un galan
Harto discreto y loçano,
Que tenga en mucho tus prendas,
Y se precie de prendado;
Que tenga de tus mercedes
El pecho por relicario
Donde las guarde y adore,
Y tenga en callarlo callos
Piensa en esto y mucho mas
En tratar con hombre llano.
Pero si quieres, Belisa,
Dejar tu cortijo y prado,
Y entregarte á los que viuen
En los Reales palacios,
Te cansarán sus riquezas
Y aquel peso de brocado,
Pues por este vale mucho
Quien por sí no vale un clauo.

The grave look in Belisa's beautiful eyes wakens tears on Belardo's part. Jealousy is the root of it all, and with sobs he protests "May heaven condemn me to eternal weeping, if I adore thee not and hate not Filis."

"Filled with tears to overflowing
Are Belardo's eyes, beholding
The grave look that fair Belisa
In her lovely eyes revealeth.
Mortal jealousy unjustly
Is the cause of all her trouble,

A las damas solicitan
A peso de sus ducados,
Comprandolas por dinero
Como si compraran paño

Pero Belardo, Belisa,
Camina por otro vado,
Que precia el ser tuyo mucho
Por ser él pastor y baxo,
Ni tener merecimiento
De estar en lugar tan alto
Si le castigas y matas,
Rindese como tu esclauo,
Mas si le halagas y miras
Con unos ojos humanos,
Haze fiesta del fauor
Como cosa de milagro,
Adora tus ojos bellos,
Adora tus blancas manos,
Que por besallas rebientan
Los señores titulados
Pero tus manos, Belisa,
No son para labios falsos,
Que dan la paz con la boca,
Y tienen de dentro un diablo
Nadie besallas merece
Sino tu solo Belardo,
Que para dexarte el pecho
Bien libro y desocupado,
Ha pasado el coraçon
De su lugar a los labios,
De do podras conocer
No ser fingido su trato"

Romancero General, fol. 422

And that she may learn it, sobbing
And with tears is he repeating:
The wrath of Heaven eternal I implore me
If I abhor not Filis and adore thee.

. . . . . .

Let mine enemies o'ercome me
In contentions fraught with danger,
And my friend the most beloved
To mine injury bear witness;[1]
Let him falsely 'gainst me swear
And the judge most unrelenting
Of mine enemies be partial
On their side and most devoted,
The wrath of Heaven eternal I implore me
If I abhor not Filis and adore thee."[2]

Of ballads on his exile three may be noted here. Take that which begins:—

"Since a thousand years I sing not,
For a thousand years I'm weeping

[1] In this last stanza the allusion is clearly to his trial for libel.

[2] "Llenos de lagrimas tristes
Tiene Belardo los ojos
Porque le muestra Belisa
Graues los suyos hermosos
Zelos mortales han sido
La causa injusta de todo,
Y porque lo aprenda, dize
Con lagrimas y solloços
El cielo me condene a eterno lloro
Si no aborrezco a Filis y te adoro.

Mis enemigos me vençan
En pleytos mas peligrosos,
Y mi amigo mas querido
Me leuante testimonio;
Jure falso contra mí,
Y el juez mas riguroso
De mis enemigos sea
Del lado parcial deuoto,
El cielo me condene a eterno lloro
Si no aborrezco a Filis y te adoro."
Roman. Gen. fol. 47.

Hardships of my years of exile,
That had been the death of others."[1]

Lope complains of "certain young poets who call themselves *Belardos*, thus robbing me of my name," and who, "envious of my misfortune, revoke my testaments." This shows that the ballad usually attributed to him: "*Herta el sol á las cumbres*," is not his, nor, in all probability, is that which opens with the line: "*Despues que acabó Belardo.*" Another ballad shows that, even in his banishment, Filis is still present to his thoughts. It begins:—

"¡Ay amargas soledades
De mi bellissima Filis,
Destierro bien empleado
Del agrauio que la hize," etc.
Roman. Gen. fol. 232

But of all these ballads of banishment, there is none more striking than (and none so bitter as) the following, which is not included in Lope's *Obras Suelias*:[2]

"Filis, las desdichas mias
Que son por agenos daños,
De mi destierro los años,
De tu vengança los dias;
Ya no te afliges ni cansas,
Ni estás de mi gloria triste,
Filis, venciste, venciste,
Gracias a Dios que descansas.
Pero no ensalces tu nombre,
Pues hazes mal en creer
Que lo que puede muger
No pueda sufrir un hombre.

[1] Mil años ha que no canto
Porque ha mil años que lloro
Trabajos de mi destierro,
Que fueran de muerte en otros; . .
Roman. Gen. fol. 47.

[2] Convinced that any translation of mine can give only a vague conception of the original—as the preceding pages show,—I have preferred to give this ballad and the fragments that follow, in Spanish.

Y más yo que te sufri,
Que si no es mal pensamiento,
Es prueua de sufrimiento
Saberte sufrir a ti.
Y este mi exemplo desdora
Tu honrosa vitoria y palma,
Pues tras perseguirme el alma
Persigues el cuerpo agora.

. . . . .

Y al fin mi consuelo aqui,
Que aunque de mi propia tierra
Tu falsedad me destierra,
No me destierro de ti
Que por más que lo rebozes
Para tu bien y prouecho,
Allá te quedo en el pecho,
Por muchos años me gozes
Rauiosa, quedas herida,
De mi solo el pecho lleno,
¡ Ay, Dios, quien fuera veneno
Para quitarte la vida !
Sé que has tomado Triaca,
Conozco tu condicion,
Pero mal de coraçon
No se sana, aunque se aplaca
Dirás que contento estás,
Mas yo sé que aunque lo doras,
Que algunas lagrimas lloras
Y que algun suspiro das

. . . . .

Siendo causa principal
Tu, de mi amargo destierro,
Dezir no tengo por yerro
Que te pesa de mi mal.

. . . . . .

Y porque alguna sin mi
Viua mal contra tu gusto,

Persigues un hombre justo,
Y el que más te vino a ti.
Los diez años cumplirélos,[1]
Que bien los he menester
Para poder entender
Tus engaños y tus zelos.

. . . . .

Que te asseguro de mi,
Que me parto consolado,
En que si voy desterrado,
A lo menos voy sin ti"

Romancero General, fol. 53.

In the light we now have, nothing could be clearer than this poem, nor is it possible to mistake its resentful spirit. If any doubt still existed as to who *Filis* was, this ballad would resolve it conclusively in favour of Elena Osorio.

CHAPTER V

THE BALLADS CONTINUED LOPE BECOMES A WRITER FOR THE STAGE HE ENTERS THE SERVICE OF THE DUKE OF ALBA. LIFE AT ALBA DE TORMES DEATH OF LOPE'S WIFE, DOÑA ISABEL DE URBINA

Considerable space has been devoted to the ballads, both because of their intrinsic merit as examples of the highest perfection attained in this species of composition, and also on account of the interesting side light they cast upon the life of the poet. Of the remaining ballads written during Lope's exile, we shall merely mention two of singular beauty—rather grave and retrospective—one representing the poet as meditating on the ruins of Saguntum, and another,

[1] The final sentence of banishment is here plainly given.

charming in its simplicity, which pictures the poet in his garden at Valencia. The latter begins:—

"Hortelano era Belardo[1]
De las huertas de Valencia,
Que los trabajos obligan
A lo que el hombre no piensa.
Pasado el Hebrero loco,
Flores para Mayo siembra,
Que quiere que su esperança
Dé fruto a la primavera."
. . . . .

He dresses up a scare-crow with the silks and finery he wore before his banishment:—

"De los vestidos que un tiempo
Truxo en la corte de seda
Ha hecho para las aues
Un espantajo de higuera.
Las lechuguillazas grandes,
Almidonadas y tiessas,
Y el sombrero boleado
Que adorna cuello y cabeça.
Y sobre un jubon de raso
La mas guarnecida cuera,
Sin oluidarse las calças
Españolas y Tudescas."
. . . . .

Going to water his flowers one day, he beholds this fantastic figure, and falls into a reminiscent mood: "O rich spoils of my early years! Living trophies of hopes now dead! How well you look, within and without, after having put an end to my tragedy! Fineries and nodding plumes of my soldier days! Once so full of splendour, now to sadness turned":—

"¡O ricos despojos
De mi edad primera,

[1] Lope introduces this ballad in his comedia *Las Paces de los Reyes* (Act II.), where it is sung by Belardo, a gardener.

Y trofeos viuos
De esperanças muertas!
¡ Qué bien pareceys
De dentro y de fuera
Sobre que aueys dado
Fin a mi tragedia!
¡ Galas y penachos
De mi soldadesca,
Un tiempo colores
Y agora tristezas";[1]

. . .

Ibid. fol. 153.

[1] Another ballad, written under the disillusioning influence of later years, refers plainly to his exile It begins "*Agora bueluo a templaros*" (*Romancero General*, fol 54), and is also found among his *Poesias varias*, in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. III p 451

A curious fact in connection with these ballads is worth noting This ballad-making had been carried to such extremes that parodies on some of the most popular poems appeared as early as the first ed of the *Romancero General*. Wolf (*Studien*, p 352), after alluding to these parodies, characterizes the fact as "eine Selbstironie, die immer das sicherste Zeichen einer auf dem Culminationspunct angelangten Richtung, oder einer hohl gewordenen Form ist" He then gives some excerpts from a satirical ballad that was written against those who found fault with this new style of ballad poetry It is a defence of the Morisco and Pastoral ballad in general and of Belardo's in particular, beginning "*Qué se me da a mi que el mundo*," and appeared as early as the *Onzena Parte* of the *Flores* (*Romancero Gen* fol 387) It is now printed in the *Obras Sueltas* (Vol. XVII. p. 467), and ascribed to Lope de Vega. Here are some of the verses of this ballad

"¿ Qué se me da que Belardo,
Cauallero en una yegua,
Se vaya a casar alegre
Con su Filis al aldea?
¿ Ni que se haga ortelano
En las huertas de Valencia,
Ni Cortesano en la Corte,
Ni pastor allá en la aldea?

. . .

No es bien que de los que escriuen
Nadie a murmurar se atreua,
Y en especial de Belardo,
Pues saben que es cosa cierta

Lope had learned a hard lesson, and in his exile he had ample occasion to reflect on his past. There is every reason to believe, as we have already said, that these seven years of banishment, spent with his devoted Isabel at Valencia, Toledo, and Alba de Tormes, are to be counted among the happiest of his whole life. In Valencia, at least, Lope's time must have been greatly occupied. With no resources save the earnings of his pen, and with a household to maintain, he abandoned his idle habits and settled down as a writer for the theatre He no longer wrote comedias "for his entertainment merely, as other gentlemen of this capital do," nor did he write them in his idle moments (*en sus ratos ociosos*), as he had testified on the occasion of his trial we may be sure that "he dealt in them," an imputation that he had once indignantly repelled. And this leads us naturally to enquire when Lope first began to write for the stage. Montalvan says, as we have already observed (p. 13), that our poet in his youth greatly pleased the Bishop of Avila, by writing for him a number of Eclogues, and also a comedia, *La Pastoral de Jacinto*. "which was the first that he wrote in three acts, for up to that time the comedia consisted only of a dialogue of four persons,

Que son celebres sus obras,
Y que el mundo las celebra," etc.

The authorship seems to me doubtful, in view of the last four verses, for it is scarcely probable that Lope would have spoken so of his own ballads. Nor do I think it certain that the satirical ballad "*De ver una escura cueva*," which Duran, *Rom Gen* Vol II p 516, attributes to Lope, and which is included in the *Obras Sueltas*, was actually written by him It appeared as early as the *Segunda Parte* of the *Flores*. See *Rom. Gen.* (1604), fol 28 And the same doubt applies to the one beginning "*Oydme, señor Belardo*" Fragments of the older ballads are frequently found scattered through our poet's plays. In *Con su Pan se lo coma* (Act I) he gives an indication of their origin, when *Laureta* says.

"Estos romances, señora
Nacen al sembrar los trigos"

But while Lope's attachment to this ballad poetry is manifest, he ridiculed the excessive fondness of the people for it, and in the *Entremes de los Romances* (*Comedias*, Parte III, 1613), one of the characters, *Bartolo*, is represented as having gone perfectly mad through reading the ballad-books.

which did not exceed three sheets,[1] and of these Lope had written many until he introduced the novelty of the others." Such was the success, continues this biographer, which this "new kind of play" obtained, that it induced Lope to compose them "in such happy abundance, that in a few years one no longer saw on the posters at the street corners any other name but Lope's, heroically repeated."

This, according to Montalvan, was before Lope went to Alcalá. When this was, we do not know, nor need we accept Montalvan'a statement literally. In all probability, it was when Lope was about twenty-one, and *after* he had left Alcalá. Upon one point Lope himself supplies testimony which materially helps us. In his deposition during the libel suit, he said that he had known Jerónimo Velazquez, the actor, "more than four years," while to one of the officers who saw him in jail he confessed that he had been on terms of intimacy with Elena Osorio, the daughter of Velazquez, for four years. We may take it for granted that Lope's acquaintance with the actor was due to his being already known as a writer of comedias. This would point approximately to 1583 as the time when Lope's dramatic reputation was first established. It is to the period shortly after this (or about 1587-88 when Lope was banished) that Cervantes refers, in the very interesting prologue to his *Comedias*, published in 1615. Cervantes, who had lived from 1584 till the beginning of 1587 in Madrid, or in the neighbouring town of Esquivias, writes as follows: "In the theatres of Madrid were represented the *Tratos de Argel*, which I wrote; the *Destruccion de Numancia* and the *Batalla naval*, in which I made bold to reduce the comedias from five

[1] This remark, that down to Lope's time the comedia was only a dialogue of four persons, is incorrect. Torres Naharro, in his *Propaladia* (1517), had divided his comedias into five acts, Luis de Miranda, Juan de la Cueva, and Cervantes had written them in four Even Lope admits that Virués had first written comedias in three acts,—a distinction that belongs, however, to Francisco de Avendaño, whose play was printed as early as 1553. See Moratin, *Orígines del Teatro Español*. Paris, 1883, p. 122.

acts, which they then had, to three. I showed, or rather I was the first to represent, the imaginations and the hidden thoughts of the soul, introducing moral figures upon the stage, with the general approval and plaudits of the spectators. I wrote during this time between twenty and thirty comedias, all of which were staged ungreeted by cucumbers or other missiles; they ran their course without whistling, shouts or uproar. Then I had other things to occupy me I laid pen and plays aside. And then there entered that Prodigy of Nature, the great Lope de Vega, and took possession of the realm of the drama, subjecting and bringing under his sway all the players. He filled the world with his own comedias, happily and judiciously planned, and so many that they covered more than ten thousand sheets, those that he has written, and all of them—and this is one of the most remarkable things that can be said—I have seen represented, or I have heard, at least, that they have been represented" As Cervantes left Madrid for Seville in 1587, and remained there for some years, temporarily abandoning his literary pursuits for some more lucrative employment, we are enabled to fix the date approximately. It follows that soon after 1587 Lope was the most popular playwright of the day · the dramatist whose pieces were most in request with theatrical managers. The testimony of the actors Gaspar de Porres and Villalobos, in the libel suit, is additional proof of Lope's wide popularity as a dramatic writer. We know, of course, that he had written comedias long before this. In the oft-quoted passage of his "New Art of Making Plays," published in 1609, he says he wrote them at eleven or twelve years of age, but he does not assert that these juvenile efforts were acted on the stage

"The Captain Virués, a famous wit,
Cast in three acts the drama that before
Upon all fours, like creeping children moved,—
For children then *comedias* truly were;
And I wrote some at eleven years and at twelve,
Each of four acts, as well as of four sheets,

For each act was contained within a sheet,
And in the spaces three that came between,
Three little *entremeses* then were made," etc.
Obras Sueltas, Vol. IV. p. 412.

One of these youthful comedias from Lope's pen has, by a happy chance, been preserved. It is *Los Hechos de Garcilaso de la Vega y Moro Tarfe*, and is now printed in the Spanish Academy's edition of Lope, Vol. XI. Of this comedia, Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo says "This comedia is unquestionably the most ancient of all those written by Lope, of which we have any knowledge. And in saying this I am not forgetful of the fact that Lope called *El verdadero Amante* his earliest comedia; and perhaps this is so, but it was surely rewritten by him before it was printed, as its division into three acts proves, for this was not Lope's custom in his earliest essays, as follows conclusively from the verses of his *Arte nuevo de hacer Comedias* just quoted." "The only comedia by Lope in four acts is *Los Hechos de Garcilaso*, and it is therefore the only one of his juvenile comedias—those which he composed at the age of eleven and twelve years In style and plot this play resembles those of Juan de la Cueva; but in skill and brilliancy of versification, in the instinct of dramatic situations, in the freedom of its dialogue, and above all in the skilful employment of popular poetry, it leaves them far behind, and can belong to none but Lope"[1]

Montalvan's assertion that *La Pastoral de Jacinto* was the first three-act play written by Lope, must be received with caution. That distinction belongs, perhaps, to the comedia entitled *El verdadero Amante*, or rather this is the earliest play in three acts that Lope thought worth printing.[2] It was first published at Madrid, in 1620, in Part XIV. of Lope's Comedias, with a dedication to his

[1] *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed Menédez y Pelayo, Vol XI Introduction

[2] Still, it is just possible that Montalvan may be right Hartzenbusch has called attention to the fact that the first act of "The True Lover" is considerably longer than either of the remaining two The play may, therefore, have been originally written in four acts, and reduced to three before it was printed, by condensing the first and second acts into one.

son, and is there called "Lope de Vega's first comedia." The volume was ready for the press in the previous year, the *Aprovacion* being dated October, 1619. As Lope's son, Lope Felix, was born in 1607, and as the dedication says that the play was written when Lope was of his son's age, we may take it that the piece was composed when he was twelve years old. Lope's words are: "I wished to dedicate to you this comedia called 'The True Lover' because I wrote it when I was of your age, for although at the time it was favourably received, you will recognize in it my crude beginnings; but I do it under the special condition that you do not take it for an exemplar, in order that you may not find yourself listened to by many and esteemed by few." The *Pastoral de Jacinto*, on Montalvan's own showing, must have been written considerably later. If, as Menéndez y Pelayo asserts, Lope has introduced himself into this play under the name of Belardo, it shows how early in his poetical career he adopted this pseudonym. *La Pastoral de Jacinto* and *El Verdadero Amante* treat of pastoral subjects[1]; though the stories differ, there is a certain relation between the two plays, and as Menéndez y Pelayo has pointed out, some of the characters appear to be the same, though the names are changed. These two are the only youthful plays of Lope that have survived. Of the remaining early dramas there are none to which a definite date can be assigned till we reach the year 1593, when Lope was living, still in exile, at Alba de Tormes, the seat of his patron, Duke Antonio of Alba After completing his period of exile at Valencia, Lope, according to the testimony of Gaspar de Porres and Juan Bautista de Villalobos,[2] came to Toledo. In fact the latter witness says "that he saw him come to Toledo, and remain in the city, completing his banishment from the court and five leagues therefrom, and that he has been in Toledo and elsewhere in the service of the Duke of Alba until now" [April 22, 1595].

[1] They are both reprinted in the Academy's edition of Lope, Vol. V.
[2] See above, pp. 38-39.

Lope therefore entered the service of the young Don Antonio, Duke of Alba, in 1590. Hitherto there has been much uncertainty as to when Lope joined the Alba household. La Barrera would date this event as early as 1584; but this cannot be correct, for Don Antonio did not succeed to the dukedom till a year later, on the death of his uncle, Don Fadrique de Toledo.[1]

Lope alludes to his reception in Toledo, and to his being "favoured" there, in his *Filomena*.[2] By this he means his

[1] Don Fadrique had married in 1578, his first cousin Doña Maria Alvarez de Toledo, the daughter of Don Garcia Alvarez de Toledo, Marqués de Villafranca, and had died without leaving issue. Sr Paz y Melia, librarian to the present Duchess of Alba, says that Don Fadrique died on September 3, 1585, and was succeeded in the title of Duke of Alba by Don Antonio, on November 12, 1585 I owe this information to the kindness of my friend, Mr James Fitzmaurice-Kelly.

Ticknor calls attention to the fact that it was Antonio, the grandson of the great Duke, who was Lope's patron In the dedication of his *Domine Lucas*, Lope says "Sirviendo al Exc^mo^ Señor don Antonio de Toledo y Beamonte, Duque de Alua, en la edad que pude escribir

"La verde primavera
De mis floridos años."

Comedias, Parte XVII., Madrid, 1621, fol. 137

And in his letter to the Bishop of Oviedo, he writes:

"Y yo del Duque Antonio dexé el Alua"

Obras Sueltas, Vol I. p 289

[2] Dije en los altos montes y los sotos
Y valles mas remotos
Se alegraron de verme;
Y el Tajo, donde duerme
Con sueno mas profundo,
Surtiendo plata y perlas,
El parabien me daba;
La envidia me miraba,
Monstruo el mayor del mundo,
Pesandole de verlas
Con ojos retorcidos·
Yo siempre con modestia
Sufriendo su molestia,
Alegré los pastores bien nacidos,
Y fui favorecida,
Quando mas perseguida
De aquel á quien el Tormes
Humilla entre pizarras

becoming secretary to Duke Antonio of Alba,[1] in whose service he remained for the next five years, passing most of his time, with his wife, Doña Isabel, and family, at Alba de Tormes, the seat of the Dukes of Alba.

We may hope (though not in any sure or certain fashion) that these were years of peace, of rest, and of comparative happiness for the faithful wife, who, after all the sacrifices she had made, after all the vicissitudes and trials through which she had passed, after all the sorrows she had suffered, was destined at last to enjoy here for a while that calm country life which our poet knew how to depict with such exquisite charm in his pastorals. He, like Matthew Arnold after him, "was breathed on by the rural Pan." We may safely presume that Lope's duties as Secretary to Don Antonio were not exacting, and that they left him leisure for his literary labours. Of his work during these years much has undoubtedly perished; in fact nothing has survived beyond a few plays, and the pastoral romance *La Arcadia*. Of these plays the earliest is *El Favor agradecido*, of which an autograph manuscript (formerly in the possession of Don Agustin Duran and now in the National Library, Madrid) is dated: "En Alba, 29 de Octubre, 1593." Another comedia *El Maestro de Danzar*, of which an ancient copy was once in the collection of La Barrera, has, at the end, the following verses, signed by Lope:

"Hice esta comedia en Alba
Para Melchor de Villalba,
Y porque es verdad, firmélo
El mes que es mayor el hielo,
Y el año que Dios nos salva. 1594."

El arrogante pecho,
Que ciñen sauces y intricadas parras.
Obras Sueltas, Vol. II. p. 455

[1] Don Antonio of Alba, fifth Duke of that name, was the son of the younger brother of Don Fadrique—Don Diego Alvarez de Toledo, and of Doña Brianda de Beaumont, Countess of Lerin. Don Antonio married Doña Mencia de Mendoza, daughter of the Duke of Infantado. He died January 29, 1639.

We have, besides, *El leal Criado*, which is dated "Alba, 24 de Junio de 1594"; *Laura Perseguida*, dated "12 de Octubre de 1594" (the autographs of the two latter plays seem to have disappeared though they were still extant in 1781, when the copies now in existence were made); *El Domine Lucas*,[1] mentioned above as having been written in the service of Don Antonio; *La Comedia de San Segundo*, which Chorley and La Barrera had considered lost, but which has been rediscovered and has now been published by Menéndez y Pelayo, from a manuscript bearing at the end this note: "Lope de Vega la acabó en Alba en 12 de Agosto de 1594 años."[2] The comedia *Lucinda perseguida*, which immediately follows the *Domine Lucas*, in Part XVII., is unquestionably among Lope's earliest plays. In the dedication he says: "This comedia, one of the first that I wrote, at a time when my years were also flowers."

Setting aside his plays, Lope had at this date (say 1594) produced no work of any great length, except *La Hermosura de Angélica*, the epic written in imitation of Ariosto's 'Orlando Furioso' during the expedition of the Armada in 1588. This had not yet found its way into print, but about this time, or a little earlier, he began the first of his longer works that was destined to reach the press: *La Arcadia*, a pastoral romance, modelled on the 'Arcadia' of Sannazzaro.[3] Lope, at all events, indicates as much in his dedication to Don Juan de Arguijo of the *Segunda Parte de las Rimas* (Madrid, 1602, fol. 243), where he quotes the opening sentence of Sannazzaro's prologue. He justifies his imitation in these terms: "The eclogues

[1] Of this play Lope says, in the dedication to Juan de Piña, "his best friend": "I recall this play for the reasons that I have mentioned, and because it was performed by Melchor de Villalba, a man who had no superior in his profession, nor have we known any one to equal him. It was favourably received at that time," etc. *Comedias*, Parte XVII., Madrid, 1621, fol. 138.

[2] *Obras de Lope de Vega*, Vol. IV. p. cvii.

[3] Ticknor has remarked that the *Arcadia* bears a greater resemblance to the *Diana* of Montemayor and to the *Galatea* of Cervantes, than to the pastoral of Sannazzaro.

of these shepherds are not to be found fault with because they are imitated, nor is the argument of the "Angelica" because the frame-work is Ariosto's,—for he likewise took it from the Count Mateo Maria [Boiardo]." *Ibid.* He does not write his *Arcadia* for the common crowd, saying: "It is not well, in writing, to use expressions so unusual that they are not intelligible to anybody, for if by chance the matter be obscure, those who have not studied condemn the book, because they want it filled with tales and novels, a thing that is unworthy of men of letters, since it is not right that their books should circulate among artisans and ignorant people, because, unless it be for purposes of instruction, one should not write for those who could not learn." It is evident that in this pastoral romance Lope addressed a public of higher literary pretensions than that for which his comedias were written. "The *Arcadia* is a true story," Lope says (*Ibid.* fol. 244), and it must have been primarily intended for those who could understand it. In the *prólogo* he adds: "If, in describing the misfortunes of another I have not succeeded, my excuse is that nobody can speak well in the thoughts of another; if some one had not observed that, beside the thoughts of another, I have wept my own," etc

The pastoral romance had become very popular in Spain, subsequent to the publication of Montemayor's *Diana* in 1559[1] (?). In 1585 Cervantes had issued his

[1] The date of the first edition of the *Diana* is uncertain. It appears from the testimony of Fray Bartolomé Ponce, the author of a book entitled *Primera Parte de la clara Diana a lo Divino*, Zaragoza, 1582, that Montemayor was at the Court of Spain—then at Valladolid,—in 1559, "when everybody was reading the *Diana*." In the prologue he says: "Being at the Court of Philip II. in 1559, I saw and read the *Diana* of Montemayor, which was at the time in such favour as I had never seen any book in the vernacular. Expressing a desire to know the author, I was introduced to him at the house of a friend On my taking courage to tell him that he was wasting time and talents in making rhymes and composing books of love, Montemayor, with a hearty laugh, replied: 'Padre Ponce, let the friars do penance for all; as for the *hijosdalgo*, arms and love are their profession. . . .' May God have mercy on his soul, for I never saw him again. A few months after this, I was told how a good friend of his had killed him on account of jealousy or some

Galatea, which had not been very successful, and Lope determined to attempt this form of fiction also. A peculiarity of many of these romances, as Ticknor has noted, was that they represented, disguised in a pastoral form, actual scenes and adventures in the lives of their authors. The *argumento* of the *Diana* of Montemayor, for instance, shows clearly that it had its origin in an actual event in the life of its author, and, in fact, it is to Lope that we owe the interesting information that "The Diana of Montemayor was a lady of Valencia de Don Juan, near Leon." (*La Dorotea*, Madrid, 1632, fol. 52.) In the *Filida* of Montalvo (1582), the author appears under the name *Siralvo*; *Mendino* is Don Enrique de Mendoza y Aragon; *Tirsi* is Figueroa;[1] *Silvano* is Gregorio Silvestre, etc. In the *Galatea* of Cervantes the author figures as *Elicio*; *Galatea* being a young lady of Esquivias, who afterwards became his wife, etc. Lope, moreover, in the *Filomena*, after alluding to his life at Alba, on the banks of the Tormes, says: "There I hid beneath a rude exterior, generous Princes, souls born in the costly raiment of the highest nobility,"[2] etc. In his "Eclogue to Claudio" he says: "Serving the generous Duke of Alba, I

love-affair." Such popularity as Padre Ponce reports implies recent publication, and Salvá (*Catálogo*, Vol II. p. 168) is probably right in conjecturing that the *Diana* was first printed "before 1559" The earliest dated edition of which I have any notice, and the title page of which shows that it was preceded by others, was printed at Çaragoça, in 1560, *en casa de Pedro Bernuz* The whole subject is reviewed by Fitzmaurice-Kelly, in the *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. II pp. 304-311. See also my *Spanish Pastoral Romances*, Baltimore, 1892.

[1] The *Tirsi* of Montalvo's romance is commonly said to represent Cervantes. This belief appears to be erroneous See Fitzmaurice-Kelly's Introduction to the latest English version of the *Galatea* (Glasgow, 1903), p. xxxi, n. 2.

[2] Allí cubrí con aspera corteza
Príncipes generosos,
Almas nacidas en los ricos paños
De la mayor nobleza,
Iguales a los Reyes poderosos,
Que no villanos bárbaros y estraños.
Obras Sueltas, Vol. II. p. 456.

wrote the Shepherds of Arcadia, bucolic loves, always concealed in vain," [1] etc.

The *Arcadia* is a true history, so Lope assures us.[2] It was written to please his patron, the young Duke Antonio of Alba, who appears therein as the hero *Anfriso*, while Lope figures as *Belardo*, a poetical name, which, as we have seen, he seems to have assumed at the very beginning of his career, and which he bore until his death.[3] Beneath these fantastic shepherds and shepherdesses real personages are hidden, and Lope's own experiences, as he hints in the prologue, furnished much of the material for the story. We have already quoted (Chap. III., p. 42), Silvio's song, the author of which "was a shepherd named Belardo."[4]

[1] Siruiendo al generoso Duque Albano,
Escriui del Arcadia los Pastores,
Bucolicos amores
Ocultos siempre en vano,
Cuya zampoña de mis patrios lares
Los sauzes animó de Mançanares
La Vega del Parnaso, Madrid, 1637, fol. 96.

[2] "*La Arcadia* es historia verdadera, que yo no pude adornar con mas fabulas que las poeticas." *Segunda Parte de las Rimas*, Madrid, 1602, fol 244.

[3] Besides using this pseudonym frequently in the Ballads, Lope sometimes employs it at the conclusion of his comedias, as in *El Acero de Madrid*, where *Lisardo* says

"Aqui acaba la comedia
En vuestro nombre, Senado,
Del *Acero de Madrid*
Besaos los manos Belardo"

So at the end of *El Villano en su Rincon*

"Besandoos os pies Belardo,
Por la merced del silencio"

And in the *Honras a Lope de Vega en el Parnaso*, a drama in honour of his memory, *Chanza*, the *gracioso*, says

"Ilustres honras son estas
Que hace a Belardo el Parnaso."
Obras Sueltas, Vol. XX p. 494.

[4] Of this song La Barrera says. Lope on being banished, bade his wife farewell, deploring the harshness of his fate in a *cancion* which he afterwards inserted in the *Arcadia*.

It is only the poetry which Lope has scattered through the *Arcadia*, that saves the work from being exceedingly wearisome. There is an ostentatious display of learning, as in so many of Lope's earlier works, and much magic and metaphysics. "An exposition of the poetical and historical names," which is appended to the work, fills nearly sixty pages in the Antwerp edition of 1605. This pedantry of Lope's is one of the foibles which Cervantes, in the preface to *Don Quixote*, has hit off with a malicious wit that must have made the poet wince.[1] Towards the close of the *Arcadia* is a long poem "in praise of the famous Duke of Alba, Don Fernando, and of the birth of his heroic grandson,"—Lope's patron, Don Antonio, who had done nothing more heroic than condescending to be born.

When the *Arcadia* was finished we do not know precisely.[2] As the Duke Antonio, or *Anfriso*, seems to be still unmarried when the pastoral ends, and as this marriage took place in July, 1590,[3] it has been held that it was probably finished by that time. But I am inclined to agree with La Barrera, and to see in the words of *Belardo a la Zampoña*, at the end of the work, a reference to the death of Doña Isabel. If this be so, this part at least must have been added after 1595, as we shall see almost immediately.

At this point we may profitably return to the "prophecy" of the astrologer Caesar, in the *Dorotea*, and note its exact fulfilment. The prediction reads: "You will be persecuted by Dorotea and her mother in the prison in

[1] It may be worth noting that Lope mentions Cervantes in Book V. of the *Arcadia*, as one of the famous Spanish poets of the time.

[2] In the dedication to Don Pedro Tellez Giron, third Duke of Osuna, Lope says that he had originally dedicated the *Arcadia* to Don Pedro's father, but that he was then unable to print it. I do not know what the impediment may have been. According to Francisco Fernández de Béthencourt's *Historia genealógica y heráldica de la Monarquía española* (Madrid, 1900), Juan Tellez Giron, second Duke of Osuna, died on November 25, 1600 This date is perplexing.

[3] See Ormsby, in the *Quarterly Review* for 1894, p. 495, for an interesting account of the marriage of Don Antonio of Alba.

which you will be put, and at the end of this imprisonment you will be banished from the kingdom. A short time before this you will pay court to a young lady, whose love your fame and your person will win; you will marry this lady, though it will be without the approval of your relatives or of hers; she will share your exile and your sorrows with great loyalty, courage, and constancy in every adversity, and in the seventh year she will die. With the deepest grief you will then return to Madrid," etc.

It will be observed that this 'prophecy' agrees in every particular with our narrative thus far. We have even shown that the statement as to the parents' objection to the marriage is supported by documentary evidence. So Lope seems here, after all, to have given us a clue to the mystery that has for more than two and a half centuries baffled students of his life. And if every forecast hitherto made by the astrologer has proved accurate, why should we reject the last one, which, up to the present, we have no means of verifying? "In the seventh year your wife is to die." This is all we know as to the death of Doña Isabel de Urbina, Lope's first wife.[1] As Lope was exiled in 1588, the seventh year would be 1595. Doña Isabel, then, would seem to have died at Alba de Tormes in 1595. Let us now see how

[1] There is an interesting account of the Urbina family in Pérez Pastor, *Documentos Cervantinos*, Parte I., Madrid, 1897, p. 319. It appears that Fernando de Ludeña, a poet of some note and the friend of Lope, to whom the latter dedicated his play *El primer Rey de Castilla*, had married Doña Ana María de Urbina, the sister of Doña Isabel. Now, it has often been stated that the family of Cervantes and the Urbinas were related through Doña Leonor de Cortinas, the mother of Cervantes. Thus far, however, convincing proof was lacking. A curious fact is revealed by the will of Doña Magdalena, the sister of Cervantes, dated 1610, wherein she declares that she had lent 300 ducats to Fernando de Ludeña, "while he was young and single," and that he had afterwards married Doña Ana María de Hurbina. The testatrix appointed her brother, Miguel de Cervantes, executor, to collect this sum, which was probably liquidated, as Pérez Pastor remarks, by the sonnet which Ludeña wrote for the *Novelas Exemplares*. See *Documentos Cervantinos*, Parte II, Madrid, 1902, p. 431.

far this agrees with the statements or allusions to be found in Lope's other works. In an epistle to Plácido de Tosantos, Bishop of Oviedo, inserted in the *Circe*, Lope says: "After time made you a courtier and I left the Alba of Duke Antonio, my sun having suffered a human eclipse." A great misfortune had befallen him; some one very near to him had died, whereupon he left Alba de Tormes. There can scarcely be a doubt that this refers to the death of Doña Isabel. From the testimony of the actor Juan Bautista de Villalobos, in the trial for libel, we learn that Lope was still in the service of the Duke of Alba on April 22, 1595. Doña Isabel, therefore, in all probability died shortly after this date.

In the "Eclogue to Claudio"[1] we read. "My hard and bitter pilgrimage Apollo saw passing seven separate times from Aries to Pisces, until a dawn for me was darkest night; who could suppose that my light should find its ending where the day begins?" The seventh verse · "I saw my poor table surrounded and rich with fragments of myself," indicates that Lope had at least two children by Doña Isabel A reference to Lope's last will proves that this also is true. "I was married the first time to Doña Isabel de Urbina, by whom I had

[1] Mi peregrinacion aspera y dura
Apolo vió passando siete veces
Del Aries a los Peces,
Hasta que un Alva fue mi noche escura
¿Quien presumiera que mi luz podia
Hallar su fin donde comienza el dia?
Yo vi mi pobre mesa en testimonio
Cercada y rica de fragmentos mios,
Dulces y amargos rios
Del mar del matrimonio,
Y vi pagando su fatal tributo
De tan alegre bien tan triste luto
¿Quien me dixera entonces, quien pensara
Que al fin de tanto mar, tanta tormenta,
La victima incruenta
Pusiera sobre el ara?
Y que sino con manos, con deseos
Subiera al monte del divino Theos.

Obras Sueltas, Vol. IX. p. 357.

Teodora and Antonia, both now deceased."[1] Antonia was Lope's eldest daughter, being, I presume, so named after Duke Antonio of Alba, who was probably the child's godfather. The daughter Teodora survived her mother less than a year, both girls dying in childhood. Among the sonnets published by Lope in the *Segunda Parte* of his *Rimas* (1602), there is a touching one on the death of his daughter Teodora, "the celestial image of his Belisa, and the consolation of his exile," followed by a Latin epitaph, showing that Teodora died before she was a year old.[2] In the same volume of the *Rimas* is found another sonnet on the death of his two children, Antonia and Teodora.[3]

[1] See Lope's Will, in the Appendix.

[2] Mi bien, nacido de mis propios males,
Retrato celestial de mi Belisa,
Que en mudas vozes, y con dulce risa
Mi destierro y consuelo hiziste yguales.
Segunda vez de mis entrañas sales,
Mas pues tu blanco pie los cielos pisa,
¿ Por qué el de un hombre en tierra tan aprisa
Quebranta tus estrellas celestiales ?
Ciego, llorando, niña de mis ojos,
Sobre esta piedra cantaré, que es mina
Donde el que passa al Indio, en propio suelo
Halle más presto el oro en tus despojos,
Las perlas, el coral, la plata fina
Mas ¡ ay ! que es ángel, y llevólo al cielo.

Hoc Urbina jacet saxo Teodora sepulta,
Quæ Theodori almo martiris orta die,
Exactis nondum complevit mensibus annum
Cum petiit superas, non reditura, domos
Cui monumenta parens hæc mæstus uterque dicavit,
Angelicos coetus dum colit illa polo.

Fol. 324 (ed. 1602).

[3] *A Dos Niñas.*

Para tomar de mi desden vengança,
Quitóme Amor las niñas que tenia,
Con que miraua yo, como solia,
Todas las cosas en ygual templança
A lo menos conozco la mudança
En los antojos de la vista mia;

There is a graceful eclogue on the death of Lope's wife by his friend Medinilla, in which occur the lines: "If any shepherd should wish to know who this shepherdess Elisa was, the greater part is doubtful, but, to say the least, she was noble, discreet, a lady, and there is no shepherd who does not know that the chief shepherd Urbano gave to her, etc." [1]

The only other poem in which Lope alludes to the death of his wife, is the beautiful and pathetic ballad in which he describes his visit to the grave of Doña Isabel, just one year after her death, in the springtime, when a thousand different flowers enamel the green meadows. There the Shepherd Albano, sighing, with bitter tears declares: "Everything rejoices, my Belisa, only thine

De un dia en otro no descanso un dia,
Del tiempo huye lo que el tiempo alcança.
Almas parecen de mis niñas puestas
En mis ojos, que baña tierno llanto,
¡O niñas, niño Amor, niños antojos!
¡Niño desseo, que el viuir me cuestas!
Mas ¿qué mucho tambien que llore tanto
Quien tiene quatro niñas en los ojos? Fol. 258.

In *Modern Language Notes* for 1901, p 354, I had wrongly referred this sonnet to Mariana and Angelilla, the children of Micaela de Luxan.

[1] Si algun pastor curioso
Quisiere entre sus buenos
Saber quien fue su Elisa, esta pastora,
Lo mas está dudosa;
Mas diciendo lo menos,
Fue noble, fue discreta, fue señora
Ningun zagal ignora
Que el mayoral Urbano,
Su amado padre y noble
Le dió ganado al doble
De hibierno a extremo, a Cuenca en el verano, etc.

These verses, from the *Egloga en la Muerte de Doña Isabel de Urbina* by Pedro de Medina Medinilla (*Obras Sueltas*, Vol. IV. p. 435), were first printed in the *La Filomena*, Madrid, 1621. There is an interesting note on this poet and his eclogue in Lope's *Discurso sobre la nueva Poesia*, *Ibid.* p. 481. Lope holds this eclogue up as a model and says he has read it oftener than the number of letters which it contains.

Albano is sad and weepeth."[1] It will be observed from this ballad (verses 17—to the end) that Doña Isabel died in giving birth to Teodora. On the death of Doña Isabel, Lope returned to Madrid where, sometime during the following year (1596), his daughter Teodora died. Lope's faithlessness to his *Belisa*, immediately after his marriage to her, is proved by the letter we have already mentioned,[2] nor is there much reason for believing that he reformed on his return from the Armada. The truth of the matter is that the matri-

[1] Belisa, señora mia,
Hoy se cumple justo un año
Que de tu temprana muerte
Gusté aquel potaje amargo.
Un año te servi enferma,
¡ Ojala fueran mil años !
Que asi enferma te quisiera
Contino aguardando el pago.
Solo yo te acompañé
Quando todos te dexaron,
Porque te quise en la vida
Y muerta te adoro y amo
¡ Y sabe el cielo piadoso,
A quien fiel testigo hago,
Si te querrá tambien muerta
Quien viva te quiso tanto !
Dexásteme en tu cabaña
Por guarda de tu rebaño,
Con aquella dulce prenda
Que me dexaste del parto;
Que por ser hechura tuya
Me consolaba algun tanto,
Quando en su divino rostro
Contemplaba tu retrato;
Pero duróme tan poco
Qu'el cielo por mis pecados
Quiso que tambien siguese
Muerta tus divinos pasos,
Quando el pastor Albano, suspirando,
Con lagrimas asi dice llorando.
Todo se alegra, mi Belisa, ahora,
Solo tu Albano se entristece y llora.
Romancero General, fol. 387.

[2] See above, p. 53, *n.* 2.

monial yoke was irksome to the poet, in spite of the constancy and abnegation of Doña Isabel.[1] Against the wishes of her parents, she had left an affluent home to share the privations and poverty of the husband, who so ill requited her love and her many sacrifices, and, in her case, virtue was its own reward. It was unlikely that Lope would remain long faithful to her memory, and we are not surprised to learn that, in 1596, he was prosecuted at Madrid for concubinage with one Antonia Trillo.[2] Unfortunately the records of the Criminal Court, as already observed, have disappeared, and all that is left is the Index, so that we know nothing as to the result.

To this same period, or perhaps even a little earlier (that is, while Doña Isabel was still living), belong the sonnets to *Lucinda*, or *Camila Lucinda*.[3] In the *Segunda Parte de las Rimas* (1602), among the two hundred sonnets it contains, there are twenty-four addressed to one *Lucinda*. So far as I know the identity of this Lucinda has never been established,[4] but the documents lately discovered by Pérez Pastor have made it possible to settle this matter beyond

[1] In the *Segunda Parte de las Rimas* (1602), there is a curious sonnet, beginning: "Sirvió Iacob los siete largos años" (No V fol 253), to which Ormsby first called attention In it Lope contrasts his lot with that of Jacob, who had only to endure Leah for seven years to secure his union with Rachel, while he was bound to a Leah that cut him off from Rachel forever.

[2] *La Barrera*, p 57. Pérez Pastor gives some information concerning Doña Antonia de Trillo She was the daughter of the Ensign Alonso de Trillo and of Doña Maria de Laredo, and was married in 1582 to D. Luis Puche, a Barcelonese, who had probably died before 1596 She was married a second time in 1601, and died in 1631.

Datos desconocidos, p. 228.

[3] In the laudatory verses prefixed to the *Rimas varias* (*Obras Sueltas*, Vol. IV. p 188), and to the *Peregrino en su Patria* (*Ibid.* V. p. 15), the name is *Camila Lucinda*

[4] So I thought when I wrote this passage, in November or December, 1900: see *Modern Language Notes*, Baltimore, June, 1901. When the article in *Modern Language Notes* was written four months later (in March, 1901), I had no knowledge of the second edition of Pérez Pastor's *Datos desconocidos*, which did not reach me till June. Therein I found that the editor had hit upon the same person.

a reasonable doubt. We must, however, go back to the "Beauty of Angelica," which Lope wrote in 1588, but which remained unpublished till 1602. In one of the introductory poems, entitled: *Lope de Vega a Lucinda*, occur the lines: "May God never help me if I have not taken from you all that I say of Angelica." This would seem to mean that Lope's praises of Angelica were inspired by Lucinda. We need not, however, take this amorous hyperbole *ad pedem litterae*, nor do I think that Lope ever intended it to be so taken. The four introductory octaves of the "Beauty of Angelica" are likewise a sort of invocation to the eyes of his absent lady.[1] La Barrera says that neither these introductory stanzas, nor the preliminary verse just quoted, can refer to Lucinda, and that Lope's relations with that lady did not extend beyond a period of five or six years prior to 1602, the date of printing the epic. Lope, of course, simply added these verses before the work was published. In the prologue to the "Angelica" he speaks of having "exercised his pen" during the expedition of the *Armada*, and written the poem, but that he "gave it the last file" afterwards. Now, among these twenty-four *Lucinda* sonnets there are some that are extremely beautiful, and all are written with that grace and ease which Lope's verse always shows; yet from them we learn nothing about Lucinda, except that she was at one time living at Seville. In another poem by Lope, however, the case is different. It is the *Epístola a Lucinda*, beginning: *Serrana hermosa, que de nieve helada*, inserted in "The Pilgrim in his own Country," a work that was finished in 1603, and published in the following year. This *Epístola* is certainly one of Lope's most perfect poems. We shall quote only that

[1] "Bellas armas de amor, estrellas puras,
Divino resplandor de mi sentido,
Que por mis versos viviréis seguras
Que vuestra clara luz sepulte olvido;
Puesto que estéis por larga ausencia escuras,
Que blandamente me miréis os pido,
Para que el Sol, como en cristal pequeño,
Me abrase el alma de quien fuistes dueño," etc

part of it which is of immediate interest.[1] Lope deplores his absence from Toledo, where Lucinda lives, saying: "No nightingale weeps from branch to branch the loss of its nest with more sorrowful voice than I deplore my absence from my sweet little birds, for whom I pour out my heart in tears, nor does the turtle dove complain with more tearful call than I; without your sweet company, Lucinda, and without the pledges of your beautiful bosom, all is sorrow from morn till night, for the mere thought that my absent nest is undone, pierces my soul," etc. It follows from these verses that Lucinda bore the poet two children, *dulces paxarillos*—sweet little birds, as Lope calls them. From an *Epistola* to his friend Gaspar de Barrionuevo, written at Seville, in 1603, we learn their names,—Mariana and Angelilla.[2] This same

[1] Ya pues que el alma y la ciudad dexaua,
Y no se oye del famoso rio
El claro son con que sus muros laua,
A Dios dixe mil vezes, dueño mio,
Hasta que a verme en tu ribera buelua,
De quien tan tiernamente me desuio
No suele el Ruyseñor en uerde selua
Llorar el nido de uno en otro ramo
De florido arrayan y madre selua,
Con mas doliente voz que yo te llamo,
Ausente de mis dulzes paxarillos,
Por quien en llanto el coraçon derramo.
Ni brama, si le quitan sus nouillos,
Con mas dolor la vaca, atrauesando
Los campos de agostados amarillos,
Ni con arrullo mas lloroso y blando
La tortola se quexa, prenda mia,
Que yo me estoy de mi dolor quexando.
Lucinda, sin tu dulce compañia,
Y sin las prendas de tu hermoso pecho,
Todo es llorar desde la noche al dia.
Que con sólo pensar que está desecho
Mi nido ausente, me atraviesa el alma,
Dando mil ñudos a mi cuello estrecho
Ed Brussels, 1608, pp. 286-7

[2] "Mariana y Angelilla mil mañanas
Se acuerdan de Hametillo, que a la tienda
Las llevaba por chochos y avellanas;

Lucinda bore Lope another daughter, Marcela, in 1605, and a son Lope Felix, in 1607, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Who, asks La Barrera, was the lady hidden beneath this poetical pseudonym? He inclined to the belief that she must be Maria de Lujan, who was well known as the mother of Lope's children, Marcela and Lope Felix. La Barrera's surmise was correct; but he failed to substantiate it, unaccountably overlooking the proof which he had at hand. In the first place, it was never certain that the Christian name of the mother of Marcela and Lope Felix, *el moso* (as he was sometimes called), was *Maria*. That name, as it turns out, was first mentioned by Alvarez y Baena, in his *Hijos ilustres de Madrid*, 1791; but La Barrera shows that he is not an entirely trustworthy authority. Every doubt has been cleared away by the publication of the baptismal certificate of the younger Lope. It reads: "In the parochial Church of St. Sebastian of the City of Madrid, on the seventh of February, sixteen hundred and seven, I, Alonso del Arco baptized a child [born] on January 28 of the said year, the son of Lope de Vega Carpio and of Micaela de Lujan, and gave him the name of Lope; his sponsors were D. Hurtado de Mendoza and Hieronima de Burgos."[1] The name of the mother of Lope's son is then *Micaela* de Lujan or Luxan,—for both spellings occur—and not *Maria*. The fuller poetical name under which Lope twice mentions Lucinda is *Camila*

> Y Lucinda os suplica no se venda
> Sin que primero la aviseis del precio"
>
> *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. IV. p. 388.

Hametillo was a young slave belonging to Barrionuevo.

[1] "Madrid, 7 de Febrero, 1607.—En la iglesia parrochial de St. Sebastian de la villa de Madrid, en siete de Febrero de mil y seiscientos y siete años, yo, Alonso del Arco, baticé un niño [nacido] en veinte y ocho de Enero del dicho año, hijo de Lope de Vega Carpio y de Micaela de Lujan, y le pusieron por nombre Lope; y fueron sus padrinos D. Hurtado de Mendoza y Hieronima de Burgos.—Alonso del Arco" Pérez Pastor, *Datos desconocidos* (Homenage á Menéndez y Pelayo, Vol I. p. 595), 2d. ed. p. 262.

Lucinda, which is an almost perfect anagram of Micaela de Luxan. Hence the *Lucinda* of Lope's verses is the mother of his four children. Hieronima de Burgos, one of the sponsors at this baptism, was a famous actress of that time, and also an intimate friend of the poet's, whom we shall mention more than once hereafter.[1] It is therefore likely enough that Micaela de Luxan was also an actress, and this supposition is confirmed by a statement of Cristóbal Suarez de Figueroa, in his *Plaza Universal*, written in 1610-11, and first published in 1615. Here, among the most famous actresses then living he mentions: "Juana de Villalua, Marifiores, *Micaela de Luxan*, Ana Muños, Jusepa Vaca, Geronima de Burgos, Polonia Perez, Maria de los Angeles, and Maria de Morales."[2]

I have vainly searched in such books as are within my reach for any further notice of Micaela de Luxan.[3] Lope, as is well known, frequently noted in the MS. of his comedias the names of the players by whom they were first represented. The earliest MSS. that I know, containing such lists, are both of the year 1610, and in neither does the name of this actress occur. Perhaps some earlier MS. may reveal it. From the fact that Suarez de Figueroa mentions Micaela de Luxan as living in 1610, it does not follow, of course, that she was still acting. It is probable that her stage career did not extend beyond the last decade of the sixteenth and the first years of the seventeenth century, and that she was a member of the company of Villalba, for whom Lope wrote several plays at Alba de Tormes in 1593-1595. There is some likelihood,

[1] D. Hurtado de Mendoza, the other sponsor, is probably D. Juan Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete, to whom Lope afterwards dedicated his comedia *Arauco domado*, published in his *Comedias*, Part xx., Madrid, 1625.

[2] Ed. of Perpiñan, 1630, p. 336.

[3] She is not mentioned by Casiano Pellicer, *Tratado Historico sobre el Origen y Progresos de la Comedia y del Histrionismo en España*, Madrid, 1804, nor does Gallardo, *Ensayo*, etc., Vol. I. p. 67, give the name in his list of *Comediantes*. It is also not a little strange that one fails to find Micaela de Luxan among the thousand and more players mentioned in Pérez Pastor's *Nuevos Datos*.

therefore, that the *liaison* with *Lucinda* had begun before the death of Lope's wife,[1] Doña Isabel: that it was continued after her death, on Lope's return to Madrid, is proved by the birth of the children Marcela and Lope, to whom we shall return during the course of this narrative.

How long this love-affair with Micaela de Luxan lasted we cannot tell. After the death of Lope's second wife, Doña Juana, in 1613, he took his two children, Marcela and Lope Felix, under his own care. Where they had been prior to this time is a matter of conjecture. Did they remain in charge of their mother, Lucinda? It would be interesting to know. We shall see, however, that by the close of the year 1615, Lope is on with a new love—Doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo, the *Amarilis* of his later verses.

We now (1596) find Lope, after the death of his wife, again in Madrid, where, in the same year, as already noted, he was criminally indicted for concubinage with Doña Antonia Trillo. He had left the Duke of Alba's household,[2] and had become secretary to the Marqués de Malpica.[3] Lope remained but a short time in the latter's service, and towards the close of 1597, or early in 1598, he was engaged in a similar capacity by the Marqués de

[1] I am bound in justice to admit that this is by no means certain. In the *Epistola* to his friend Barrionuevo, quoted above, which was written in 1603, Lope describes Lucinda's children going with the little slave to get nuts and sweetmeats. Even supposing the eldest child to be five or six years old, it would not take us further back than 1596, when Lope's wife was already dead.

[2] Lope seems in after years to have regretted the time he passed in the service of the Duke of Alba. In a letter to the Duke of Sessa, written in October, 1611, he says. "Hartas veces he pensado quan mal empleé mis escritos, mis servicios y mis años en el dueño de aquellos pensamientos de la *Arcadia*, ni se me puede quitar la lastima de que no hayan sido para V.E. y la Flora." La Barrera, p. 68. This is perhaps mere flattery of the Duke of Sessa, for Lope was evidently well treated by the Duke of Alba, and towards the close of his career, in his "Eclogue to Claudio," he alludes to him as "the generous Duke of Alba."

[3] The one hundred and forty-fourth sonnet of the *Rimas* is dedicated to the Marqués de Malpica; the only reference, I believe, to this nobleman in our poet's works.

Sarriá, afterwards Count of Lemos,[1] for on the title-page of his *Arcadia*, which was first printed in 1598,[2] he describes himself as secretary to the Marquis of Sarriá. This pastoral romance, of which we have already spoken, was the most successful of all Lope's non-dramatic achievements; the fact that it passed through many editions—no less than fifteen in the author's lifetime, it has been said—proves its extreme popularity. Taken as a whole, among works of its kind it was perhaps inferior only to the *Diana* of Montemayor, while its verses are more sincere and arresting. Nevertheless, the *Arcadia* is a wearisome book to read, with its obtrusion of irrelevant learning.

We come now to another very important event in Lope's life, as to which his biographers have heretofore been completely at sea. This is his second marriage, and here again our information is due to the researches of Pérez Pastor. On April 25, 1598, Lope was betrothed in the Church of Santa Cruz, to Doña Juana de Guardo, the marriage following on May 3, in the Church of San Blas, at Madrid.[3] Doña Juana, the daughter of Antonio de

[1] Many years afterwards Lope recalls with a feeling of gratitude the short period he passed in the service of the Conde de Lemos. In a letter written to him in 1620, he says "You know how I love and reverence you, and that I have slept many a night at your feet, like a dog . . and I beg you to believe in my love, and how deeply I cherish those memories in my soul, recognizing that God has never placed in a high station any wit more worthy of applause and veneration." *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XVII p. 403. And in his *Epistola al Conde de Lemos* (*Obras Sueltas*, Vol I. p. 447), Lope says

"Mostrára yo con vos cuidado eterno,
Mas haveros vestido y descalzado
Me enseñan otro estilo humilde y tierno."

From which it would appear that Lope performed services not generally allotted to a secretary

[2] *Arcadia, prosas y versos, de Lope de Vega Carpio, Secretario del Marques de Sarria. Con una esposicion de los nombres historicos y poeticos. A Don Pedro Tellez Giron, Duque de Ossuna, etc. Con Privilegio. En Madrid, por Luis Sanchez. Año* 1598. *Vendese en casa de Juan de Montoya.* The *aprobacion* is dated Aug 6, 1598. There is a copy of this first edition in the Ticknor Library, Boston

[3] En este dicho dia, mes é año [veinticinco de Abril de mil quinientos noventa y ocho], yo, el Licenciado Gabriel Maldonado, teniente cura

Guardo and Maria de Collantes, brought Lope a dowry of twenty-two thousand three hundred and eighty-two double reals of plate. At the time of this marriage the mother of Doña Juana was already dead; the father was a wealthy butcher who supplied the city of Madrid with beef and salt pork. If Lope's first marriage was a love-match, in this second venture it has been hinted that he was a fortune-hunter. So, at least, it was insinuated by some of his enemies among the poets of the day. Lope's subsequent conduct proves that these imputations were wholly groundless, and they were doubtless prompted by simple envy. Still, he seems to have had an unfortunate knack of perpetually exposing his weak points to his enemies, and, needless to say, they seldom lost an opportunity of goading him. Foremost among his tormentors was *el Cordobés*, D. Luis de Góngora y Argote, of whose biting, poisonous pen Lope seems to have had a sleepless dread.[1] In Góngora's famous sonnet which ridicules the nineteen castles

desta yglesia de Santa Cruz, con mandamiento del señor Vicario, que pasó ante Paulo Tremino, notario, habiendo precedido dispensacion de las dos amonestaciones por el señor Garcia de Loaysa, con sola una desposé a Lope de Vega Carpio con Doña Juana de Guardo, siendo testigos el alguacil Castillo y Escobar y Juan de Piña y Melchor de Villaveja; fue primero matrimonio,* y en fee dello lo firme *ut supra*.—El Licenciado, Gabriel Maldonado." [In the margin]: "Lope de Vega con D. Juª. de Guardo. Belaronse en San Blas a 3 de Mayo, dia de la Cruz; fueron padrinos . . . [blank]. * Pérez Pastor adds the following note at this point "In other marriages registered in the same book this circumstance is more clearly specified, saying: it was the first marriage on part of the woman" *Datos desconocidos*, p. 250.

[1] Alluding to Góngora's relentless pursuit of Lope, Fitzmaurice-Kelly says: "There is something pathetic in the Dictator's endeavours to soften his persecutor's heart. He courts Góngora with polite flattery in print; he dedicates to Góngora the play *Amor secreto hasta Celos*; he writes Góngora a private letter to remove a wrong impression given by one Mendoza; he repeats Góngora's witty sayings to his intimates; he makes personal overtures to Góngora at literary gatherings; and if Góngora be not positively rude, Lope reports the fact to the Duke of Sessa as a personal triumph: Está más humano conmigo, que le debo de haber parecido más hombre de bien de lo que él me imaginava. (He is gentler with me, and I must seem to him a better fellow than he thought)." *Hist. of Span. Literature*, 1898, p. 290.

on the shield appropriated by Lope in the *Arcadia*, the concluding tercet is:

> "No fabrique mas torres sobre arena,
> Si no es que ya segunda vez casado
> Nos quiere hacer torres los torreznos."[1]

where the juxtaposition of towers (torres) and salt pork (torreznos), is characteristically cruel.

CHAPTER VI

THE THEATRES OF MADRID—THEIR ORIGIN

HAVING now reached the closing decade of the sixteenth century, it may not be without interest to cast a glance at the condition of the Spanish theatre, and particularly that of Madrid, at about this time.[2] Madrid became the capital of Spain in 1561. Strolling players had certainly appeared there long before this date, but with the rapid growth in wealth and population which naturally ensued

[1] This sonnet, beginning "Por tu vida, Lopillo, que me borres," I published in the *Revue Hispanique*, 1897, p 149, with some inedited poems of Góngora's. In the MS. there is a note stating that Lope was married a second time to the daughter of a contractor to provide the city with pork. Cervantes has also hit off the nineteen castles in the poem of Urganda, the Unknown, among the commendatory verses of his *Don Quixote*, Part I.

[2] The account that follows is taken chiefly from the *Tratado historico sobre el Origen y Progresos de la Comedia y del Histrionismo en España*, by Casiano Pellicer, Madrid, 1804, Vol. I. pp 43 *et seq.*; and Schack, *Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur u. Kunst in Spanien*, Vol. I. p. 263, ff. I have also obtained much information, as the notes throughout this book will show, from the valuable little work by Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos acerca del Histrionismo Español en los Siglos XVI. y XVII. Madrid*, 1901, and from José Sánchez-Arjona, *Noticias referentes á los Anales del Teatro en Sevilla desde Lope de Rueda hasta fines del Siglo XVII.* Sevilla, 1898

when the city became the official centre of the kingdom, it was necessary to find some settled place where these companies of players might perform. The establishment of permanent theatres in Madrid was, at the outset, connected with an event which had, apparently, but a remote relation to public amusements.[1] In 1565 a number of charitable citizens in Madrid founded a fraternity called the *Cofradia de la Sagrada Pasion*, the primary object of which was merely to feed and clothe the poor; but, under the auspices of the King and the Council of Castile, their field speedily widened, and a hospital for poor women suffering from fever—"because there was no other hospital in the capital for this purpose"—was founded in the Calle de Toledo. In order to increase the funds of this hospital, the President of Castile, Cardinal Espinosa and the Councillors granted to the *Cofradia* the privilege of providing a place for the representation of all comedias given in Madrid, and of appropriating to their pious purpose the funds thus obtained. Two years after this, in 1567, another fraternity was founded called the *Cofradia de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*, with charitable aims of greater extent than those of the older fraternity. The latter bought a house near the Puerta del Sol and fitted it up as a hospital. The places set apart for theatrical representation by the *Cofradia de la Pasion* were three: a square or *corral* in the Calle del Sol; another belonging

[1] Schack remarks that such a connection between public amusements and religious or charitable foundations seemed natural enough to the Spanish mind. A theatre is said to have existed at Valencia since 1526, as an appurtenance to a hospital, and even to-day, in accord with the ancient custom, the overseers or trustees of the hospitals are also the chief directors of the bull-fights, the income from which, after deducting expenses, is devoted to their benefit. The establishment of a theatre in Valencia at this remote date, is, however, questioned by Schack, though it is probable that one existed in that city at least as early as 1566, when the street now called *La Tertulia* was called the *Carrer de les Comedies*. According to Schack, it was not till 1582 that the hospital at Valencia, for the purpose of increasing its revenue, was granted the privilege of leasing a place to perform public plays. In the following year a new theatre was erected in the *Plaza de la Olivera*, now called the *Plaza de las Comedias* *Nachtrage*, p. 19.

to Isabel de Pacheco in the Calle del Príncipe,[1] and a third in the same street—a *corral* leased from one Burguillos, which afterwards passed into the control of the *Cofradía de la Soledad*. For, in 1574, the latter brotherhood also petitioned for the right to furnish a place for the representation of comedias, in order to maintain its hospital, and the matter ended in a compromise with the older fraternity, the *Cofradía de la Soledad* acquiring the *corral* of Burguillos. Both brotherhoods finally decided to join forces, and petitioned Dr. Antonio de Anguilera, Councillor of Castile and Commissary for the administration of the said hospitals, that two-thirds of the profits accruing from these *corrales* should go to the *Cofradía de la Pasion*, and the remaining third to the *Cofradía de la Soledad*; the expenses to be shared in the same proportion. "These *corrales*—a name that down to our own day has remained synonymous with play-house—were, originally, before they were transformed into theatres, the yards of houses. In the rear was the stage; the larger part of the audience viewed the performance standing in the court-yard, but the windows of the principal building, and of the surrounding houses served as boxes for the more distinguished spectators. Arrangements for the comfort of actors and audience were naturally very rude at first. The stage, as well as the whole courtyard, had no roof nor any kind of protection against sunshine or rain. If the weather was unfavourable the representation was either suspended or brought suddenly to a close." (Schack.)

As early as 1574 a company of Italian players under Alberto Nazeri de Ganassa[2] presented plays (mostly in

[1] There is a notice of a representation here in 1568: "En miercoles á 5 de Mayo de 1568 años entró á representar Velazquez en el Corral desta casa: ha de dar seis reales cada dia de los que representare." Pellicer, *l.c.* p. 48 *El Corral de la Pacheca* by Ricardo Sepúlveda, Madrid, 1888, is an interesting book, though it contains little that is new concerning the early period which interests us here; but the arrangement of the work is a vast improvement on the indescribable confusion that reigns everywhere in Pellicer's *Tratado historico*.

[2] Concerning Ganassa, see Baschet, *Les Comédiens Italiens*, Paris, 1882, p. 24; and Sánchez-Arjona, *El Teatro en Sevilla*, p. 48. It appears that

pantomime, as it appears) at Madrid, and in the same year Ganassa succeeded in having a theatre erected in the *Corral de la Pacheca*. The agreement was that a theatre and stage should be built, wholly covered by a roof, and that this theatre should be leased for a period of nine or ten years, etc., the rent being fixed at ten reals per day. But the roof actually covered only the stage and the sides of the *patio*; the sole covering of the latter was an awning to shade the spectator from the sun. From this *patio* the rank and file—the *vulgo*—viewed the play, standing. On account of the clamour and uproar they made they were called *Mosqueteros*. This *Corral de la Pacheca* was in the Calle del Príncipe. The increased demand for theatrical representations induced the same *cofradías* to rent another *corral*, belonging to Cristóbal de la Puente, in the Calle del Lobo, which they fitted up with benches and an amphitheatre, etc. It appears that a third *corral* was provided by the fraternities for Francisco de Osorio, who came to Madrid with his company in 1579. In these *corrales* various *autores* with their companies gave performances: among them Ganassa, Ribas, Alonso Rodriguez, Hernan Gonzalez, Alonso de Cisneros, Juan Granados, Francisco Salcedo, Alonso Velazquez, Saldaña, and others. Of these directors many wrote farces or comedies, and the name *autor* was therefore strictly appropriate to them at this particular stage: it was not till some time afterwards that the word *autor* came to mean merely a theatrical manager.

After paying the *autor* and his company, the average net proceeds of a single representation varied, at this early period, from 140 to 200 reals; and this went to the hospitals.[1] Performances always took place in the afternoon. At first they were limited to Sundays or feast days;

a company of Italian players had visited Spain as early as 1538, when one Muzio, "italiano de la Comedia," was in Seville, taking part in the festival of Corpus Christi

[1] A little later, in 1583, Philip II. granted to the 'Royal House of Incurables' at Naples, half the proceeds derived from public performances of Comedias in that city. Croce, *I Teatri di Napoli*, p. 56.

but, with the growing demand for these spectacles, two representations were authorized during the week—on Tuesdays and Thursdays—and sometimes they continued for fifteen or twenty days in succession before Shrovetide. On Ash Wednesday the theatres were closed till Easter.

All representations took place in these *corrales* until the two *cofradias* erected their own theatres, the first in the Calle de la Cruz in 1579, and the other in the Calle del Príncipe in 1582. A site in the Calle de la Cruz having been purchased, the wood, benches and other properties were moved from the *corral* of Cristóbal de la Puente, and the new theatre was fitted up, so that plays were performed in it as early as November 29, 1579, the first comedia being represented by the company of Juan Granados.

With the erection of the *Teatro de la Cruz*, the *Corral de la Puente* in the Calle del Lobo soon fell into disuse.[1] The new theatre and the *Corral de la Pacheca* became the favourite play-houses, and were leased by the most famous *autores*, such as Juan Granados, Salcedo, Ribas, Quiros, Galvez, Cisneros, Velasquez, etc. The success of the *Teatro de la Cruz* induced the *cofradias* to buy a number of houses near the *Corral de la Pacheca*, in the Calle del Príncipe, in 1582, where they erected a theatre after the pattern of the *Teatro de la Cruz*. "A platform or stage was built, a green room, raised seats (*gradas*) for the men, portable benches to the number of ninety-five, a gallery for the women, stalls and windows with iron gratings, passage ways, and a roof to cover the *gradas*. Finally the *patio* was paved and an awning stretched over it, which protected against the sun, but not against the rain." Four stairways were also erected, "one to ascend to the women's gallery, with its balustrade of brick and plaster and its wooden steps and its partitions of plaster round about, so that the women who went up the said staircase and were in the balcony, could not communicate with the men," etc.[2]

[1] It was still used for representations in 1584, there being then three regular play-houses in Madrid. Pellicer, Vol I. p. 80.

[2] Pellicer, Vol. I. p. 68.

In addition three other stairways were erected "ascending to the seats of the men and to the green room, and also a stall or box in the *corral*, whereby women entered to a window, which looked upon the stage." So impatient was the public for these spectacles that the theatre opened, before it was finished, on September 21, 1583.[1] The proceeds of a single representation at this time, generally amounted to about three hundred reals, after deducting expenses. Seeing the large pecuniary gains derived by the two fraternities from the theatres, in December, 1583, the Council of Castile decreed that the General Hospital of Madrid should henceforward have a share in these proceeds. In addition to the charge for admission to the theatres, the privileges for the sale of water, fruit, *aloja*, and confections were an additional source of income for the fraternities.

The following description of the *corrales* of that time I have translated from Schack's work (Vol. I. p. 269): "The *corrales* were, as we have said, court-yards,[2] where the backs of several houses came together. The windows (*ventanas*) of the surrounding houses, provided, as is the Spanish custom, with iron railings or lattice work, and then called *rejas* or *celosias*, served as boxes or stalls; a much larger number of these windows than originally existed in the buildings, were especially constructed. If these boxes were situated in the upper stories, they were called *desvanes* (attic); the lowest row of windows above the ground, however, were called *aposentos*, a name that, in a wider sense, seems also to have been applied to the *desvanes*. The *aposentos* (apartments) were really spacious rooms. These windows were, like the houses to which they belonged, sometimes the property of others, and if not rented by the fraternities, entirely at the disposition of

[1] It is interesting to note that "on January 11, 1583, some Englishmen exhibited feats of agility in the *Corral de la Pacheca* (*voltearon unos ingleses en el Corral de la Pacheca*)." Pellicer, Vol. I. p. 80.

[2] So in England the immediate predecessor of the play-house was the inn-yard. The first London theatre properly so-called, was built in 1576 A. W. Ward, *History of English Dram. Lit.* Vol. I. p. 455.

their owners, who still had to pay annually a specified sum for the privilege of seeing the plays from them. For instance, in 1635 permission was given to D. Rodrigo de Herrera to open a window looking into the *Corral del Principe*, paying to the lessees of the theatre the sum of thirty ducats annually.[1] Beneath the *aposentos* was a row of seats, raised like an amphitheatre, and called *gradas*; in front of these the *patio*, a larger open space whence the *vulgo* saw the play while standing. The latter, as we have said, were called *Mosqueteros*. In front of the *patio*, and nearest the stage stood rows of benches, called *bancos*, presumably also under the open sky like the *patio*, or protected only by a canvas covering. The *gradas* were under a projecting roof at the sides. To the rear of the *corrales* —*i.e.* the part furthest from the stage—was the space set apart for women, especially of the lower classes, and called the *cazuela* (stew pan), or *corredores de las mugeres* (gallery for women); the more refined patronized the *aposentos* (corresponding to the modern *palcos*) or *desvanes*. Women were apparently no less eager to see these spectacles than

[1] Sepúlveda, *El Corral de la Pacheca*, p 89 The same privilege was granted, also in 1635, to Don Pedro de Aragon, who, having purchased in the Calle del Príncipe a house which already had two *aposentos* looking upon the *Corral de las Comedias*, wished to open another window between the two. *Ibid* p 90. The amount to be paid in this case is not stated This is of interest in view of a picture published by Sepúlveda (p. 18), representing the *Teatro del Príncipe* in 1660. I do not know the *provenance* of the picture, but it corresponds in every detail to the description in the text as given by Schack. It represents a rectangular space enclosed on the two longer sides by houses with grated windows, and with a raised stage occupying the further end. The whole space is open to the sky, except the portion over the stage and extending some distance beyond it, which is covered by a canvas awning. The middle space or pit is taken up by benches, which cover about half the ground immediately in front of the stage The rest of the open space or *patio* is free, and is the place from which the groundlings saw the play, while standing On the left, beginning level with the ground, are rows of terraced seats—the *gradas* mentioned above. These are protected by a small roof supported by pillars. These seats were partitioned off from the pit. The stage seems also to have had a slightly projecting roof, sufficient for shelter from the weather. Of course the women's gallery does not appear upon the picture.

men, and when Alonso Velasquez, in February, 1586, determined to give a morning performance for women only, no less than seven hundred and sixty flocked to the theatre; but, on hearing of this, the Council of Castile stopped the representation and confiscated the proceeds for the benefit of the hospitals.

The stage of these theatres was raised from the ground, and no separate place was provided for the music, the orchestra—consisting of two or three players on the *vihuela* (guitar), and, at a later period, of "two or three violins and an oboe"—coming upon the front of the stage whenever occasion needed. As in the Elizabethan theatre the English gallants frequently took seats upon the stage, so in Spain the same custom seems to have prevailed as late as the middle of the seventeenth century; a privilege, we are told, that descended from father to son.[1] In these circumstances we need not be surprised to learn that at this early period the decorations and scenic effects were of the most primitive character. Any attempt at optical illusion was wholly out of the question. For most scenes, a single curtain, entirely of one colour, was the sole stage requirement, and this was used to represent the most diverse localities.[2] If the stage was unoccupied for a moment, and persons came upon it through another entrance, a change of scene had to be imagined by the spectator. Schack (II. p. 121) cites several cases of such imaginary change. In Lope's *Embustes de Fabia*, Aurelio has been in the chamber of his mistress and has not left the stage, when he says: "Here is the Palace and there Nero, our Emperor appears, for the poet has permitted this expedient to be employed, since, if the Emperor should

[1] Bertaut, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Espagne*, Paris, 1664, p. 127: "Il y en a qui ont leur place aupres du Theatre, qu'ils gardent de pere en fils comme un *Mayorazgo*, qui ne se peut vendre ni engager, tant ils ont de passion pour cela."

[2] In the early years of the seventeenth century these matters seem to have been no further advanced in England or France, though later, towards the middle of the century, France had far surpassed Spain in scenic decoration.

not enter now, the narrative would be so vague and disconnected that nobody would understand it."[1]

The width of the stage somewhat exceeded its depth, and the simple curtain in the back ground, with a similar hanging at the sides or other entrances, represented a street, a wood or the interior of a house. When from the nature of the play some effect for the eye of the spectator was inevitable, the objects were introduced upon the stage, but in the crudest fashion: a few houses or trees daubed on pasteboard or linen did duty for a street or a forest. In many cases, especially in the later comedias, scenic effects of various kinds are expressly indicated by the dramatists. When this was the case; and, when some care was bestowed on the costumes of the players, the pieces were called *Comedias de Teatro*.

Very often a change of scene was indicated by simply lifting a curtain, whereby the essential object of the new scene became visible, the rest remaining as it was. Thus in Tirso de Molina's *Convidado de Piedra*, Don Juan and his servant are traversing the streets of Seville, and after they have been upon the stage a considerable time, the statue of the Commendador, Don Gonzalo de Ulloa, is suddenly disclosed. Schack very pertinently remarks that one should not contemn this simple and primitive scenic apparatus of the Spanish theatre, in which everything was left entirely to the imagination of the spectator. "To him who is aware of the fact that with the improved outer decorations the essentials of art are neglected, and that almost everywhere the decay of the drama has kept pace with increased scenic splendor, the old stage simplicity will appear in quite a different light, and may be regarded as rather favorable to the true interests of dramatic art."

The Spanish stage, as is well known, was equally careless of costume. Only the most obvious distinctions were made, and, in his *Arte nuevo de hacer Comedias*, Lope de

[1] *Comedias*, Part XXV. Zaragoza, 1647, fol. 537. This passage shows clearly the difficulties that were encountered by writers for the stage at a time when movable scenery was as yet unknown. The early English drama, naturally, also contains many such instances.

Vega complains of the impropriety of Romans wearing breeches upon the Spanish stage—for Greeks and Romans appeared with cloak and sword, in the national costume. Dramatic performances always took place in the afternoon, at three o'clock in summer, and at two in winter, and generally lasted about two hours.[1]

Upon the Spanish stage the female characters were originally taken by boys, just as we know was the case in the Elizabethan theatre (Shakspeare, it may be noted, was born in 1564, two years after Lope de Vega, although the dominating influence of each began about the same time, in 1590). The earliest notice that I have found of women appearing upon the stage in Spain is 1587. On November 17, of that year Pedro Paez de Sotomayor, son-in-law of Alonso de Cisneros, *autor de comedias*, then absent from the city, presented on behalf of the latter a petition to the Corregidor of Madrid, stating that the Council of his Majesty had granted a license permitting married women to act upon the stage, and that in fulfilment of that license they were then acting publicly; and he requested the same license for his father-in-law, then in Seville, "so that it may be evident to the justices of the said city or of any other place where he may give representations." It quoted another petition by the company of the *Confidentes italianos*, wherein these declare that they cannot represent the comedias which they have, without the women of their company, and praying for a license permitting these women to act. This petition was granted "as the women in the company are married women and their husbands are with them"; it was especially provided, however, that they

[1] "La comedia aora empeçamos,
De aqui á dos horas saldremos,
Quando ya estará acabada,
Que todo lo acaba el tiempo."
Loas to *Comedias*, Part I Valladolid, 1604, p 3.

In another *Loa* three hours is given as the time required:

"Boluamos á lo importante,
Que es el silencio pedido,
Por tres horas no cabales." *Ibid.* p 7.

should not be permitted to appear in the habit or dress of men "and that henceforth no boy be allowed to act attired as a woman." Appended to the petition of Pedro Paez de Sotomayor were the depositions of two witnesses who, "on the twenty-first of the present month of November" (1587), had seen a comedia played by the Italians in the *Corral del Príncipe*, in which three women acted.[1]

But, as Pellicer says (p. 119), the growing popularity of theatrical representations and the consequent increase in the number of theatres and actors and actresses throughout Spain; "the plots of the comedias themselves, for their chief theme was love;" the dances, songs, and the acting, not only of women, but of women disguised as men, and the easy virtue of the theatrical profession, soon made the question of their continuance a grave matter. A number of eminent theologians took part in the discussion, and opinion was divided. Among those who were favourable to the continuance of these spectacles was Fray Alonso de Mendoza, an Augustinian, who declared in 1587, "that the representation of comedias was not a mortal sin," but that, on the contrary, they might be very beneficial, etc., provided that the lascivious dances and songs were suppressed. The government accepted this view of the matter, with the effect of multiplying theatres and players,[2] adding to the number (already great) of

[1] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos acerca del Histrionismo Español*, Madrid, 1901, pp. 19, and foll. In France women seem to have first appeared on the stage in the second decade of the seventeenth century. Marie Venier, demoiselle Laporte, was one of the earliest of French actresses (1616): see Rigal, *Alexandre Hardy*, Paris, 1899. In England it was not till after the Restoration (1660) that women were licensed to act in public theatres, while in Germany as late as 1717 no women were allowed on the stage. *Shakspere Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXI. p. 236. The *Confidenti italiani* mentioned above were originally one of the companies of the Duke of Mantua. Baschet, *Les Comédiens Italiens*, Paris, 1882, p. 23.

[2] The theatres of Madrid were, on the contrary, gradually reduced to the two principal play-houses in the Calle del Príncipe and the Calle de la Cruz. But most important cities—such as Valencia, Seville, Granada, and Saragossa—had permanent theatres, and no town was so small that it was not visited by strolling bands of players, so great had the craze for theatrical representations become.

entremeses, and introducing new dances—"and not the most decent ones," as Pellicer naïvely remarks. And, in order to give the theatre a certain air of repute and piety, so many *Comedias de Santos* were written and acted, that Rojas said :—

"Que al fin no quedó poeta
En Sevilla, que no hiciese
De algun Santo su comedia."

It was even held that these plays were conducive to religion and good morals, and, in a memorial (1598) to Philip II., it was declared as a well-known fact that several actors who were representing the lives of St. Francis and other saints, as well as some of the spectators, went straight from the play-house and took the habit of St. Francis or of the saints represented, "being stung by compunction."

On the other hand, the Jesuit Mariana gives the case of an actress who took the part of Magdalena in one of these *Comedias de Santos*, and of an actor who took the part of Christ. Both, he says, were notoriously immoral: "which was all the worse, inasmuch as they were famous players, and had often brought tears to the eyes of the spectators."[1]

Indeed the *desenvoltura* of the actresses finally brought affairs to such a pass that in 1596 women were forbidden "to act in the said comedias," according to a manuscript notice published by Schack,[2] who found it in the library of

[1] Pellicer, Vol. I. p. 122.

[2] En el consejo se tiene noticia que en las Comedias y Representaciones que se reciten en esta ciudad salen mugeres a representar, de que se siguen muchos inconvenientes Tendreys particular cuydado de que mugeres no representen en las dichas comedias, poniendoles las penas que os pareciere, apercibiendoles que haciendo lo contrario se executará en ellas—de Madrid a cinco dias de Setiembre de mil y quinientos y noventa y seys años." *Nachtrage*, p. 29.

The abuses mentioned by the author of a paper entitled *Abusos de Comedias y Tragedias*, quoted by Pellicer, must relate to an earlier time: "Women are gradually being introduced upon the stage in the place of boys, although the performances of boys attired as women, of good appearance and rouged, are held by some to be even a greater objection." The same author also deplores the fact that separate places were not provided for men and women in the theatres, and that both sexes went in and out by the same door. *Origen y Progresos*, etc. Vol. I. pp. 139-40.

the Academy of History at Madrid. This prohibition, if ever enforced, was certainly of short duration. With the immense increase in the number of players, who were for the most part recruited from the lowest strata of society, the license of the stage increased; the slight restrictions that had been placed upon the theatre were disregarded, and the ribald songs and lascivious dances, especially the "pestiferous *Zarabanda*" and the *Chacona*, introduced upon the stage about 1588, held full sway. On the death of the Princess Catharine, the sister of Philip II., on November 6, 1597, the King commanded the theatres of Madrid to be closed. The churchmen and other opponents of the theatre took advantage of this suspension of theatrical representations to renew the question of suppressing them permanently. The King submitted the matter to three theologians who, after prolonged discussion, finally decided against the theatres, and the King concurring in this *consulta teológica*, a royal rescript was issued on May 2, 1598, declaring that thenceforth no more comedias should be represented.[1] Among other evils attributable to comedias, it was said that they fostered habits of idleness and pleasure-seeking in the people, and turned their minds from warlike pursuits. That the banquets, festivals and comedias were rendering the Spanish people effeminate and

[1] *Consulta que hizieron a S M el Rey D. Felipe II Garcia de Loaysa, Fray Diego de Yepes y Fray Gaspar de Cordoba sobre las Comedias* — . Destas representaciones y comedias se sigue otro gravisimo daño y es que la gente se da al ocio, deleytes y regalo, y se divierte de la milicia, y con los bailes deshonestos que cada dia inventan estos faranduleros y con las fiestas, banquetes y comedias se haze la gente de España muelle y afeminada e inhabil para las cosas de trauajo y guerra . . . Pues siendo esto asi y teniendo V. Mgd tan precisa necesidad de hazer guerra a los enemigos de la fé y apercebirnos para ella, bien se vee quan mal aparejo es para las armas el uso tan ordinario de las comedias que aora se representan en España. Y a juizio de personas prudentes, si el Turco o xarife o Rey de Inglatierra quisieran buscar una inuencion eficaz para arruinarnos y destruirnos, no la hallaran mejor que la destos faranduleros, pues a guisa de unos mañosos ladrones abrazando matan y atosigan con el sabor y gusto de lo que representan, y hazen mugeriles y floxos los coraçones de nuestros Españoles, para que no sigan la guerra o sean inutiles para los trauajos y exercicios della." Schack, *Nachtrage*, p. 28.

unfit for the hardships of war, and that the King being obliged to wage war against the enemies of the faith, he was ill prepared, as a result of the comedias, such as are now represented in Spain. And that, in the judgment of prudent persons, if the Turk or the King of England wished to seek an efficient device to ruin and destroy the Spanish nation, he could find none better than that of these players, etc. It does not appear that this prohibition of 1598 applied to the whole country, though it is difficult to draw a clear inference from Pellicer's statement. The hospital directors in Madrid, seeing their resources cut off, made energetic protests which were, however, unavailing for the moment. The King personally seems to have been willing that the theatres should be reopened, and an edict had been prepared to that effect; but his confessor opposed it so strenuously that the order was revoked.[1] Finding the King on their side, the overseers of the hospitals (we may feel sure) did not relax their efforts to secure the repeal of a law which stifled them out of existence. And so strongly did their petitions move Philip III., that he overruled the objections of his confessor, and on April 17, 1599,[2] comedias were again allowed to be played in the theatres of the kingdom. With this, however, the opponents of the theatre, among whom the most influential was Don Pedro de Castro, Archbishop of Granada, were not satisfied. They insisted

[1] The following entry occurs in Cabrera, *Relaciones*, etc. p 5 — "Madrid, 16 de Enero 1599 Habiase proveido á instancia de los hospitales, que se representasen comedias, por la mucha necesidad que padecian los pobres sin el socorro que desto les venia, pero el Confesor de S. M. lo ha resistido de manera que se ha mandado revocar la orden dada."

[2] Cabrera, *Relaciones*, p 18 —"Madrid, á 17 de Abril 1599. Tambien se ha dado licencia para que de aqui adelante se hagan comedias en los teatros como las solia haber, las quales dizen que se comenzarán á representar desde el lunes"

On the following day Philip III. was betrothed to the Archduchess Margaret at Valencia, and during these festivities an allegorical *auto* by Lope, entitled *Las Bodas del Alma con el Amor divino*, was performed in one of the squares of Valencia.

upon the evil effects of the plays, and especially of the dances then in vogue upon the stage. Accordingly, in April 1600, the King called a council of theologians and statesmen to determine the restrictions that were to be imposed on the theatre, or rather to formulate the conditions under which comedias might be given. These were as follows: (1) That the subject matter of the comedias be a proper one and that all immodest dances be eliminated. (2) That the many companies of players be reduced to four, which companies alone shall be licensed to represent comedias. (3) That women should in no circumstances be permitted on the stage, nor should monks or prelates visit the theatre; and if boys play female characters, wearing women's attire, they must not appear rouged and must bear themselves with due modesty. (4) That no representations shall take place in Lent, nor on the Sundays in Advent, nor on the first day of the three *Pasquas*; nor may any company remain in any town more than one month in each year, nor two companies play at the same time, and in the said month they may play only three days in each week,—on Sunday and on two others, which should be feast days, when there are any. (5) That in churches and convents only plays of a purely devotional character be allowed Further conditions were that the men should be separated from the women, and should enter by different doors; that no plays should be acted in the Universities of Alcalá or Salamanca, except during vacation; that all *comedias* and *entremeses*, before being acted in public shall be played before a number of learned persons,—among them at least one theologian; that a judge be appointed to enforce the penalties against those who break these conditions, and finally that a license to perform should be given for only one year.[1]

[1] Cabrera, *Relaciones*, under date of Feb. 4, 1600, says "Solamente se ha tomado resolucion que puedan representarse comedias en los teatros de aqui adelante, lo qual estaba prohibido por evitar el escándolo y mal exemplo que en ellas habia; pero porque los hospitales no pierdan el provecho que se les sigue, sin lo qual se padecia mucha en la cura de los pobres, y estaban para cerrarse los hospitales porque no bastaban las

The third condition was subsequently modified to the extent of allowing women to act, except in male costume; and it was carefully enjoined that they must be accompanied in the theatres by their husbands or fathers. The four companies of players permitted by this decree were increased in 1603 [1] to eight, and finally to twelve, by a royal decree "For the Reformation of Comedias," dated April 8, 1615. About this time the question of completely suppressing the comedias must have been again discussed, for on February 25, 1615, a resolution was adopted by the town council or *ayuntamiento* of Madrid, which reads: "Having heard that there is a question of prohibiting comedias and that in lieu of the profits which the Hospitals derive from the comedias, certain excises and imports are to be levied . . . it has been proved by experience that it is less dangerous to have comedias than to suppress them, for those who go to see them will not fail to have recourse to other things of greater danger and prejudice to them . . . it is resolved therefore that the Council entreat His

limosnas, se da licencia para se representar comedias de historias, y que no se mezclen actos de religion ni de santos; y que las mugeres que representaren no se pongan en habito de hombre, sino trayendo vaqueros largos, y que sean casadas con los mismos que representaren, y que fuera de alli los unos ni los otros no puedan andar vestidos de seda ni con guarnicion de ella ni de oro, sobre lo qual ha habido junta de teologos, canonistas y juristas, para tomar esta resolucion."

[1] The text of this decree of 1603 is as follows "Por muy justas causas y consideraciones a mandado Su Magestad que en estos reynos no pueda auer sino ocho compañias de representantes de comedias y otros tantos autores de ellas, que son Gaspar de Porres, Nicolas de los Rios, Baltasar de Pinedo, Melchor de Leon, Antonio Granados, Diego Lopez de Alcaraz, Antonio de Villegas, Juan de Morales, y que ninguna otra compañia represente en ellos, de lo qual se adbierte a Vm. para que ansi lo haga cumplir y executar ynviolablemente en todo su distrito y jurisdiccion, y si otra qualquiera compañia representase, procederá contra el autor de ella y representantes, y los castigará con el rigor necessario y en ninguna manera permita que en ningun tiempo del año se representen comedias en monasterio de frayles ni monjas, ni que en el de la quaresma aya representaciones dellas, aunque sea a lo divino, todo lo qual hará guardar y cumplir. Porque de lo contrario se tendrá Su Magestad por deservido. De Valladolid 26 de Abril de 1603 años." Schack, *Nachtrag*, p. 30.

Majesty that comedias may be permitted as heretofore, and that the proceeds resulting therefrom may be devoted to the Hospitals, etc. . . .[1] The *autores* of the eight companies authorized by the decree of 1603 were: Gaspar de Porres, Nicolas de los Rios,[2] Balthasar de Pinedo, Melchor de Leon, Antonio Granados, Diego Lopez de Alcaraz, Antonio de Villegas and Juan de Morales. The chiefs of the twelve companies who were exclusively authorized to represent comedias in Spain for the period of two years under the decree of 1615 were: Alonso de Riquelme, Fernan Sanchez de Vargas, Tomas Fernandez de Cabredo, Pedro de Valdés, Diego Lopez de Alcaraz, Pedro Cebrian, Pedro Llorente, Juan de Morales Medrano, Juan Acazio, Antonio Granados, Alonso de Heredia and Andres de Claramonte. Between 1609 and 1619 we find in addition the following impresarios Cristóbal de Leon, Mari Flores, Olmedo, Ortiz, Baltasar Osorio, Domingo Balbin, Alonso de Villalba, and Cristóbal de Avendaño.[3] The representation of comedias was resumed under the above restrictions, but Pellicer says they were not so popular, "having lost the salt and attraction of the picturesque dances of which the youth of both sexes are so fond."[4]

[1] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 359.

[2] Died in 1610.

[3] Sepúlveda, *El Corral de la Pacheca*, p. 41. Here the whole text of the decree is given. It does not differ materially from that of 1603. All immodest singing and dancing is prohibited, especially the dancing of the *escarramanes*, *chaconas*, *zarabandas*, *carreterias*, and other similar dances. It also provided that an *alguacil* should be present at every representation in each of the theatres of Madrid, to preserve order and to see that the men and women are not allowed to sit together, nor to enter or leave the theatre together, but that they shall always be kept apart from each other (nor shall anyone, except the players, be allowed to enter the dressing rooms). No representations are to be given on Sundays, nor from Ash Wednesday until the first Sunday after Easter, nor shall the theatres be opened until noon on any day.

[4] *Tratado historico sobre el Origen y Progresos*, etc, Vol. I. p. 157. A curious fact noted by Pellicer is that "some gentlemen were in the habit of owing for their seats at the theatre," *i.e.* they obtained seats 'on credit.' Thus, the books kept by the deputies show the following entry: "Sabado 18 de Mayo de 1602, debe el Corregidor un aposento.

In the previous year (1614) there had been a general complaint on the part of the overseers of the charities, supported by the *autores*, that their income had been greatly diminished because of the decreased attendance at the theatres. The reasons assigned were various, namely: "because the price of admission had been raised; because the *bancos* and *aposentos* had been rented and further restrictions had been made as to the entrance of women into the theatres, and finally because there are no good *autores*, nor any dances by women" (Pellicer, pp. 159, 160).

As one may readily imagine, the managers of the theatres were not slow to give the public what it asked, and gradually, one after another, every restriction that had been placed upon them by the decree of 1600 was disregarded. Besides the twelve privileged companies (*compañias reales* or *de título*), there soon sprang up numerous other companies (*compañias de la liga*, as they were called) which overran the peninsula. According to Pellicer,[1] there were no less than forty—the total membership amounting to over one thousand persons. Indeed one writer, quoted by Ticknor, declares that in 1636 there were as many as three hundred companies of players in Spain.[2] That this is greatly exaggerated hardly admits

El Regidor tres ventanas El Teniente Antonio Rodriguez un aposento. El Principe de Marruecos una ventana" *l.c* p 86. Concerning the price of admission to the theatre, we learn from Lope's own testimony that in 1588 the price of the *bancos* or benches directly in front of the stage was half a real. Afterwards the admission was increased to a real, while in 1622 it must have been still further increased, as Lope complains of it in the prologue to his *Parte* XIX A *real plata* = about 5 pence

[1] *Don Quixote*, Madrid, 1797-8, Vol IV p. 110, note.

[2] The following statement from Leon Pinelo's *Anales*, is not without interest, and is, besides, a flat contradiction of Pantoja's assertion, quoted by Ticknor, to which we have referred in the text. After describing the funeral of Lope de Vega, Pinelo says, under the year 1636. "En este insigne Ingenio tuvieron principio las comedias en la forma que hasta oy permanezen, y con su muerte han ydo descaeziendo, de modo que el Doctor Montalvan en el año de 1632 pone setenta y siete Poetas de que refiere los nombres, y los mas escrivian comedias: oy

of a doubt; but whatever the precise truth of the matter may be, it is certain that Spain was overrun by bands of strolling actors to an extent unknown in any other country.[1]

That these people mostly led a very miserable and precarious existence appears from the account of contemporary players given in his *Viage Entretenido* (1603) by Agustin de Rojas, who says that no negro in Spain or slave in Algiers but has a better life than the actor.[2] Concerning the pecuniary rewards of the theatrical profession of these days in Spain, we are indebted to the investigations of Dr. Pérez Pastor. It is curious to compare the pay received by well known players with that of our own day. For instance, on March 23, 1604, a contract is entered into between Miguel Ruiz and his wife Baltasara de los Reyes (*La Baltasara*, as she is generally called) and Gaspar de Porres, *autor de comedias*, whereby the former are to act in the company of the latter for one year, receiving 16 reals for each working day and 6 reals daily *de racion* and travelling expenses.[3] In 1614 Juan de Graxales and his wife Catalina de Peralta receive 22 reals for each representation and 8 reals *de racion*,

no podremos señalar quatro que se apliquen a esta ocupazion, y asi se van despoblando los Teatros y desaciendo las Compañias de la farsa."

Schack, *Nachtrage*, p 36.

One is curious to know whom Pinelo had in mind when he says that "not four poets can be named now-a-days who devote themselves to writing plays" In 1636 Guillen de Castro was dead, and probably Mira de Mescua, also; but Calderon was then at the height of his fame, and Alarcon, Rojas, Velez de Guevara, Montalvan, and Tirso de Molina were still among the living, though perhaps the latter had then practically ceased writing for the stage.

[1] For the conditions in France at about the same time, see the excellent book of Eugène Rigal, *Le Théâtre Français avant la Période Classique*, Paris, 1901, pp. 20 *et seq.*

[2] "Porque no hay negro en España
Ni esclavo en Argel se vende,
Que no tenga mejor vida
Que un farsante si se advierte." . . .

[3] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos acerca del Histrionismo*, etc., p. 84.

besides 22 ducats for the octave of Corpus, and travelling expenses.[1] In 1619 Pedro Garcia de Salinas, a well known comic actor and his wife Jerónima de Valcázar receive 24 reals for each representation, 8 reals for maintenance, besides the expenses for travel.[2] In 1623 Juan de Bezon and his wife Ana Maria receive 27 reals for each performance, 13 reals *de racion*, plus 700 reals for the festival of Corpus.[3] In 1636 Francisco de Velasco agreed "to play the leading parts (*primera parte de galanes*), and his wife Ana Fajardo to play whatever parts may be assigned to her," and they are to receive 19 reals for each representation and 4 reals *de racion*, besides 400 reals for the festival of Corpus. In the same company Cosme Perez, the greatest *gracioso* or comic actor of his time, received 20 reals for each representation, 10 reals *de racion* and 50 ducats (about 550 reals) for the festival of Corpus.[4] It is interesting to note the amounts received by the greatest actresses of their day: for example, in 1632, Maria de Cordoba y de la Vega (*Amarilis*) received 800 reals and expenses, for two representations in one day, to be given in the town of Daganzo. and for four representations upon Corpus Christi and the following day, the same actress received, also in 1632, the sum of 1050 reals.[5] These figures show a gradual increase of salaries from the beginning of the century onwards, and after its middle point was passed, this increase was very rapid until, at the close of Calderon's career, in 1680 the theatre reached its greatest material splendour.[6]

[1] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos acerca del Histrionismo*, etc., p. 141.

[2] *Ibid.* p 172. [3] *Ibid.* p. 203 [4] *Ibid.* p. 245. [5] *Ibid.* p. 226.

[6] The splendour of scenic representation increased in Spain in proportion as the country became poorer In the early decades of the seventeenth century, Lope de Vega received for a comedia, on an average, five hundred reals For purposes of comparison we may add that in 1635 Fernan Sanchez de Vargas, the *autor de comedias*, paid six hundred reals rent for one year, for his house in the Calle de las Huertas, in Madrid (Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 244) On the other hand when Calderon's last play, *Hado y Divisa de Leonido y de Marfisa*, was brought out in 1680 upon a scale of almost unparalleled magnificence, to celebrate the marriage of Carlos II. with Maria Louisa of Orleans, the poet

The immense impulse that had been given to the Spanish drama in the first quarter of the seventeenth century,—and the very deluge of plays beneath which Spain was submerged during the next fifty years,—was due entirely to the genius of Lope de Vega. He had had his predecessors, it is true, and in the hands of some of them the drama had reached a high degree of perfection: it was reserved for Lope's vitalizing genius to endow it with the spirit of nationality which made it wholly and unmistakably Spanish. In so far he is certainly the creator of the *comedia nueva*, as it was called. The beginning of this new period in dramatic poetry inaugurated by Lope,—of this new epoch in the history of the Spanish drama,—may be placed about 1587-8, at which time Lope de Vega was unquestionably the best known dramatic poet in Madrid. The eagerness with which his plays were sought by the various *autores* of companies is sufficient proof of this. He continued to write them, as we have seen, during his two years,' or rather eighteen months,' exile in Valencia. Most of these early plays, or many of them at least, are lost, but to the few mentioned above (pp. 96-97) are to be added *Las Mocedades de Roldan* (Part XIX. Valladolid, 1627), in the dedication of which he says: "*Las Mocedades de Roldan*, comedia que en las mias escriui," etc. Another play, apparently one of the very earliest that has been preserved, is *Belardo el furioso*. This comedia had been reckoned as being lost to us, but it has now been printed from a manuscript recently discovered in the King's library at Madrid. It is a pastoral,—autobiographical in its nature, the first Act following the *Dorotea* closely (with unimportant changes, though with differences in the names), and it "confirms the strictly historical character of this celebrated dramatic novel and the identity of its protagonist D. Fernando with Lope, who is here presented upon the

received for the *loa* alone the sum of 5500 reals, and in June of the same year Juan Bautista Diamante received 1110 reals for a *loa* to a play performed before the King.

Revista Española, Vol. I. (1901), pp. 372 and 375.

stage under his well known pastoral pseudonym of Belardo."[1]

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Lope had written perhaps a hundred and fifty comedias; the *comedia nueva* was an accomplished fact; the drama in Spain had received a definite direction,—a fixed form which it was destined to maintain for nearly a century and a half, until the period of French influence set in: until the cry for the 'unities' again arose, and the Spanish theatre became possessed by all that was false and factitious in the French drama to the extinction of the national spirit. Through Lope de Vega the theatre had received an immense impulse; it was not long before his comedias were represented on every stage in Spain, and theatrical companies sprang up everywhere, to be followed by scores of dramatic poets. "Necessity and I," Lope says, "going into the business of making verses, brought the comedias into fashion; I drew them from their mean beginnings, engendering more poets in Spain than there are atoms in the sun-beam."[2]

He prepared the way for Tirso de Molina, Luis Velez de Guevara, Alarcon, Calderon, and a host of others who, following his lead, have enriched the dramatic literature of Spain with their admirable productions, and made it, in wealth and variety, the first in modern Europe.

CHAPTER VII.

THE *DRAGONTEA* THE *ISIDRO*. LOPE'S SON, LOPE FELIX, AND DAUGHTER, MARCELA RELATIONS WITH THE DUKE OF SESSA.

It may be that Lope took advantage of the closure of the theatres of Madrid to compose his epic, *La Dragontea*, which he began in 1597, and published at Madrid in the

[1] *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, Vol. V. p. lxii.

[2] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. I. p 285.

following year.[1] It consists of ten cantos, written in octave verse, and treats of the last expedition and death of Sir Francis Drake in 1596. It was a direct appeal to the popular prejudice and the intense hatred of England, and was certainly timely; yet it did not meet with success, and with the exception of the edition of 1602, in which it appeared in the same volume with the *Angelica* and the *Rimas*, it was not published again till it was included in the *Obras Sueltas* in 1776. Ticknor says of it: "Perhaps no other instance can be found of a grave epic devoted to the personal abuse of a single individual; and to account for the present one, we must remember how familiar and formidable the name of Sir Francis Drake had long been in Spain."[2]

Early in the year 1599,—the *aprobacion* is dated January 22,—Lope published at Madrid his *Isidro*,[3] a life of the

[1] Madrid, 1598, is the date of the first edition of the *Dragontea* given by Barrera, though he admits that he has never seen this edition, nor, it may be added, has it ever been described by any bibliographer. The earliest known edition is Valencia, 1598, though Dieze, in his notes to Velazquez, *Gesch. der Span Dichtkunst*, Göttingen, 1769, also gives two editions in 1598 one at Valencia, Pedro Patricio Mey, and the other at Madrid The existence of the latter seems very doubtful The only tittle of evidence pointing to such an edition is contained in a note by Cerdá y Rico, the editor of the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. III p. ii Prefixed to a MS copy of the *Dragontea* in Cerdá's possession was an *aprobacion* signed in the 'Monasterio del Carmen' at Madrid, by Fray Pedro de Padilla, dated December 9, 1597 From this a Madrid issue in the following year might be inferred. In addition to this *aprobacion*, the edition of Valencia, 1598, contains, as my friend Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly informs me, a licence signed by D. Jayme Ferrer, dated Valencia, April 29, 1598, and another signed by Petrus Joannes Assensius, dated April 16, 1598 This edition, of which there are two copies in the British Museum, does not contain the laudatory Sonnet by Cervantes, which is prefixed to the edition of 1602

[2] *History of Span Lit*, Vol. II. p 201.

[3] *Isidro, Poema Castellano de Lope de Vega Carpio, Secretario del Marqués de Sarria. En que se escrive la Vida del bienaventurado Isidro, Labrador de Madrid, y su Patron diuino. En Madrid, por Luis Sanchez. Año* 1599. *Vendese en casa de Juan de Montoya.* Other editions appeared at Madrid, Pedro Madrigal, 1602 and 1603; Alcalá, Juan Gracian, 1607; Barcelona, Honofre Anglada, 1608; Madrid, Alonso Martin, 1613; Madrid, 1632 and 1638.

Ploughman of Madrid, and its patron Saint. According to a passage in the *Filomena*,[1] this poem of *Isidro* was finished before the *Dragontea*, and hence was written in 1596 or early in 1597. In fact, in November of the former year, according to La Barrera, a copy of some of the documents that were to be used in the beatification of San Isidro was furnished to Lope by Fr. Domingo de Mendoza. In the excerpt from Francisco Pacheco's *Libro de Retratos*, which is prefixed to Lope's *Jerusalem Conquistada* (1605), the author asserts that the *Isidro* was the second work composed by Lope.[2] This can hardly be correct, though it may be the second work that he finished. The *Isidro* is written in *quintillas*, one of the old, popular forms of versification, and is divided into ten Books, each consisting of a thousand lines. Its verse is exceedingly graceful and fluent, though the style seems at times too familiar for the gravity of the subject To me it is perhaps the hardest to read of all Lope's miscellaneous works. Menéndez y Pelayo says of it "It contains much farrago and rubbish, from which, however, many admirable fragments can be gleaned." To this judgment of the learned critic I unhesitatingly subscribe.

In April, 1599, Lope accompanied his patron, the Marqués de Sarriá, to Valencia, whither the new King, Philip III., and his sister, the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, together with all the Court, had gone to receive their "future and respective consorts," who had arrived from Italy—the Archduchess of Austria, Doña Margarita, and the Archduke Ferdinand.[3] It was on this occasion that Lope's allegorical *auto* entitled *Las Bodas del Alma con el Amor divino* was represented in one of the public squares of Valencia.

In the same year there appeared at Valencia Lope's *Fiestas de Denia*,[4] a poem consisting of one hundred and

[1] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. II. p. 459. [2] *Ibid.* Vol. XIV. p. xxxiii.

[3] Lope describes these festivities in the first Act of his comedia, *El Argel fingido y Renegado de Amor*, *Comedias*, Part VIII Madrid, 1617.

[4] *Fiestas de Denia al Rey Catholico Felipe III. de este nombre. Dirigidas a la Exc^ma. Señora Doña Catalina de Zuñiga, Condesa de Lemos, Andrada*

sixty-three octave stanzas, describing the festival given to the King and the Infanta at Denia by the Duke of Lerma.

Lope probably returned to Madrid in July, 1599; at all events he seems to have been there on August 7, as is shown by a pledge on the part of Antonio de Guardo to pay to one Valdarze nine thousand one hundred reals, handed over to him 'by order and with the consent of Lope de Vega.'[1] Two weeks after this, on August 20, Lope signed at Chinchon the autograph of his comedia, *El Blason de los Chaves de Villalba*.[2] Perhaps, as La Barrera says, the Marqués de Sarriá had been invited by D. Luis Jerónimo Fernandez de Cabrera, eldest son of the Conde de Chinchon, to pass the rest of the summer on his estates there, and that our illustrious poet accompanied him.[3]

y Villalva, Virreyna de Napoles. Por Lope de Vega Carpio, Secretario del Marques de Sarria. Impressas en Valencia en casa de Diego de la Torre. Año 1599. It is a very rare work and of but slight importance, and was reprinted by Sancha in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. III. During this festival a number of Comedias were represented by the company of Melchor de Villalba. v *Ibid.* pp. 422-23

[1] "Madrid, 7 Agosto, 1599.—Obligacion de Antonio de Guardo, vecino de Madrid, y obligado en las carnizerias desta dicha villa, de pagar á Francesco de Valdarze, mercader, nueve mil cien reales por otros tantos que de orden y consentimiento de Lope de Vega, mi yerno, residente en esta Corte, cuyos son . . . me da y entrega." Pérez Pastor, *Datos desconocidos*, p 255.

[2] It appears this comedia was not permitted to be acted as originally written. so we learn from Menéndez y Pelayo's introduction to the Academy's ed. of Lope, Vol. XII. p. cxxiii. He writes "The Spanish and French troops had been contending for supremacy in Italy, and peace had been concluded by the treaty of Vervins, in 1598. Tomas Gracian Dantisco, then censor, had received word not to allow the play to be represented until some changes had been made in it. A preliminary performance of the play then took place at the house of one of the councillors of Castile, in the presence of other members of the council, who then approved of it. This representation took place on December 30, 1600. It shows," the eminent critic says, "the close attention then given to *cosas de teatro*, and the appreciation in which the talent of Lope was held, though he was still very young."

[3] Lope was accompanied on his visit to Valencia by his friend Gaspar de Barrionuevo, a native of Toledo, and also a poet. He alludes to his stay in the city and to his friend in the *Epístola* to the latter, already

In 1600, according to La Barrera, Lope left the service of the Marqués de Sarriá, and went to Seville. But it seems to be an error to assume, with La Barrera, that Lope, while in the latter city, lived at the house of the Inquisitor Miguel del Carpio. The words which the poet uses in the dedication of *La hermosa Ester*[1] apparently refer to a much earlier period in Lope's life. Besides, we know that he must have been still at Madrid in February, 1600, for the autograph of his play, *La Contienda de Garcia de Paredes*,[2] formerly in the possession of Sr. Duran, and now in the National Library, is dated Madrid, Feb. 15, 1600. I do not know upon what authority La Barrera asserts that Lope was also in Seville in 1601. It is very probable,

cited, in the lines "Quando vos me dexastes en Valencia," etc. *Obras Sueltas*, Vol IV. p. 388

[1] "Dias ha que falto de esa gran ciudad [Sevilla], donde pasé algunos de los primeros de mi vida en casa del Inquisidor D Miguel del Carpio, de clara y santa memoria, mi tio . ." *Comedias, Parte XV.* Madrid, 1621.

[2] This comedia, *La Contienda de Diego Garcia de Paredes, y El Capitan Juan de Urbina*, has been republished in the Academy's ed. of Lope, Vol. XI. The MS. contains an *aprobacion* by Tomas Gracian Dantisco, dated Feb. 28, 1600, and a license for the piece to be played by *el autor de comedias Becerra* at Jaen, on Jan. 14, 1614. Of the three separate actions that make up this disjointed play, "the second is the terrible vengeance taken by Captain Juan de Urbina upon his adulterous wife by drowning her and her family and all her servants in mid-ocean:

"Que en una barca, en la mar
Metió su casa, de suerte
Que hasta perros y gallinas
Quiso que á la fiesta fuesen
Los cuales, y un tierno niño,
Echó á la mar y á los peces
Y nadando, á la ribera
Salió bramando impaciente."

"This atrocity," Sr Menéndez says, "which from the manner of its execution may have served as a model to *A secreto Agravio secreta Venganza* (of Calderon), seems inspired by the tragic history of the Veinticuatro of Cordoba, the argument of another comedia of Lope. Not having met with this incident in the life of Captain Urbina, though so many of his exploits are related, I have thought that perhaps we have here some family tradition, which Lope may have heard from the lips of his first wife, Doña Isabel de Ampuero Urbina y Cortinas." *Ibid.* p. cxxxiii.

as he says, that the concluding octave in the *Fiestas de Denia*[1] refers to the absent *Lucinda*, but why he should add "with whom he went to Seville in the following year," is not clear.[2] The verses beginning "Serrana hermosa," in the *Peregrino en su Patria*, were written in Toledo, shortly after Lope had left Seville for the latter city: "So that happy shepherd whom you, *Lucinda*, used to call your lord, has come from the proud Betis to the swelling Tagus."[3] And the time can be fixed approximately by another passage in the same poem, in which the poet alludes to the valley of the Tagus as the image of the spot which the Court has abandoned. This plainly refers to the removal of the Court from Madrid to Valladolid in January, 1601, so that Lope must have been sojourning for a while in Seville with *Lucinda* prior to this time, and in Toledo after this date. So, I presume, the beautiful sonnet to his friend Gaspar de Barrionuevo[4] was also

[1] Señoras, perdonad si no he pintado
Con mas sutil pincel tan ricas fiestas,
Que este mi dulce y inmortal cuidado
Me tiene alma y vida descompuestas
Para un celoso, ausente y olvidado,
Las mejores del mundo son molestas,
Que adonde todo el mundo alegre vino,
Yo solo fui llorando peregrino.
Obras Sueltas, Vol III. p. 428

[2] *Nueva Biog.* p 98.

[3] "Asi ha llegado aquel pastor dichoso,
Lucinda, que llamabas dueño tuyo,
Del Betis rico al Tajo caudaloso"

[4] Gaspar, si enfermo está mi bien, dezilde
Que yo tengo de amor el alma enferma,
Y en esta soledad desierta y yerma,
Lo que sabeis que passo persuadilde
Y para que el rigor tiemple, aduertilde
Que el medico tambien tal vez enferma;
Y que segura de mi ausencia duerma,
Que soy leal quanto presente humilde
Y aduertilde tambien, si el mal porfia,
Que trueque mi salud a su acidente,
Que la que tengo el alma se la embia.
Decilde que del trueco se contente,

written from Toledo,—his friend being then in Seville, where *Lucinda* was. And, though we cannot fix the precise date, it must have been written before October, 1602. Likewise the sonnets: "*Celoso Apolo, en vuestra sacra frente*" (No. CLIX.) to Dr. Arjona; "*Viendo que yguala en su balança Astrea*" (No. CLXV.) to Dr. Mira de Amescua; and "*De hoy mas, claro pastor, por quien restauro*" (No. CLXVII.) to Dr. Tejada, were all written during 1601 or the early part of 1602, in Granada, whither Lope must have gone from Seville, perhaps with *Lucinda*, as we shall shortly see.

That Lope was in Madrid in February, 1601, is proved by a power of attorney executed by Gaspar de Porras, *autor de comedias*, on June 25, 1601, in favour of Gonzalo Sanchez, "to demand, receive, have, and recover from Lope de Vega Carpio, a resident of this city of Madrid, and from his goods . . . one thousand reals, which the aforesaid is bound to give and pay to me by virtue of an obligation executed before Juan de Piña" The payment was to be made in Toledo, but the power authorized the collection "wherever Lope de Vega might be."[1]

Some time prior to March, 1601, our poet had written his comedia entitled *La hermosa Alfreda*. The original manuscript has disappeared, and the play was not published till 1617, in the *Novena Parte* of the *Comedias*, but Pérez Pastor, in his *Documentos Cervantinos* (Madrid, 1897, p. 315), prints the following interesting document dated Madrid, March 20, 1601: "Bond of Baltasar Pinedo, *autor de comedias*, not to represent, nor to allow to be represented, a comedia in the possession of Gaspar de Porres, also an *autor*, entitled *La hermosa Alfreda*, under penalty of paying to him five hundred reals, which was the price he paid for it to the person who wrote it [Lope de Vega], from whom the said Gaspar de Porres obtained it;—besides the damages and costs." This

> Mas¿ para qué le ofrezco salud mia?
> Que no tiene salud quien está ausente.
>
> *Soneto CLI. Rimas* fol. 313

[1] Pérez Pastor, *Datos*, etc., p. 256.

notice is also important as showing the usual price received for a comedia by the greatest dramatic poet of the time: it fully confirms the statement of Montalvan, in his *Fama póstuma*, that the fee was, on an average, five hundred reals.

Lope had apparently been living at Madrid during the greater part of 1602, for in an instrument[1] executed in that city on January 25 of that year, he again describes himself as a resident of Madrid, though we see from this same document that he had been in Toledo on January 10, 1602. There was, moreover, in the collection of Lord Holland, a play by Lope, *El Cuerdo loco o Veneno saludable*, dated at Madrid, November 11, 1602, afterwards printed in *Parte XIV.* (Madrid, 1620); and Menéndez y Pelayo has published from the original autograph, now in the possession of the Condesa de Torre-Isabel, the comedia *El Príncipe despeñado*, which was finished by Lope at Madrid on November 27, 1602.[2]

Towards the close of 1602,—the *Tasa* is dated November 30,—Lope published at Madrid a volume containing the *Hermosura de Angélica*, the *Parte Primera* of his *Rimas*, and the second issue of the *Dragontea*.[3] It

[1] As this document is interesting, we copy it here: "Madrid, 25 de Enero, 1602. Poder de Lope de Vega Carpio, á Gregorio Alonso, ropero, vecino de Madrid, para cobrar de Pedro Ximenez de Valenzuela, vecino de Toledo, 400 reales que le debe por escritura otorgada en Toledo á 10 de Enero de 1602 ante Pedro de Galdo, escribano de dicha ciudad, y para cobrar los salarios contenidos en dicha obligacion, todo lo cual cobreis para vos mismo en virtud de un vestido de mezcla, de hombre, calzon, ropilla, y capa, y un vestido de raja, de mujer, de mezcla, ropa y basquiña, guarnecido de terciopelo, nuevo, y un manteo de raja, azul, con seis ribetes de terciopelo, todo nuevo, en quarenta y seis ducados, que de vos compré." Pérez Pastor, *Datos*, etc., p. 261. Pedro Ximenez de Valenzuela was an *autor de comedias*, and the 400 reals were probably the price of a comedia.

[2] See the Spanish Academy's ed. of Lope, Vol. VIII. The play was first printed in the *Séptima Parte* The original MS. contains a number of licenses to perform in Madrid, Zaragoza, and Valladolid, showing that it was quite popular.

[3] *La Hermosura de Angelica, con otras diversas Rimas. De Lope de Vega Carpio. A don Juan de Arguijo, Veintiquatro de Sevilla. En Madrid, En la*

is not unlikely, as Ticknor says, that Lope, although he had a great admiration for the Italian poets, and read them assiduously, was directly induced to attempt his imitation of Ariosto by the marked success which had greeted the appearance of "The Tears of Angelica" by Luis Barahona de Soto, the first twelve cantos of which appeared just two years before, in 1586. This was likewise an imitation of Ariosto, and "if de Soto's has been too much praised, it is, at least, better than Lope's."[1]

Lope had written his *Angélica* in 1588, and in October, 1598, had given a power of attorney to Pedro Varez de Castro, *abogado e impressor*, to obtain the necessary licenses, and to print the work; but, for some cause of which we are ignorant, it was not published until four years later by Pedro Madrigal.[2] It seems almost a certainty, from the foregoing evidence, that Lope had a permanent

emprenta de Pedro Madrigal. Año 1602. On fol. 242 there follows in the same volume. *Segunda Parte de las Rimas de Lope de Vega Carpio: A don Juan de Arguijo, Veintiquatro de Sevilla* A shield, and beneath it: *Virtud y nobleza, Arte y naturaleza* This part contains the two hundred sonnets On fol 342 follows *Tercera Parte de las Rimas de Lope de Vega Carpio. A don Juan de Arguijo, Veintiquatro de Sevilla.* The *Dragontea* follows. Other editions of this volume appeared at Barcelona, Miguel Manescal, 1604; Barcelona, Juan Amello, 1604; and Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1605 This last ed. does not contain the sonnets.

[1] Ticknor, *History of Span Lit.* Vol. II. p. 199. Cervantes gives extravagant praise to the *Angélica* of his friend Soto, whom he exalts as "one of the famous poets of the world." *Don Quixote*, I. Chap. VI Lope's poem is praised in Part II Chap. I. · "and another famous and rare poet, a Castilian, has sung her (Angelica's) beauty." Cervantes in this chapter misquotes the very lines from Ariosto's *Orlando* that Lope introduces in his prologue ·

> "E de la India a Medor desse lo scettro
> Forse altri cantera con miglior plettro."
>
> Canto XXX. St. 16.

Barahona de Soto was born at Lucena de Córdoba (not, as La Barrera thought, at Lucena del Puerto) in 1548. He graduated at Granada in February, 1568, and then studied medicine at Osuna. He practised as a physician at Archidona, where he died on November 5 or 6, 1595. Fragments of his sequel to the *Angélica* are found in the *Diálogos de la Montería* which remained unpublished till 1890.

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Datos*, p. 253.

residence in Madrid ever since his marriage with his second wife, Doña Juana de Guardo, in May, 1598. Barrera[1] implies that, though Lope had a wife in Madrid, he stayed at Seville from 1601 to 1603 (or the greater part of that period) in the company of *Lucinda*, "and her children, Mariana and Angela."[2] But this is most improbable. During 1602 Lope was busy in Madrid seeing his *Angelica* and his *Rimas* through the press. As already stated, he asserts that he wrote his epic while serving in the ill-fated Armada, and says he afterwards finished it at Cadiz. But he evidently retouched it in later years, for, as Ticknor long ago pointed out (Vol. II. p. 199), that "both the thirteenth and twentieth cantos contain passages relating to events in the reign of Philip III." Indeed, in the dedication he tells his patron that, being unable to correct the poem as he wished, he had kept it by him for a long time; and he elsewhere adds that he leaves it still unfinished, to be completed by some happier genius. "The Beauty of Angelica" was not successful. It purports to continue Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, of which it is an obvious imitation. So it inevitably challenges comparison with its great model, and, measured by this standard, Lope's poem must be pronounced a failure.

A considerable part of the year 1603 Lope seems to have passed at Seville. There he wrote his comedia *La Corona merecida*, an autograph manuscript of which, according to Duran, formerly existed in the Archives of the Conde de Altamira. Another comedia which Lope wrote about this time at Seville (where he resided for long periods from the close of 1600 to May, 1604, according

[1] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 87.

[2] It is with a feeling of pathetic interest that one wonders what became of these two children of *Lucinda*. They are mentioned only in the *Epístola* to Barrionuevo, in 1603 (see above, p. 112), and nowhere else in the vast mass of Lope's poetry does he (so far as I know) allude to them. They were full sisters to that Sor Marcela, the nun, who survived her father so many years. Is it possible that she knew nothing of them?

to Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo) is *Los Vargas de Castilla*, printed in *Parte XXVII. extravagante*, Barcelona, 1633. The style of the play leads Menéndez y Pelayo to class it as one of our poet's early works, and the local allusions leave no doubt that it was written in Seville. As this distinguished critic has pointed out, it is evident from a very spirited passage in Act I., that Lope was not an admirer of the national sport of bull-fighting,—a fact which I think might fairly be inferred also from his letters.[1] Lope was seriously ill at Seville in this year, as we learn from the dedication of the *Segunda Parte* of his *Rimas*[2] to Doña

[1] See the Academy's ed. of Lope, Vol. X. To this year (1603) belongs also the tragi-comedia *El Cordobes valeroso, Pedro Carbonero*, printed in *Parte Catorze*. the autograph, now in the Biblioteca Nacional, is dated Ocaña, Aug 26, 1603, with licenses to perform dated 1603-04-10-17. Ocaña is about twenty-five miles from Toledo.

[2] There seems to be some uncertainty as to when this *Segunda Parte* was first printed separately, *i.e* without the *Angélica*. In 1602 Lope issued his *Angélica, con otras diversas Rimas*, in which he included his two hundred sonnets (styling that part of the volume *Segunda Parte de las Rimas*) with the *Dragontea* as the *Tercera Parte*. This made a bulky volume; accordingly, at the request of some who desired to have the *Rimas* alone, and in a handier form, Lope re-issued them It is concerning this re-issue that the confusion has arisen. La Barrera (p. 106) has been needlessly troubled by Nicolas Antonio's statement that these *Rimas* appeared separately at Madrid in 1602. But the great Spanish bibliographer was not infallible, and here he made a mistake No copy of such an edition has ever been seen; the earliest copy known was the one possessed by Gayangos, printed at Lisbon, in 1605 (La Barrera, p 599). Another edition appeared at Madrid, "por Alonso Martin, Año 1609." To this edition was appended the *Arte nuevo de hacer Comedias*, which here appeared in print for the first time. The *Rimas* were issued again at Milan, in 1611 (Gallardo, *Ensayo*. IV. p. 965); in 1613, en Madrid, por Alonso Martin, and in Lerida, 1615 (?). The edition from which the editor of the *Obras Sueltas* published the *Rimas* in Vol. IV. Madrid, 1776, is that of Huesca, Pedro Bluson, 1623. From the ed. of Madrid, 1613 (see also *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. IV. p. 177), La Barrera copies the following passage in the dedication of the *Primera Parte* to D Juan de Arguijo: "A persuasion de algunas personas que desseaban estas Rimas solas y manuales, salen otra vez á luz, honradas del nombre de V.m., indicio que su censura y autoridad no las desprecia," etc. And the *prólogo* concludes: "Aqui tienes, lector, dos centurias de sonetos, aunque impresos otra vez en mi *Angélica*; pero van acompañados de las Rimas que entonces no salieron á luz, porque excedéa el numero á lo que

Angela Vernegali, to whom he expresses his gratitude for the care and kindness she had bestowed upon him on two occasions when he was ill in that city. That Lope was in Seville in the latter part of 1603 is made certain by the fact that on the last day of that year he signed in that city the dedication of his *Peregrino en su Patria*[1] to Don Pedro Fernandez de Cordoba. The work was not issued until the beginning of the following year, the *tasa* being dated at Valladolid, February 27, 1604.

"The Pilgrim in his own Country" is, in the words of

permite un libro en otavo folio." These *Rimas*, the *Segunda Parte* above, are dedicated to D[a] Angela Vernegali The *Epistola* to Gaspar de Barrionuevo, contained in this *Segunda Parte*, proves, as La Barrera says, that the volume was not issued till the close of 1603, or the beginning of 1604 · it was probably published at Seville (l.c. p. 108). The verses of this *Epistola*, written in Seville, are :

"Allá os dirá las ignorancias mias
Un nuevo *Peregrino* sin sospecha,
Puesto que suelen parecer espias.
Imprimo al fin, por ver si me aprovecha
Para librarme desta gente, hermano,
Que goza de mis versos la cosecha."

But the problem has been solved through Professor Restori's recent discovery of an edition of the *Rimas*, printed at Seville in 1604 by Clemente Hidalgo, who also issued the first edition of *El Peregrino* in the same year. See *Zeitschrift für Roman. Philol* Vol. XXII p 99. This proves the conjecture of La Barrera to have been correct. That there was also an edition printed at Toledo, in 1605, is proved by a letter written to the Duke of Sessa by Lope on Sept 6 of that year. He says : "Partíme luego á Toledo [desde Madrid], donde ha pocos dias que me dieron la carta de V.E. y no muchos que yo habia impreso algunos escritos mios en un libro que llaman Rimas" . . Á V.E. embio . . . quatro de los libritos de las *Rimas*, por si allá [en Valladolid] no los hubiere." This, as La Barrera says, is the first notice that we have of an edition of the *Rimas* at Toledo, in 1605. Whether the Lisbon or the Toledo edition is the earlier of the two it is impossible to say, though the fact that the license to print of the Lisbon ed. is dated June 1, would rather point to its priority.

[1] *El Peregrino en su Patria. De Lope de Vega Carpio. Dedicado á D. Pedro Fernandez de Cordoba, Marques de Priego, Señor de la casa de Aguilar.* Colophon : *Impresso en Sevilla por Clemente Hidalgo. Año* 1604 ; 4[o]. Other editions appeared in Barcelona, 1604 ; Madrid, 1605 ; Barcelona, 1605 ; Brusselas, 1608 ; Madrid, 1618, and an anonymous English translation, "The Pilgrime of Casteele," London, 1623.

La Barrera, with whom I entirely agree, "a wearisome and pedantic novel, divided into five Books."[1] Dispersed through the volume are many lyrical poems, some of which are to be counted among the best Lope has written: for example, one in Book III., already mentioned and beginning—*Serrana hermosa que de nieue elada.* It also contains four very graceful religious dramas: *El Viaje del Alma, Las Bodas del Alma y el Amor divino, La Maya* and *El Hijo pródigo.* These four, written long before they were incorporated in the *Peregrino*, with the action of which they have nothing to do, are the earliest of Lope's *autos.*[2] The *Peregrino* doubtless contains allusions to Lope's life in Valencia,—to his amours, adventures and vicissitudes,—though so studiously veiled that it is impossible to distinguish fact from fiction. What is of more importance to us is the list of *Comedias* that Lope has drawn up at the end of the work. So far we have only been able to indicate the few that have survived. Here are no less than two hundred and nineteen that Lope had written before the close of 1603: he, in fact, gives the number as two hundred and thirty, and what he says concerning them is interesting as being one of the earliest expressions of his opinion. He pleads that he should not be blamed for the defects of the great number of his comedias now going about, for he has seen some which he in nowise recognizes: "and let foreigners observe, by the way, that comedias in Spain do not follow the rules of Art; that I continued [to write] them in the state in which I found them, without daring to observe the precepts, because they would not thus be listened to by Spaniards, etc." In his *Epístola* to Barrionuevo, written at about the same time, Lope had

[1] Ticknor's judgment is much more favourable He says that it is not only one of the earliest specimens in Spanish literature of the class to which it belongs, but one of the best. (Vol. II. p. 203.) I must confess that it is not harder reading than the *Angélica*, and not as tiresome as the *Isidro* or the *Dragontea*, which latter only a sense of duty compelled me to finish.

[2] They have all been republished by Menéndez y Pelayo, in the Academy's edition of Lope de Vega, Vol. II.

said of those who stole his plays or passed them off as their own: "They gather papers on every hand, print books full of lies, and give me the chaff while they carry off the grain. You shall see in my comedias, at least in those which have appeared at Saragossa, to six lines of mine a hundred of somebody else's; for the man they injure, he that envies the actor who enjoys them, steals them, botches them and mangles them."[1]

During Lope's sojourn in Seville, perhaps in the summer of 1603, or more probably in the spring of 1604, he visited Granada in the company of *Lucinda*, where they were guests in the house of Don Alvaro de Guzman,[2]

[1] Cogen papeles de una y otra mano,
Imprimen libros de mentiras llenos,
Danme la paja á mí, llevanse el grano.
Vereis a mis Comedias (por lo menos
En unas que han salido lu Zaragoza)
A seis renglones mios ciento agenos.
Porque al representante que los goza,
El otro que le envidia, y a quien dañan,
Los hurta, los compone, y los destroza
Obras Sueltas, Vol IV. p 383.

[2] This follows from a letter written by the poet to the Duke of Sessa, dated Madrid, July 2, 1611. "Desde que V.E, Señor, escribió que estaba indispuesto, sabrá ya qué sentimiento seria el mio quando lo leyesse, y assi no tengo que encareçer, sino suplicarle mire mucho por su salud, que Dios le dé como esta casilla le dessea, de quien V.E es dueño desde los cuerpos á las almas. Las mudanzas de las aguas causan siempre destemplanza en qualquier sujeto, por robusto que sea, quanto más las delgadas, yelos que deben proçeder de las niebes de los montes. Abrá siete años que fúi á Granada en tiempos de los Reyes católicos Luçinda y Belardo, y dixéronme en llegando, que el agua de Xenil era tan delgada, que á todos los forasteros destemplava luego, y era causa de grandes enfermedades; era yo huesped de D. Alvaro de Guzmán, y roguéle me librase de tales pronósticos; y el buen caballero, que todos los Guzmanes son buenos,—mandó que nos diesen siempre vino puro, y que sólo se pegase el frio de la niebe de la cantimplora . . y pues ya esta carta es para reir, y uno de los estilos del formulario italiano se llama burlesco, oyga V.E., Señor, este soneto que hice entonces al proposito de arriba, enbiandosele á Lucinda en la tal enfermedad que me dió una vez en Sevilla:

Por tu servicio, hermosa prenda mia
Mediré de las zonas la abrasada. . . ."

La Barrera, *Nueva Biografia*, p. 98.

a sonnet from whose pen is to be found prefixed to the *Peregrino*; that he had paid an earlier visit to Granada in the year 1600 we have seen above.

Meanwhile, during all these years we meet with no trace of Lope's second wife, Doña Juana de Guardo. Not since his marriage in 1598 is any mention made of this patient and long-suffering woman: long-suffering indeed, for her husband's infatuated flittings in pursuit of *Lucinda* were doubtless odious to the young wife. Lope seems always to have had a fatal weakness for the sex, with a special predilection for actresses.[1] This will be shown only too clearly in the ensuing pages.

When Lope returned from Seville we do not know; but that he was again living with his wife in Toledo in the summer and autumn of 1604 is certain. An autograph letter still extant,[2] written by Lope to a friend of

[1] "Lope era un enigma, como en infinitas otras cosas, en punto á las mugeres. Tan pronto subyuga su corazon el ideal platonismo de Petrarca y la ternura y delicadeza espiritual del Dante, como la grosera lascivia de Quevedo." Fernandez-Guerra, *Alarcon*, p. 318.

[2] Excerpts from this letter were first given by Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 33. I copy the fuller version of La Barrera. "Yo tengo salud y toda aquella casa. Dª Juana está para parir, que no hace menores los cuidados. Toledo está caro, pero famoso, y camina con propios y extraños al paso que suele. Las mugeres hablan, los hombres tratan, la Justicia busca dineros; no la respetan, como la entienden. Representa Morales; silba la gente; unos caballeros están presos porque eran la causa desto; pregonóse en el patio que no passase tal cosa, y asi, apretados los Toledanos por no silbar, se peen, que para el Alcalde mayor ha sido notable desacato, porque estaba este dia sentado en el patio. Aplacó esto porque hizo *La Rueda de la Fortuna*, comedia en que un Rey aporra á su mujer; y acuden muchos á llorar este paso, como si fuera posible. Morales no me habla porque me envió un pavo y no le quise recibir; y á la verdad yo no tuve puerta por donde entrase, porque está hecha á medida de carneros, vaca y conejo á la noche, y si hay gallina, mal para el dueño, que alguien está enfermo en casa. . . . De poetas no digo bien siglo es este; muchos están en cierne para el año que viene, pero ninguno hay tan malo como Cervantes, ni tan necio que alabe á Don Quixote. Dicen en esta ciudad que se viene la Corte para ella. Mire V. md. por donde me voy á vivir á Valladolid, porque si Dios me guarda el seso, no más corte, coches, caballos, alguaciles, música:, rameras, hombres, hidalgos, poder absoluto, y sin P.... disoluto, sin otras sabandijas que cria el Oceano de perdidos Lothos de pretendientes y escuela

his, a physician, and dated at Toledo, August 14, 1604, seems to imply also that he had been living in that city for some time. We learn from it that Doña Juana was soon to give birth to a child, "which," the husband remarks, "does not make my cares any less." The account of the representation of Mira de Mescua's comedia *La Rueda de la Fortuna*, given in this letter, is of interest, and much more so is the reference to Cervantes. Lope shows considerable lukewarmness towards Mescua, and marked hostility towards Cervantes, whose *Don Quixote* must already have been well known in literary circles, though it was not printed until the following year. There is some uncertainty about the Morales, *autor de comedias*, who is here mentioned as having produced Mescua's play. La Barrera calls him Alonso Morales, and this was, it seems, the player who was designated as *el divino*, and "Prince of Actors." On the other hand it is maintained by later writers that he was Juan de Morales Medrano. The latter was known as an actor as early as 1595, and had a company of his own, with few interruptions, from 1602 to 1634.[1] In a list of players composing Manuel Vallejo's company, which was to perform the "*Autos* of the Holy Sacrament," in 1622, we find: "Juan de Morales Medrano y Jusepa Vaca, su muger," and "Mariana de Morales, su hija,"[2] etc. If there were two actors named Morales, this, at least, removes all doubt as to which one was the husband of Jusepa Vaca. According to Suarez

de desvanecidos. V. md. viva, cure, y medre, y ande al . . no cumpla cosa que diga, ni pague si no es forzado, ni favorezca sin interes, ni guarde el rostro á la amistad . . . no más, por no imitar á Garcilaso en aquella *figura correctionis*, quando dice . 'A satira me voy mi paso á paso.' Cosa para mí mas odiosa que mis libros á Almendarez y mis comedias á Cervantes. Si allá murmuran de ellas algunos que piensan que las escribo por opinion, desengáñeles V. md. y digales que por dinero." La Barrera, p. 134.

[1] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, pp. 38 and 239.

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Proceso*, p. 297. See also Sánchez-Arjona, *El Teatro en Sevilla*, Madrid, 1887, p. 96. Mariana Vaca de Morales, married to Antonio de Prado, a well-known *autor*, was still living on the death of her husband in 1651. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 331 Cf. Sánchez-Arjona, *Anales del Teatro en Sevilla*, Sevilla, 1898, p. 275.

de Figueroa,[1] who was well informed in all theatrical matters, Morales, *el divino*, was already dead in 1612. There must, therefore, have been two celebrated actors named Morales living at the same time. The wife of Juan de Morales Medrano, *la gallarda* Jusepa Vaca, as Lope calls her, was one of the most popular actresses of her time; it was for her that he wrote the part of Doña Elvira, in *Las Almenas de Toro* (1618): *Representóla Morales y hizo la gallarda Jusepa Vaca á Doña Elvira.*"[2] as we read beneath the cast of characters.[3]

[1] *Plaza universal*, ed. of Perpiñan, 1630, fol. 336. The license to print this work is dated April, 1612. Concerning the dramatist Mira de Mescua I have collected, in an article entitled *Mira de Mescua et la Juive de Tolède*, in the *Revue Hispanique* (1900), such notices as I find scattered through various books He was an illegitimate son,—his mother being named Juana Perez, according to Gallardo, *Ensayo*. Vol. III. col. 810, where he also says: "En un tomo de *Papeles Varios Manuscritos*, que poseo se lee una carta suya muy curiosa." What has become of this manuscript? Let us hope it was not one of the many lost by Gallardo "en la famosa jornada de San Antonio de 1823."

[2] Jusepa Vaca was the daughter of Juan Ruiz de Mendi, an actor, and Mariana Vaca. she was married to Juan de Morales [Medrano], on December 27, 1602. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos acerca del Histrionismo*, etc. p 78 Mariana Vaca, their daughter, was a well-known actress, as we have seen, in 1622, so that when Lope wrote the part of *Doña Elvira* for the *gallarda* Jusepa, the latter was, in all probability, no longer *en la flor de sus años*, though there is no certainty about the date assigned above to *Las Almenas de Toro*. The mere fact that it does not appear in the list of the *Peregrino* of 1618, does not prove conclusively that it may not have been written prior to that date. Further evidence of the spell exercised by this famous actress over our poet, is to be found in the dedication of *Las Mocedades de Roldan*, "comedia que en las mias escriui á debocion del gallardo talle en habito de hombre de la unica representanta Iusepa Vaca, digna desta memoria por lo que ha honrado las comedias con la gracia de su accion, y la singularidad de su exemplo." *Comedias*, Parte XIX. Madrid, 1627, fol. 136. Góngora and Villamediana did not spare the couple in their satirical and sometimes grossly vulgar gibes. Besides the well-known sonnet of the latter: "Oiga, Josefa, mire que ya pisa," cf. Cotarelo, *El Conde de Villamediana*, Madrid, 1886, p. 247, and *Poésies inédites de Góngora*, which I published in the *Revue Hispanique*, Paris, 1897, p. 150, from a MS. in my possession. Jusepa Vaca was still living in 1630, and perhaps as late as 1634. See Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p 239.

[3] *Parte Catorze de Comedias*, Madrid, 1621, fol. 230.

Two autograph comedias by Lope, dated in this year, have been preserved: *La Prueba de los Amigos*,[1] dated at Toledo, September 12, 1604, and *Carlos V. en Francia*, dated Toledo, November 20, 1604.[2]

Lope had then been living in Toledo from the beginning of August, 1604, if not earlier; and here he continued to reside with his wife, Doña Juana, during the whole of the following year. We have seen that he had complained bitterly of the way in which his plays had been pirated by both booksellers and poets, who "give him the chaff while they carry off the grain." He complains especially of a volume that had then appeared at Zaragoza (1603), but no trace of this volume has thus far been found.[3] It is very likely, as La Barrera says, that such volumes were printed for the Italian, Dutch, and American markets. About this time Lope wrote in the prologue to *El Peregrino en su Patria*: "Those are my enemies who print the works of others in my name. Just now there have appeared a number of comedias which they say were printed in Lisbon, though they were actually printed in Castile, and I wish to warn those who like to read my writings (for there are some, if not in my own country, at least in Italy, France and the Indies, where envy has not dared to travel) that they may not believe that those are my comedias, although they may bear my name." This alludes doubtless to the volume entitled · *Seis Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, y de otros Autores, cuios nombres dellas son estos . . . En Lisboa. Impresso por Pedro Crasbeeck. Anno MDCIII. . . .*

[1] Published in *Comedias Ineditas de Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio*, ed. by the Marqués de la Fuensante del Valle and José Sancho Rayon. Tomo I Madrid, 1873.

[2] Printed in *Parte XVIII. de Comedias*, Madrid, 1623. The prolonged popularity of this is proved by the many licenses, extending to 1620, which are found on the autograph.

[3] There is an edition of the *Primera Parte* of Lope's Comedias, dated Zaragoza, Angelo Táuano, 1604, with a *Licencia* dated "Zaragoza á 15 de Octubre de 1603." (Salvá, *Catálogo*, Vol. I. p. 536.) There may therefore have been such an edition as Lope mentions. From this it seems just possible, too, that the edition of Valencia, 1604, may not be the first edition of this *Primera Parte*. See *post*, pp. 158-160

From the title-page, as La Barrera says, there seems to be no reason for suspecting that the publisher tried to deceive the admirers of the famous dramatist. For a description of this bibliographical rarity I am indebted to Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly. "It is an octavo of 274 leaves ([2]+274 ff.), the preliminaries being in Portuguese. Neither place nor date is attached to Frey Manoel Coelho's approbation; the license signed by Marcos Teixeira and Ruy Pirez da Viega is dated Lisbon, May 20, 1602; 'the Privilege of the King of Portugal,' despatched at Lisbon on November 29, 1602 by Francisco Rebello and Duarte Correa, grants Francisco Lopez' petition to print during ten years 'this book of Comedias by Lope de Vega, and by other authors named in the said petition, which the said Francisco Lopez says that he collected.' A final license, signed *Borges*, is dated June 6, 1603. In his *Nueva Biografia*, La Barrera erroneously states (p. 131) that in this edition *El Perseguido* bears Lope's name. As noted in the same writer's *Catálogo* (p. 679), all six comedias are anonymous.[1]" La Barrera is probably right in thinking that Lope was misled by some vague reports concerning Pedro de Madrigal's

[1] The titles are. (1) *La Destruicion de Constantinopla por el Gran Turco Mahometo*, reprinted from the *Primera Parte del Romancero y Tragedias de Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega* (Alcalá, 1587). (2) *La Fundacion de la Alhambra de Granada* (not by Lope) (3) *La Libertad de Castilla por el Conde Fernan Gonçales, en lengua antiga* (perhaps by Liñan ?). (4) *Las Haçañas del Cid y su muerte, con la tomada de Valencia* (perhaps by Liñan ?). (5) *Los Amigos Enojados y verdadera amistad* (not by Lope). (6) *El Perseguido* (by Lope). Ticknor describes the copy in the Ambrosian Library, (Vol. II. p. 237). He says. "No. 3 [No. 5 above] *Amistad pagada*, is in Vol. I. of Lope's Comedias, 1604, and No. 6, *Carlos el Perseguido*, is in the same volume; while No. 4 [No. 3 above], *La Libertad de Castilla*, appears in Vol. XIX. as *El Conde Fernan Gonzalez*. These three, therefore, are Lope's" Ticknor is mistaken. *Los amigos enojados* and *La Amistad pagada* are no more connected than are Macedon and Monmouth. Each has nine principal characters; there is no other point of resemblance. Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly points out to me that, while there are over fifty personages in *La Libertad de Castilla*, there are only some thirty in *El Conde Fernan Gonzalez*, and that the plays are quite distinct. Apparently Madrigal did not print the plays in the order adopted by Crasbeeck.

reprint of Crasbeeck's volume issued at Madrid in 1603. A copy of Madrigal's edition is in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Von Schack says he has grounds for presuming the existence of another volume of *Comedias de Lope de Vega*, printed at Lisbon or Sevilla in 1603,[1] which must contain, amongst other plays, the following: *Acertar errando* (also entitled *El Embajador fingido*); *La Ciudad de Dios*; and *Los Amigos enojados* (also called *La Amistad mas verdadera*). I do not know what grounds he has for supposing that such an edition ever existed. In the beginning of 1604, before Lope's return from Seville to Toledo, there appeared the *Primera Parte* of the comedias of Lope de Vega. The title page of the edition of Valladolid is as follows: *Las Comedias del famoso Poeta Lope de Vega Carpio. Recopiladas por Bernardo Grassa. Agora nuevamente impressas y emendadas. Dirigidas al Licenciado don Antonio Ramirez de Prado, del Consejo de su Magestad, y su Fiscal en el de la Cruzada. Las que en este libro se contienen van a la buelta desta hoja. Año* 1604. *Con Licencia. En Valladolid, Por Luys Sanchez. Vendense en casa de Alonso Perez.* Small 4°.

This *Primera Parte*, La Barrera says, contains a bibliographical enigma which must remain insoluble until all the issues of this volume can be minutely collated. There

[1] *Nachtrage*, p 40 There is a *Ciudad sin Dios, ó El Inobediente*, chronicled by La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 535, but the author is Claramonte. In Chorley's Catalogue (in *Comedias Escogidas de Lope de Vega*, Vol IV *Bib de Aut Esp.*), we read: "The play entitled *El Inobediente, ó la Ciudad sin Dios* (*Escogidas II*), of Claramonte, seems to be by Lope, judging from the style" To which La Barrera adds. "It was published, attributed to Lope in *Parte XXVI.* (*extravagante*), printed in 1632-33, and re-issued at Zaragoza, 1645. In my opinion it belongs to Claramonte." Ticknor notes that the style of the play "is much in Lope's final manner" But the matter is practically decided by the opinion of Menéndez y Pelayo, who says the play is Claramonte's · "one finds nothing in the play that recalls the sacred scriptures (the Prophecy of Jonas), but rather a series of puppet-show pictures, quite characteristic of the puerile art of the honoured and pious Murcian actor, the author of *La Letania moral.*" He concludes by calling *El Inobediente* "a rude and barbarous melodrama, of which we should not defraud its legitimate author." See the Academy's ed of Lope, Vol. III. p lxxvii. It is reprinted in this volume, as the editor says, because it bears Lope's name in old and rare editions, but under the cautious rubric of 'comedias attributed to Lope.'

can scarcely be a doubt that this first part of the comedias of Lope was first printed at Valencia, in 1604; an edition, however, of which no copy is now known. That such an edition must have existed is proved almost beyond cavil by the above impression of Valladolid, 1604, a copy of which is in my possession. The *Aprobacion* of this volume reads: "These twelve comedias of Lope de Vega, which have been printed at Valencia, contain nothing objectionable, and the license to print may therefore be granted. In Valladolid, February 17, 1604. The Secretary, Juan Gracian Dantisco."[1] The dedication of this volume is undated, and is signed by Alonso Perez, the Madrid bookseller, and father of the poet, Juan Perez de Montalvan, Lope's first biographer. It begins: "A number of works by Lope de Vega having come into my hands, I selected these twelve comedias because they had been the best received and most successful of all, . . . and resolved to print them. And conceiving that it would not be well to publish them without a patron under whose protection they might escape the envious, I thought I should also be doing a good service to the author by placing them under your protection, etc." But, if Alonso Perez was the collector, La Barrera asks how it happens that we find on the title page of this very edition: *Recopiladas por Bernardo Grassa*? Let the curious, he says, untie this knot.[2] He remarks that the

[1] Valladolid was then the capital of Spain,—hence the *Aprobacion* is dated in that city. This formality was not necessary in the Kingdom of Valencia.

[2] Of this *Primera Parte* of Lope's comedias eleven editions are known:
Valencia, 1604. [Mentioned by Nicolas Antonio and Schack.]
Madrid, 1604. [Copy in the possession of the late Lord Taunton.]
Valladolid, 1604. [Copy in my possession,—see title page above.]
Zaragoza, 1604. [En Zaragoza, por Angelo Tauano. Copy in the British Museum.]
Valencia, 1605. [En Valencia, en casa de Gaspar Leget. *Muchos entremeses* (five) are added in this edition: the order of the plays is also changed. The first piece is the *Nacimiento de Urson y Valentin*: it is usually the seventh.]
Valladolid, 1605. [En Valladolid, por Juan de Bostillo. Contains no *Loas* or *Entremeses*.]
Amberes, 1607. [En Amberes, en casa de Martin Nucio.]

name 'Grassa' is Valencian. To me it seems as though Grassa were the original collector, and that Alonso Perez had merely reprinted this edition, title-page and all.

In the middle of August, 1604, as we have seen in the letter quoted above (p. 153), Doña Juana's confinement was expected shortly. La Barrera says: "this birth must have miscarried, for the son Carlos Felix, who was still living at the close of June, 1612, and who died shortly afterwards,[1] must have been born in 1605" (*l.c.* p. 138). This is very probable; we know, at all events, that Carlos was seven years old when he died, in 1612.[2] Of a daughter Juana, mentioned by Lope in his will of 1627, and who was evidently born some years prior to the birth of Carlos Felix, we know absolutely nothing.[3] Lope continued to reside in Toledo, where, in the latter part of May, 1605, a festival was celebrated in honour of the birth, at Valladolid, on April 8, 1605, of the Prince of the Asturias, afterwards Philip IV. An indispensable part of every festival about this time seems to have been a *justa poética*, or poetical contest. In this case the *ayuntamiento* or town-council of Toledo requested Lope to take charge of it,—"as a Toledan poet and one of much experience, for he was then residing in this city and recognized it as a mother." He accepted, opened the *certamen* with a brilliant 'poetical oration,' and also read the *vejamen* and the *sentencia*. An account of this festival

Valladolid, 1609. [Por Juan de Bostillo, en la Calle de Samano. In my collection.]

Brusselas, 1611. [See Dieze. tr. of Velazquez, p. 331. He says he had a copy of this edition.]

Milan, 1619. [A costa de Juan Baptista Bidelli In my collection.]

Zaragoza, 1626. [Por Juan de Larumbe. In the Ticknor Library.]

The Valladolid, 1604 ed. contains 12 *Loas*, my copy of the Valladolid, 1609 ed. contains 12 *Loas* and 12 *Entremeses*, which La Barrera says are wanting in this edition. The ed of Milan, 1619 has 12 *Loas*, but no *Entremeses*.

[1] This is also the opinion of Schack, *Nachtrage*, p. 32

[2] From the boy's Christian name, La Barrera conjectured that Carlos was born on November 4, the feast of St. Charles Borromeo. Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, however, draws my attention to the fact that the Archbishop of Milan was not formally canonized till 1610—when Carlos was five years old.

[3] La Barrera, p. 670. See Appendix.

was published, and among the compositions contained in this volume is one with the rubric "Sonnet by Lucinda, a mountaineer; she does not aspire to the prize, because she does not know the language of the Court."[1]

In September of the same year, 1605, Pedro de Espinosa published at Valladolid his excellent Anthology (now a rarity) entitled *Flores de Poetas ilustres de España*, which contains a *cancion*, six sonnets and a *lira amorosa* by Lope; the latter beginning: *Sentado en esta peña*, was evidently written during the poet's banishment, in Alba de Tormes, between 1590 and 1595.[2]

It was at this time—about the middle of August, 1605, that Lope journeyed to Madrid and while there began with the Duke of Sessa[3] that intimate friendship which was only ended by death. The Duke was then twenty-six years old, with a taste for letters, and, as La Barrera says, "he was above all things punctilious in his love affairs (*extremado en amores*), and doubtless

[1] *Relacion de las Fiestas que la imperial Ciudad de Toledo hizo al Nacimiento del Principe N.S. Felipe IV deste nombre Madrid*, 1605 v. La Barrera, p 140

[2] Espinosa's collection had been made two years before this date, the dedication to the Duke of Béjar being dated Sept. 20, 1603. The volume was republished at Seville, in 1896, and excellently edited by Rodríguez Marín. The *lira* is printed on p. 154.

[3] It may be well to give a brief account of this personage, who played such an important part in the life of Lope de Vega. Don Luis Fernandez de Córdoba Cardona y Aragón, sixth Duke of Sessa (the estates of the Dukedom were in the Kingdom of Naples), was born in 1579, and was therefore seventeen years younger than Lope. He became Duke of Sessa on the death of his father in January, 1606. He married in 1604 (?) Da. Mariana de Rojas, eldest daughter of D. Francisco de Rojas, Marqués de Poza. He died on November 14, 1642, at the age of sixty-three, leaving a son, Don Antonio, of whom we shall also have occasion to speak. Lope mentions his patron in his verse under the poetical names *Lisardo* and *Lisi*, "que es lo mismo, y que se aplica al nombre de Luis, y del mejor Luis que Dios ha hecho," as the poet says in one of his letters to the Duke La Barrera, p. 241.

A curious incident concerning the Duke of Sessa is related by Cabrera, *Relaciones*, p. 378, as happening on the night of July 23, 1609. It appears that the Duke, accompanied only by a little page

moved by his literary inclinations, he took a special pleasure in conducting with his various *amigas* a correspondence adorned with elegant phrases and with the flowers of poesy."

"He sought, therefore, and found in the Fenix, Lope de Vega Carpio, the friend, counsellor, and confidential secretary who so discreetly, with such fecundity and admirable wit, and with his long experience in love-affairs, could please him. And so he made use of him with unbounded confidence and friendship for many years, rewarding him with honours, gifts and favours of every kind."[1]

From a letter written by Lope to the Duke, dated Toledo, September 3, 1605, and one of the earliest that he ever addressed to his patron, we learn that the *Jerusalem Conquistada*, although not printed till 1609, was already finished. He says: "I sent my *Jerusalem* to Valladolid, in order to get a license from the Council; I shall imprint it very promptly, and your Grace shall have the first copy. It is a thing that I have written

who was singing and playing the guitar, sallied forth at midnight "to get the fresh air." They stopped at the *plazuela* of the Duchess of Nájera, where someone from a window asked them to play and sing. The Duke of Sessa commanded his minstrel to sing, when the Duke of Maqueda, who was just then returning from the Prado with the Dukes of Pastraña and Barcarrota, became annoyed at the music, left his friends, and entering his own house, armed himself. With two or three followers he returned, fell upon the minstrel, broke the guitar over his head, and then attacked the Duke of Sessa, not knowing who he was. The latter defended himself bravely, coming out of the encounter with a large cut on the head and another on the cheek, which divided his lower lip. The Dukes of Pastraña and Barcarrota, hearing the uproar, returned and found Sessa sitting in a doorway staunching the flow of blood with a handkerchief. Not recognizing him, they asked him if he were hurt. Sessa answered that, if he were, he could take care of himself, and that he had still half a sword left to tackle the chicken-hearted cowards. Whereupon they left, and the Duke went home to nurse his wounds. The Duke of Maqueda fled, but was apprehended in July of the following year, and imprisoned in Guadamur, near Toledo. *Ibid.* p. 411.

[1] La Barrera, pp. 142, 143.

in my best years, and with a purpose different from others [that I wrote] in my youth, when the passions are more potent than reason."[1]

It is very likely that during this time, while Lope was living at Toledo with his wife Doña Juana, the beautiful *Lucinda* of his verses was living in Madrid. The distance between the two cities is short, and Lope doubtless made the journey to Madrid frequently.

In this year, 1605, *Lucinda*, *i.e.* Micaela de Luxan, the actress, bore Lope a daughter, who received the name of Marcela. As we shall see, Marcela entered the convent of the Barefoot Trinitarians in Madrid on February 28, 1621. In his *Epístola* to Don Francisco de Herrera Maldonado, written not long after her taking the veil (perhaps in 1622) and published in *La Circe*, in 1624, Lope speaks of Marcela as being sixteen years old when she became a nun.[2] She was therefore born at the beginning of 1605, or perhaps even in the latter part of 1604. La Barrera says that if we are to infer the day and month of her birth by her Christian name, we should fix upon January 16, 1605 (*l.c.* p. 146). Marcela survived her father thirty-three years; she died in the Trinitarian Convent at Madrid on January 9, 1688, at the age of eighty-three. In his writings her father called her simply Doña Marcela de Carpio; in the Convent she bore the name of Sor Marcela de

[1] La Barrera, p. 145.

[2] Alli Marcela vive, alli professa;
Lejos del loco mundo y sus engaños,
Del cielo sigue la divina empresa
¡O santos, o floridos desengaños!
Pues tan hermosa virgen, tierna y casta
Consagra al Dios de amor dieciseis años.
Obras Sueltas, Vol. I. p 316.

Also in the epistle *Belardo a Amarilis*, first published in the *Filomena*, in 1621:

Marcela con tres lustros ya me obliga
A ofrecersela a Dios, a quien desea,
Si él se sirviere, que su intento siga.
Ibid. p. 472.

San Felix. She seems to have inherited some of the poetical gifts of her illustrious father, and, according to a very interesting *informe* by the Marqués de Molins (an abstract of which is published in the 'Adiciones' to La Barrera's biography), her verses still survive in a quarto manuscript of 560 pages.[1] Sor Marcela not only wrote lyrical poetry, but also composed a number of short dramatic pieces, which were acted in the Convent. In a *loa* to one of these pieces, she herself, in the character of a student, begins with these verses:

Yo soy un pobre estudiante
Tentado de ser poeta,
Cosa que por mis pecados
Me ha venido por herencia;
Porque ello es que *qualis pater*
Talis filius, et cetera.

The real facts of her birth, however, were kept secret, and in the manuscript biographies of the nuns, the *Vida de Sor Marcela* contains the following passage: "Such was the Mother Marcela de San Felix, born in Madrid, but whose progenitors either oblivion or mystery have hidden from us: only the memory remains of her having been a very near blood relation to P. Fr. Luis de la Madre de Dios,[2] a well-known monk of our Sacred Barefoot order, and also of the famous Spanish poet, D. Felix de Vega, who in the latter

[1] Molins, *La Sepultura de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1870, p. 16. Serrano y Sanz intends publishing Sor Marcela's poems in his *Ensayo bibliográfico acerca de las Escritoras Españolas:* see Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Historia de la Literatura Española*, Madrid, 1901, p. 338, note

[2] This was, it seems, another natural son of Lope. In the 'Adiciones' to La Barrera are printed three rather long *romances* by Sor Marcela, which give a very favourable impression of her poetical talent. They are written with much of the fluency and grace characteristic of her father. It was to this daughter, Marcela, that D. Guillen de Castro, in 1621, dedicated the second issue of the *Primera Parte* of his *Comedias*. Two years previously Lope had dedicated his play *Las Almenas de Toro* to the celebrated Valencian poet.

years of his life used to come to say Mass at the *Iglesia de las Madres*, out of regard for his virtuous relative."[1]

In February 1606 the Court removed from Valladolid back to Madrid. Lope continued to live in Toledo, but as the Duke of Sessa now fixed his residence in the capital, Lope doubtless made even more frequent visits to Madrid and to *Lucinda*.

Of the vast literary inheritance, however, that Lope has bequeathed us, not a single composition can, with any certainty, be assigned to 1606. Even of his *comedias*, of which we may well believe that not a year passed without a number of them being brought upon the stage, there is no autograph that bears the date of this year, though, according to La Barrera, there was in the library of the Duke of Osuna an old manuscript of the play *El Caballero de Olmedo*, bearing the date 1606, and a license for its representation dated in the following year. But no less an authority than Menéndez y Pelayo states that this is an error; for the only MS. comedia from the Osuna collection which has passed to the National Library, and which bears that date and the indication that it was represented by Morales, is not the *Caballero de Olmedo* of Lope de Vega, but an entirely different play with the same title (reprinted by Schaeffer).[2] It is by an anonymous author, or by "three wits."

[1] La Barrera, p. 679

[2] *Obras de Lope de Vega*, Vol. X p. lxxv Schaeffer, *Ocho Comedia desconocidas*, Leipzig, 1887, Vol. I p. 265 In the new catalogue of manuscript plays in the Biblioteca Nacional, by Paz y Mélia (*Revista de Archivos*, etc, 1899 and foll.), we read. "No. 444 *El Caballero de Olmedo, ó La Viuda por casar.* Comedia de Lope de Vega (Representada por Morales); letra del Siglo xviii. Parece manuscrito original (aunque no de Lope) Con fecha de 1606. Impresso en *Parte XXIV*" Here Paz y Melia repeats the old mistake, for this is the play published by Schaeffer, and is wholly different from Lope's play of that title, in *Parte XXIV* Schmidt, *Die Schauspiele Calderons*, p. 256 mentions *El Cavallero de Olmedo*, "Burleska vom Jahr 1651." See also Sánchez-Arjona, *Anales del Teatro en Sevilla*, p. 121.

On January 28, 1607, the actress Micaela de Luxan (*Lucinda*) bore Lope another child, this time a son, who received the name Lope, and was baptised on February 7, in the Church of Saint Sebastian, in Madrid.[1] The sponsors at the baptism were D. Hurtado de Mendoza, and the celebrated actress Jerónima de Burgos. Of this son, whom the poet in his writings calls Lope Felix del Carpio y Luxan, we get some curious information from a letter written by the father to the Duke of Sessa, apparently in the year 1616, when 'Lopito,' as he is here called, was nine years old. The poet expresses his dissatisfaction at the conduct of his son, and says that 'Lopito' still remains in the *Desamparados*,[2] to the father's great sorrow, "and if any one had told me that I should be obliged to do this, I should have thought that he was mad; but in order that we may not both be so,—he for lack of punishment and I through excess of grief,—it is well that he should be chastened there for a few days, so that I may have peace."[3]

In strong contrast with his sister Marcela, young Lope seems to have been headstrong, turbulent, and rebellious under the parental rule. He had begun the study of Latin, and had made some progress in that language, when, in 1619, the elder Lope dedicated to him his first comedia, *El Verdadero Amante*, which

[1] The baptismal register reads Madrid, 7 Febrero 1607.—"En la iglesia parrochial de St. Sebastian de la villa de Madrid, en siete de Febrero de mil y seiscientos y siete años, yo, Alonso del Arco, baticé un niño [nacido] en veinte y ocho de Enero del dicho año, hijo de Lope de Vega Carpio y de Michaela de Lujan, y le pusieron por nombre Lope, y fueron sus padrinos D. Hurtado de Mendoza y Hieronyma de Burgos [In the margin:] Lope—capillo dos Rs.—Archivo parroquial de San Sebastian." Pérez Pastor, p 263.

[2] This was an asylum for orphan children of both sexes, called "Our Lady of the Unprotected," which had its original foundation in the Convent of Saint Isabel, of the Barefoot Augustinians, Calle del Príncipe, in the year 1589. In 1609 it was removed to what is now the Calle de Atocha, No. 117 *Ibid.*

[3] La Barrera, p. 333.

was published next year in the *Parte Catorce* of his Comedias. In this dedication the father says: "Now that you are of an age that you are beginning to understand the principles of the Latin language, know that men who have only inherited a limited ease from their parents, have, in order to live in this world, two inclinations · the one for arms, the other for letters. . . . You have doubtless understood me, and as far as the inclination is concerned, which was the original motive of this letter, I need only advise you that, if you should not incline towards letters, you should have but few books, but these well selected . . . or if, for your misfortune, your blood should incline you to making verses (which God forbid), let it not be your principal study, for it may turn you aside from what is important, and it will give you no benefit. . . . You need seek no further for an example than myself, for though you should live many years, you would not, in order to demand a greater reward, succeed in doing as many services for the lords of your country as I have done. And I have, as you know, a poor house, and an equally poor bed and table, and a little garden whose flowers drive away my cares and give me ideas. . . . I have written nine hundred comedias, twelve books of prose and verse upon different subjects, and so many single papers (*papeles sueltos*), that what is printed will never equal the portion not yet in print. And I have gained enemies, censors, snares, envy, slander, reproofs and anxieties; I have lost the most precious time, and the *non intellecta senectus*, as Ausonius says, having arrived, I can leave you nothing but these useless counsels. I wished to dedicate this comedia, *El Verdadero Amante*, to you, because I had written it at your age; and, although it was well received at that time, you may learn from it how crude were my beginnings; but [I do so] under the expressed condition that you shall not take it for an example, in order that you may not find yourself listened to by many and esteemed by few.—Your father."

In a poetical contest which was held at Madrid on May 19, 1620, in honour of the beatification of San Isidro, Lope de Vega Carpio, *el mozo*, as he was called, took part, presenting a *glosa* on the four verses that were proposed in the fifth contest. By the close of this year, or the beginning of 1621, as we gather from an epistle to *Amarilis*, published in the *Filomena* (the *Aprobacion* is dated May 31, 1621), the restless youth had abandoned his studies, and definitely adopted the profession of arms: "Lope remained, for he is the one now living. Does he not study? What would you have me say, if he tells me he is enamoured of Mars?"[1]

And in an epistle to D. Francisco de Herrera Maldonado, written between 1622 and 1623, the poet says: "Lope has gone to war, for war thwarts many fruitful studies."[2] With the rank of ensign (*alferez*) the lad joined the army commanded by the Marqués de Santa Cruz, son of the famous Captain, Don Álvaro de Bazan, under whom his father had fought at Terceira. According to La Barrera, the young officer fought valiantly in numerous engagements against the Dutch and Turks, and was about to be promoted Captain, when he embarked on an unfortunate pearl-fishing expedition to the island of Margarita.[3] It was his last adventure: the vessel in which he sailed was wrecked, and all on board perished.

Lope mourned the death of his son in a piscatory eclogue, that was published posthumously in the *Vega del Parnaso* (1637). In La Barrera's opinion the

[1] Lope quedó, que es el que vive agora:
¿No estudia Lope? ¿Que quereis que os diga
Si él me dice que Marte le enamora?
Obras Sueltas, Vol I. p. 472.

[2] "Lope se fué á la guerra, que la guerra
Muchos estudios fértiles contrasta."

In spite of all that Lope says to his son in the dedication of his play *El Verdadero Amante*, he was evidently much disappointed that the boy preferred arms before letters.

[3] One of the West Indies, off the coast of Venezuela. From Margarita Philip II. is said to have obtained in 1579 a famous pearl of 250 carats.

death of the younger Lope did not take place till 1625, at the earliest, and he is inclined to place it several years later from the fact that in the mock-heroic poem *La Gatomaquia*, or the 'Battle of the Cats,' which the poet dedicated to this son, and which was published in 1634, there is no allusion to his death.[1] This presumption that the young soldier did not die till 1634, is strengthened by the fact that Montalvan in his *Fama póstuma* speaks of two great sorrows which befell Lope in the last year of his life, —one of these, as we shall see, concerned his illegitimate daughter Antonia Clara, and the other may well have been the death of this son. At all events, no other explanation of Montalvan's words has been suggested. That Lope in his first Will, dated Feb. 4, 1627, states that his only child then living was Doña Feliciana, does not militate against this. but by 'only child' he means, of course, 'only legitimate child,' for Marcela, of whom he had always been extremely fond, was also then living.

[1] La Barrera's conjecture that the younger Lope was certainly living in 1625, is strikingly confirmed by a letter of the poet to the Duke, which La Barrera had, in all probability, not seen Here these words occur "Lope, recently returned from Italy, goes to kiss the hand of your Exc., as his true lord and mine, and brings the book of the *Triunfos divinos*, newly imprinted, and dedicated to my lady, the Countess of Olivares," etc. The *Triunfos* were issued in September 1625 Here is the letter: "Lope, recien venido de Italia, va a besar la mano a V. Ex^a., como a verdadero Señor suyo y mio, y lleba esse libro de triunfos divinos nuevamente impreso, y dedicado a mi Señora la Condesa de Olivares, para que diga V. Ex^a, Señor, que soy Guzman aora, siendo cosa tan cierta que sienpre fui Cordoba a bien y maltratar, y que este nombre es caracter impreso en el alma, de donde es ymposible que le borren olvidos, que para decir agravios no da licencia la desigualdad. Reciva V.Ex^a. bien a Lope, no por mi hijo, mas porque ha de heredar mi esclavitud y porque sepa que no ha de poder librarse de Lopes." *Nueva Biografía*, p. 632. It would be hard to imagine more obsequious and even abject humility than this.

CHAPTER VIII.

JERÓNIMA DE BURGOS; *LA JERUSALEM CONQUISTADA*; 'THE NEW ART OF MAKING PLAYS'

On February 7, 1607, Lope's son, Lope Felix del Carpio y Luxan, was, as we have seen, baptized at Madrid. We may take it for granted that the father was present at this ceremony, and, as the infant was but ten days old, we may likewise be certain that its mother, Micaela de Luxan, was also at this time living in Madrid. Like Micaela, one of the sponsors at the christening, Jerónima de Burgos, was also an actress. This glimpse of his intimacies helps to explain the irregularities of Lope's life. His association with the stage proved disastrous to his impressionable nature. Spanish players, so far back as we have any record of them, were mostly of unenviable repute Nor does there seem to have been any great improvement since the days of the mountebanks and strolling players who are branded in the *Siete Partidas*[1] of Alfonso the Learned. But if their standard of morality was not high, it was perhaps no lower than that of the theatrical profession of other countries at the same time The actors, and especially the actresses, were recruited almost wholly from the lowest social strata, and the profession counted among its members many vagabonds and sharpers who were masters of their craft, together with women whose notions of morality were decidedly elastic. One need only read the accounts given by Agustin de Rojas, himself an actor, in his *Viaje entretenido* (1603), of the frauds and guiles practised by these wandering players, and the manner

[1] *Siete Partidas*, Part VII Tit 6, Ley IV. "Infamous" (*enfamados*) is the expression applied in this law to "all minstrels, mimics and performers who sing or dance or give public exhibitions for money, because they debase themselves before those who give to them." Edition of 1807, Vol. III. p. 556.

in which they were treated by the people, to realize how low the theatrical profession had sunk. Doubtless the conditions were somewhat better in the larger, permanent companies in Madrid, and in the more populous cities of the peninsula, such as Seville and Valencia. Now and then Lope, in the course of his vast correspondence with his patron, the Duke of Sessa, will raise the curtain for a moment to give us a glimpse of what is going on behind the scenes. Of Jerónima de Burgos he speaks frequently. She seems, in April, 1610, to have been a member of the company of one of Lope's favourite *autores*, Alonso de Riquelme, who brought out many of his plays. Three years after this, she was a member of the company of Cristóbal Ortiz. In September, 1613, Jerónima was evidently living at Segovia, where Lope stayed as a guest in her house, as one of his letters shows. Again, writing from Toledo on March 15, 1614, he says: "Here the Señora Gerarda [Jerónima] has received me and lodged me with many endearing expressions. She is less entertained, but more beautiful." It appears that Jerónima had promised Lope to be one of the sponsors for his daughter Feliciana, a promise which the favourite actress did not (perhaps could not) fulfil, and Lope remarks in a letter that "she seemed sorry about the baptism" (La Barrera, p. 212). In this same year Jerónima was in the company of Baltasar Pinedo, with Maria de los Angeles, Isabel Ana and the actor and *autor* Pedro de Valdés. The latter married her at least as early as February 14, 1614,[1] and had a company of his own, with occasional interruptions, from 1613 to 1625. Jerónima died a widow on March 27, 1641, in the Calle de Cantarranas.[2]

It was for her that Lope wrote—the autograph is dated April 28, 1613—the comedia *La Dama boba*, which was brought out by the company of Ortiz, *famoso represen-*

[1] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos acerca del Histrionismo en España*, Madrid, 1901, p. 139.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 327.

tante, as the poet calls him.[1] Such light, moreover, as is thrown upon the lives of the actresses of his time by

[1] The cast of *La Dama boba* on this occasion was as follows: Lisio, caballero = *Ortiz*; Turin, lacayo = *Carvajal*; Leandro, caballero = *Almonte*; Octavio, viejo = *Quiñones*; Misseno, su amigo = *Villanueva*; Duardo = *Guevara*; Laurencio = *Benito*; Femiso, caballero = *Simon*; Rufino, maestro = *Aguado*; Nise, dama = *Jerónima*; Finea, su hermana = *Maria*; Celia, criada = *Isabel*, Clara, criada = *Ana Maria* Cristóbal Ortiz de Villazán, the manager of this company, and a famous actor, was of a good family and constantly strove to elevate the profession to which he belonged He seems to have had a comparatively short dramatic career, as his name does not occur before this date (1613). He was of Valladolid, as was also his wife, Ana Maria de Ribera, also an actress and a member of his company, and perhaps the Ana Maria of this cast Ortiz died at Madrid in 1626 Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 360 Of the actors Carvajal and Almonte, in this list, nothing seems to be known. Pedro Aguado was in the company of Olmedo in 1619. *Ibid.* p. 180. Benito de Castro, Manuel Simon, and Quiñones are mentioned again in a subsequent note Juan de Villanueva and his wife, Isabel Rodriguez, were in the company of Valdés in 1614. *Ibid.* p. 136. Pedro de Valdés, the husband of Jerónima de Burgos, was one of the twelve *autores* especially mentioned in the decree of 1615, reforming the theatre; he is mentioned by Tirso de Molina in Act III of *Don Gil de las Calzas Verdes*. Fernandez-Guerra, in his work, *Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcon*, (Madrid, 1871, p. 187) wrongly calls Jerónima's husband, Salvador de Valdés. In a letter written by Lope "after May, 1614," we read. "Esta copla de Luis [Velez de Guevara] á Jerónima de Burgos, y San Martin, su galan, me ha dado gusto, etc.

"Jerónima, no se escapa
De caduco vuestro humor,
Pues dejáis un Salvador
Por un San Martin sin capa.
Mas para saber en fin
Si sois puerca, echad un cerco,
Y sabreis que á cada puerco
Le viene su San Martin."

La Barrera, p. 199

The concluding verses have a double meaning Cf. the proverb in *Don Quixote*, Part II. Chap. 62. *A cada Puerco viene su San Martin* (*i.e* "Its Martinmas comes to every pig")—St. Martin's day being the great day for pig-killing in Spain Upon these verses Sr Fernandez-Guerra bases his conjecture that the name of Jerómina's husband was Salvador de Valdés. But there can be no doubt whatever that he was Pedro de Valdés The 'San Martin' mentioned in the verses is, in all probability, Juan de San Martin, an actor, who was in the company of Valdés in 1614. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos acerca del Histrionismo en España*, Madrid, 1901, p. 138.

Lope, in no wise inclines us to a better opinion of them. In May, 1614, Lope writes from Toledo as follows:[1] . . . "I read the chapter to Gerarda [Jerónima de Burgos], which pleased her, being written with so much wit, grace and good taste. She finally told me that she regretted having been ungrateful at Valladolid, to a Prince of such notable qualities. Two *alguaciles* have caused considerable commotion here, and for the shortcomings of Maria de los Angeles they have taken Isabel Ana. For Pinedo[2] the whole matter is noteworthy, etc. . . . It is fortunate for your Ex^e^. that your greatness and prudence keep you at a good distance from this rabble, for of such kind is Maria de los Angeles, who was brought up here in the Rastro of this city, among the tripe-vendors (*mondongueras*), and is now good for . . . such great lords in a place like Madrid, where, I believe, women are not scarce. . . . The rest of the letters will go to-morrow by Valdés, who leaves for Madrid, on account of these law suits . . ."

[1] . . . Lehi á Gherarda el capitulo, que le celebró como cosa escrita de tal ingenio, gracia y gusto; y dixome finalmente que le pessaba de haber sido ingrata en Valladolid con Principe de tan notables meritos. Acá los han alborotado dos alguaçiles, y por los defectos de Maria de los Angeles se lleban á Isabel Ana. Para Pinedo toda la historia es notable, pero mucho mas el tal marido que enseñó aqui dos mil y quinientos escudos de oro y otros tantos en joyas; huyóse en viendo los alguaçiles. Alla dizen que estan esas señoras damas recogidas · bien aya V. ex^a^ que assi conserva su grandeza y prudencia tan lexos de sugetos picaros, pues lo fue tanto Maria de los Angeles, que se crió aqui en el Rastro desta çiudad entre las mondongueras, y aora es buena para . . . tan grandes señores en un lugar como Madrid, donde creo que no faltan mugeres . . . Las demas cartas yran mañana con Valdés, que se parte a Madrid por estos pleytos, etc. La Barrera, p. 212.

[2] Fernandez-Guerra, *Alarcon*, p 180, says "No theatrical company was ever permitted to remain in a city, during the season, for a longer term than two months; nor could there be more than one company in a city at one time, except in Madrid and Seville, where two or three companies were permitted, and sometimes four. When there were only two companies in the capital, they alternated at the *corrales of La Cruz* and *El Príncipe*; when there were three, each one was to perform two days in succession, in such a way that in twelve days eight performances were given, four in each Theatre. The manager who desired to come

On October 22, 1607, Lope rented certain houses belonging to Juan Miguel Negro, in the Calle del Fúcar, for the term of two years, paying fifty ducats in advance each year.[1] The houses were put up at auction and adjudged to Lope as the highest bidder. The object of this transaction I do not know, but certain it is that he did not change his residence to Madrid, but continued to live at Toledo, with his wife Doña Juana and his son Carlos.

to Madrid with his company, first had to obtain a license from the protecting judge of the hospitals and theatres. And, having obtained this, and not presenting himself at the prescribed time, an officer would be sent to fetch him. The same officer would fetch from Toledo, Valladolid, Segovia or any other city, the most famous actor if he were needed by a manager in the capital. And although the attachment (*embargo*) of actors is not especially mentioned in any of the decrees regulating the theatres, yet it was done in 1614, as we have seen in the case of Isabel Ana, brought from Toledo to the Court, to take the place of María de los Angeles, the latter being in the company of Pinedo, and the former in that of Pedro de Valdés." As early as Feb 15, 1584, an Act had provided that "the managers of companies be notified that they shall not absent themselves from Madrid, nor shall the actors of their companies do so, under penalty, in order to avoid any prejudice to the hospitals." Baltasar de Pinedo, one of the best known of all the theatrical managers, had a company of players at least as early at 1596 His wife was Juana de Villalba. In 1616 they were living "in their own house" in Madrid, in the Calle del Amor de Dios Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 160 He first produced Lope's comedia *La Santa Liga* (Part XV), where we read. "Representóla Pinedo, y a Selin famosamente" Of him Lope says in his *Peregrino en su Patria*, Lib. IV.·

> "Baltasar de Pinedo tendrá fama,
> Pues hace, siendo príncipe en su arte,
> Altos metamorphoseos de su rostro,
> Color, ojos, sentidos, voz y efectos,
> Transformando la gente."

María de los Angeles was a member of the company of Riquelme in 1607, and in August, 1610, she is mentioned as the wife of the *autor* Jerónimo Sanchez Isabel Ana was the wife of the actor Bartolomé de Arce, and both belonged to the company of Rios in 1609 Sánchez-Arjona, *Anales*, p. 136.

[1] "Arrendamiento de unas casas de Juan Miguel Negro, en la Calle del Fúcar, en favor de Lope de Vega Carpio, por dos años, pagando 50 ducados adelantados cada un año. Se sacaron á subasta y se remataron en Lope de Vega, que fué el mejor postor, en 22 de Octubre de 1607. Pérez Pastor, *Datos desconocidos*, p 267.

There is no record whatever of Lope's literary activity in 1607; but his comedia *El Príncipe despeñado* must have been written at least as early as this year, for the autograph MS. now in the Biblioteca Nacional bears a *censura* of that year. It was afterwards printed in the *Septima Parte*, Madrid, 1617. On April 18, 1608, he signed at Madrid the autograph of his comedia *La Batalla del Honor*, which was formerly in the possession of Sr. Olózaga. It was first printed in the *Sexta Parte* of the Comedias, at Madrid, in 1615. Four months after this, on August 23, 1608, he obtained the royal privilege, for the term of ten years, to imprint his poem *La Jerusalem Conquistada*[1] It is on the title page of this work that Lope is first called "Familiar of the Holy Office of the Inquisition," a purely honorary office of that pious tribunal, which he perhaps obtained through the recommendation of the Duke of Sessa, as La Barrera remarks (p. 148) Six months later, in February, 1609, the work issued from the press of the well-known printer Juan de la Cuesta, who, just four years before had printed the first edition of *Don Quixote*.

It is evident that Lope was not in Madrid during the four or five months that the *Jerusalem* was passing through the press, and that he did not revise the proofs; for in the *advertencia* prefixed, it is stated expressly that "the proofs were corrected in Lope's absence," by his friend and ardent admirer, the poet Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla.[2] The Prologue is dedicated to the Conde de Saldaña, Lope saying that his *Jerusalem* appears after

[1] *Jerusalem Conquistada. Epopeya tragica de Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, Familiar del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion. A la Magestad de Felipe Hermenegildo primero deste nombre y Tercero del primero . . Madrid, en la imprenta de Juan de la Cuesta. Año de MDCIX.* 4°. Other editions appeared in Barcelona, Raphael Nogues, 1609; Lisbon, Vicente Alvarez, 1611; Barcelona, Esteban Liberos, 1619. Dieze, tr. of Velazquez, p 394, also gives an edition at Madrid, 1619.

[2] Baltasar Elisio was born at Toledo in 1585, and died in 1620, of a sword-wound at the hands of D. Jerónimo de Andrade y Rivadeneyra. La Barrera, p. 148. This poet must not be

a long delay "because of books without learning, substance or wit, which he had written for the crowd," and which prevented its impression. He avers that he wrote his epic with the desire of serving his country, "always so much outraged by foreign historians," etc. Many, he says, will doubtless be found to deny that Alfonso of Castile had ever been in the Crusade, and he then discusses the historical question at considerable length, deciding finally that it was Alfonso VIII., who took part in the Crusade:—"because he reigned in Castile during the very years of the Crusade of Richard, King of England." And he continues with this ingenuous argument:—"And if any one should ask how Alfonso could leave Castile for more than four years, which the Crusade lasted,—for at least three were consumed about the city of Tyre,—it may be answered: that inasmuch as he (Alfonso) withdrew for seven years from the affairs of his kingdom, with that beautiful Jewess for whom he even forgot his own self until the grandees of his kingdom killed her, and the Angel appeared to him and threatened him with the punishment that none of his male issue should inherit his kingdom,—much more readily could he spare these four years from his kingdom," etc. The main subject of the poem is the failure of Richard, Cœur de Lion, to take Jerusalem from the infidels; but even this theme soon fades from sight, and the chief actors in the narrative poem (for this it is, rather than an epic) are Alfonso VIII. and his Knights who, as Lope always stoutly maintains, were prominent figures in this Crusade. From the above

confounded with Pedro de Medina Medinilla, an earlier friend of Lope, and the author of the elegy on our poet's wife Doña Isabel. As Lope knew the latter in 1590, in the service of the brother of Antonio of Alba, he was probably of about the same age. Don Pedro died long afterwards, in the Indies. *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. IV. p. 481. What Sánchez-Arjona, *El Teatro en Sevilla*, Madrid, 1887, p. 254, says of Don Pedro is doubtless a mistake. Don Baltasar has inserted, at the beginning of the book, "without Lope's knowledge or consent," the very flattering criticism of our poet's works that is found in Pacheco's *Libro de Retratos*.

specimen of the poet's historical writing, it will be plain to his least critical admirers that nature had not destined him to win celebrity in this branch of literature.

As Lope had failed before in his attempt to rival Ariosto with his "Beauty of Angelica," so, too, in comparison with Tasso's brilliant epic, the "Jerusalem Conquered" is unsuccessful. Still, the criticism of a well known Spanish writer, Sr. D. Cayetano Rosell, is much too severe. He says: "The *Jerusalem* is a work which has no value at all in the literary market, and is worthy of esteem only for the fragment of true epic diction which it occasionally presents, and for the habitual facility and elegance of its versification. It will serve to fill up a space on the book-shelves of bibliophiles, but not as one of a collection of models of our literature. If it was Lope's intention in this work to rival Tasso, he attempted an emprise that was beyond the reach of his talent. Between an interminable series of *octavas reales*, strung together with poor plan and worse arrangement, and a poem regularly and magnificently executed, admirable for its characters, exceedingly rich in its invention and in its great pictures, there cannot be any kind of rivalry."

As each of his attempts clearly proves, Lope's genius was not epical in any sense. He is infinitely more attractive in the lyric or the pastoral, while his true vein, in which he was beyond compare, and in which he achieved a greatness that will endure as long as Spanish literature, is the drama. And yet, as we have seen, Lope regarded his *Jerusalem* with no little satisfaction.[1] It is a fresh proof that an author is not always the best judge of his works.[2]

Ticknor gives a very good account of the "Jerusalem Conquered," and his criticism is an entirely just one, it

[1] See above, pp. 162-163.

[2] Dieze, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-7, who also finds praise for the *Angélica*, in which he says Lope "often very happily attained the tone and manner of Ariosto," describes the *Jerusalem* as "sein vorzüglichstes episches Gedicht," though he duly mentions its many faults.

seems to me. That the poem achieved some success in its time, at least, is shown by the issue of several editions within a single decade.[1] The same year in which the *Jerusalem* was printed saw the first edition of the *Segunda Parte* of the comedias. The title page is as follows: *Segunda Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, que contiene otras doze, cuyos nombres van en la hoja segunda. Dirigidas á Doña Casilda de Gauna Varona, mujer de D. Alonso Velez de Guevara, Alcalde mayor de la ciudad de Burgos. En Madrid, por Alonso Martin. Año de* 1609. 4°.[2] Five years had elapsed since the publication of the *Primera Parte*, and it is certainly odd, as La Barrera remarks, that one who had shown so much solicitude as regards the publication of his *Angélica*, his *Rimas* and his *Jerusalem*, should have allowed his plays to appear under the editorship of strangers, and this notwithstanding his many and bitter complaints of the manner in which his comedias had been pirated and disfigured. And again it was the friendly book-seller Alonso Perez who signed the dedication of this *Segunda Parte*.

In this same year there appeared a work of much greater importance to the student of the poet (especially concerning his dramatic development) than either of the volumes just mentioned. I allude to *El Arte nuevo de hazer Comedias en este Tiempo*,[3] addressed to the Academy

[1] Besides the first edition, the 'Jerusalem Conquered' was printed at Barcelona, Raphael Nogues, 1609, Lisboa, Vicente Alvarez, 1611; Madrid, 1619; and Barcelona, Esteban Liberos, 1619

[2] Other editions appeared at Valladolid, 1609; Pamplona, 1609; Barcelona, 1611; Bruselas, 1611; Valladolid, 1611; Lisboa, 1612; and Madrid 1618, Juan de la Cuesta. My copy is of this last edition.

[3] *Rimas de Lope de Vega Carpio. Aora de nuevo añadidas Con el nuevo Arte de hazer Comedias deste tiempo. Año* 1609. *En Madrid. Por Alonso Martin.* 18mo. Nicolas Antonio says that there was an edition in 1602, and so does Dieze. La Barrera suggests that the *Arte nuevo* may have been included in the edition of the *Rimas* issued at Toledo, 1605. It was certainly not in the first edition (Seville, 1604), nor in that printed at Lisbon by Pedro Crasbeeck in 1605. The edition of 1609 was undoubtedly the first in which it appeared. Lope says at the end of this poem that he had then written 483

of Madrid, a poem consisting of three hundred and seventy-six hendecasyllabic unrhymed lines. It is a defence of the irregularities of his comedias, and of their violation of the 'Rules.' It is written in a bantering spirit, and a vein of good humour pervades the whole poem. Lope evidently did not take the matter very seriously, nor reflect deeply on what he was about to say. It probably did not take him much longer to write 'The New Art of Making Plays' than it took him to write as many lines of a comedia. The versification, strangely enough, lacks Lope's habitual ease and fluency; it is careless and sometimes halting, while the sense is not always clear,—an additional sign that this treatise was hastily composed. But as the utterance of the greatest dramatic poet of his country it deserves attentive examination.

"Noble wits, the flower of Spain," Lope begins, "you ask me to compose for you a treatise on the Art of making Plays, which may be acceptable to the public of the present day. Easy this subject appears, and easy it would be for anyone of you who has written less comedias and who knows more about the art of writing them. But what is a disadvantage to me in this matter is my having written them against the rules of art. Not because

plays, while the list given in the *Peregrino* (1604), contains but 230,—actually only 219; and it will be admitted that even the "wizard" Lope, could not write 250 plays in one year. Moreover, in the *Arte nuevo*, he speaks (ll. 92, and foll) of his *Jerusalem* as already published, so that his treatise could not have been written before 1609 I have searched in vain for any information concerning this 'Academy of Madrid': it was probably a poetical gathering at the house of some nobleman, in imitation of the Academies that had long been popular in Italy It may have been the same Academy, as La Barrera remarks, which Lope mentioned many years afterwards, in the dedication of his *Laurel de Apolo*, saying: "la Academia de Madrid y su protector D. Felix Arias Giron, laurearon con grande aplauso de señores y ingenios á Vicente Espinel, unico Poeta Latino y Castellano de aquellos tiempos." [See an excellent edition of the *Arte Nuevo de hacer Comedias*, illustrated with notes by M. Morel-Fatio, in the *Bulletin Hispanique*, Tome III. pp. 365 and foll.]

I was ignorant of the precepts, for while still a tiro in Grammar, I read the books which treat of them, yes, even before I was ten years old. I did it because I found that at that time the comedias in Spain were not as their first inventors thought they should be written, but rather as they were treated by the barbarians who accustomed the vulgar to their crudities; and so they introduced them in such a way that he who would now write according to the rules of art would die without fame and without reward, for custom is more powerful than reason, in those who lack reason's light.

"True it is that I have sometimes written following the rules that are known to few, but as soon as I see the monsters, full of apparitions, coming forth, to which flock the public and the women, who canonize this sad spectacle, then forthwith do I return to my barbarous custom, and when I have to write a comedia I lock up the precepts with six keys, cast Terence and Plautus from my study, so that they may not cry out,—for truth is wont to speak aloud even in mute books,—and I write according to the art which they invented who sought the vulgar applause. For, as the common herd pays for them, it is meet to speak to them like an ignoramus, in order to please them.

"The true comedia, like every other kind of poetry, has its definite aim, and this has been to imitate the actions of men and paint the customs of a given age. . . . The Comedia only differs from the Tragedy in that it treats of humble and plebeian actions, while Tragedy portrays only the kingly and exalted ones:[1] see now whether in ours the faults are few. Acts they

[1] This wholly un-Aristotelian conception of the difference between Tragedy and Comedy is the one that obtained throughout the Renaissance and down to the end of the period of Classicism. It was the rank of the characters, and this only, which distinguished a tragedy from a comedy. This was the doctrine of Robortello, whom Lope expressly mentions (l. 143), and of the other Italian commentators on the *Poetics* of Aristotle. See Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, New York, 1899, and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de las Ideas estéticas en España*, Vol. III. Madrid, 1896.

[*i.e.* our plays] were called, because they imitated the actions and affairs of the vulgar. Lope de Rueda was in Spain a model of these precepts, and now-a-days we see his popular comedias in prose, in which he introduces upon the stage artisans and the love affairs of a smith's daughter. From this the custom has remained of calling the old comedias *entremeses*, in which the rules of art are observed, it being one action and amongst common folk (*entre plebeya gente*); for an *entremes* in which a king appears has never been seen. And here one sees that art, because of the baseness of the style, has come to be in such contempt, and that the king was introduced into the comedia to please the ignorant." Continuing, the poet speaks of the unity of action, observing that the story must not be episodical, and this he explains by saying that nothing should be introduced which might divert from the primary intention. Next he discusses unity of time, and speaks of the difficulty under which poets labour "considering that the wrath of a sitting Spaniard is not appeased unless everything, from Genesis to the last Judgment, be represented before his eyes in two hours." . . . "The subject being chosen, one should write [the story] in prose, and divide the time into three acts, taking care that each one should take up a day. Captain Virués, a distinguished wit, divided into three acts the comedia, which until then had, like children, gone on all fours; for at that time comedias were in their infancy; and I wrote them at the age of eleven and twelve, of four acts and four sheets, for each act just filled up a sheet, and in the spaces between, there were three *entremeses*, etc." . . . "Having divided the subject, you involve the plot from the beginning, and let it go on unfolding towards the end; but let the solution not come till the last scene has been reached, for if the public (*vulgo*) know what the end is to be, they turn their backs upon the stage and their faces towards the door. The stage must rarely be vacant, for this makes the public restless and unduly prolongs the play.

. . . Begin then, and with choice diction, yet waste no unusual thoughts or figures in domestic scenes, where only the ordinary talk of two or three persons is to be imitated; but when the personage introduced persuades, counsels, or dissuades, then is there occasion for aphorisms and conceits. . . . The language must not offend through words that are far-fetched, but must be adapted to those who are speaking. . . . When the King speaks, imitate as best you can the royal gravity; if an old man speaks, let it be with a sententious modesty. The speech of lovers should be passionate, so that it carries away the auditor; depict soliloquies in such a way that the reciter is wholly transformed, and so transforms the listener; let him both question and reply to himself, and, should there be plaints, always preserve the decorum due to women. Ladies must not overstep their womanly dignity, and if they be disguised, it must be in such a manner as is permitted, for women disguised as men are wont to please the spectator. Be careful to guard against the impossible, for it is a maxim that only the probable is to be imitated. Let not the lackey treat of lofty things, nor speak such thoughts as we have seen in some foreign comedias. But in no circumstance let the personage contradict what he has already said, etc. . . . The scenes should conclude with some striking thought or elegant verse, so that when the speaker quits the stage, he leaves his audience pleased.

"In the First Act let the exposition be made; in the Second, the incidents are involved, so that up to the middle of the Third, scarcely anyone can tell how the play ends. Curiosity should always be led astray, so that one can see that something quite different may happen from what is indicated.

"The versification should be carefully accommodated to the subject treated. The *décimas* are suited for complaints; the sonnet is fitting for those who are in expectation; the narrations require *romances*, although they shine most brilliantly in octaves; tercets are suitable

for matters grave, and for love-scenes the *redondilla* is the fitting measure.

"To deceive by telling the truth (*engañar con la verdad*) [that is to speak the truth in such a way that it will mislead the auditor, who is accustomed to have the *dénouement* carefully concealed from him till the very end of the play] is a thing always pleasing to the audience, as Miguel Sanchez, worthy of memory because of this invention, has used this device in all his comedias.[1] Equivocal speeches and of ambiguous meaning, have always found great favour with the public, because they think that they alone understand what the other is saying. Matters of honour are the best things to represent, for the people are deeply moved by virtuous actions; for virtue is everywhere beloved, since we see that if by chance an actor take the part of a traitor, he is so odious to all, that people will not sell him what he wants to buy, and the common folk flee from him when they meet him; while he who plays a loyal part is made much of, and even distinguished persons honour and love him.

"Let each act consist of four sheets only, for twelve in all are suitable to the time and to the patience of the auditors.[2] And let the satirical part be not too evident and too emphatic . . . sting without hatred, for if it injures, expect neither fame nor applause. The costumes should be suited to the characters . . . a striking

[1] See my edition *La Guarda Cuidadosa* and *La Isla Bárbara*, by Miguel Sanchez, *el divino*, Boston, 1896

[2] This rule, as to the length of the comedia, which Lope here lays down, was carefully followed by all other dramatists of the time, and deviations from it are rare. Four sheets = sixteen leaves for each Act, that is, forty-eight leaves to a comedia. An examination of Lope's autograph plays shows how strictly he adhered to this rule. Where slight variations are found they are due to the difference in the size of the leaves,—the comedia always consisting of about three thousand lines. In *El Bastardo Mudarra*, the facsimile shows that each Act numbers just 16 leaves. In *El Galan de la Membrilla*, *Ay Verdades! que en Amor*, and *El Sembrar en buena Tierra*, the number of leaves is generally 17 or 18, but the number of verses is about the same. On the other hand, the comedias of Miguel Sanchez, a predecessor of Lope, contain about four thousand lines.

barbarity in the Spanish comedia is to bring a Turk upon the stage with a collar like a Christian, or a Roman in tight breeches. . . . But no one among them all can I call a greater barbarian than myself, for I dare to give precepts against the rules of art, and allow myself to be carried away by the vulgar current to such an extent that in Italy and France they call me ignorant. But what can I do, when I have written,—counting the one that I have finished this week,—four hundred and eighty-three comedias, all of which, save only six, sin deeply against the rules of art? Yet, when all is said, I defend what I have written, for I know that although they might be better if written in another manner, yet they would not have found the favour that they have enjoyed,

"Because sometimes what 'gainst the right offends,
For that same reason greater pleasure lends."

This is Lope de Vega's poetical confession—or rather his dramaturgical confession,—and coming, as it does, from the great creator of the Spanish national theatre, its importance forbids us to be content with a cursory reference. Lope has frequently expressed himself in very similar terms. Five years before, in "The Pilgrim in his own Country," he had said: "Foreigners may observe, by the way, that the comedias in Spain do not heed the rules of art, and that I continued them in the state in which I found them, without daring to observe the precepts, because subjected to such rigour they would in nowise have been listened to by Spaniards." So, in the dedication of his play *La mal casada* (*Parte XV.* p. 1), to the celebrated jurist, Don Francisco de la Cueva, after alluding to those who first introduced comedias into Spain, and who were blamed for writing them *al uso de España*, he remarks: "In them they had their beginning, and it has not been possible during the many years that have passed since then, to improve the manner, either in those who hear them or in those who write them; for although the attempt has been made, it resulted in most cases un-

happily, giving more and more room to spectacles and barbaric inventions than to the truth of art, so uselessly lamented by critics." This was written in 1620. Four years after, in the dedication of *Virtud, Pobreza y Muger* to the Italian poet Marino, he declares: "In Spain the rules of art are disregarded; not through ignorance,—for the first inventors [of the drama in Spain] Rueda and Nauarro, who have scarcely been dead eighty years, observed them,—but through following the bad style introduced by those who succeeded them."[1]

These views of the great poet concerning the drama that he had practically created, are of the first importance, and we shall recur to them in a succeeding chapter.

Lope, as the above passages from his works show, purposely disregarded the rules of art, and wrote to please the people,—the common crowd. And the world is profoundly grateful that he and his greater contemporary Shakespeare, likewise, did not heed the law of the unities,—the "rules of art": in other words, that they did not write "regular" plays. A transcendent genius like Shakespeare or Lope de Vega cannot be bound by the paltry artificiality of the unities. And for Shakespeare or Lope to become "regular," was equivalent to becoming ordinary. It was to ask two giants to lower

[1] *Parte XX.* Barcelona, 1630, fol. 204. This statement is somewhat perplexing. Who is the Nauarro mentioned here after Rueda? Cervantes, in the prologue to his *Comedias* says: "Lope de Rueda was succeeded by Naharro, a native of Toledo, famous as an impersonator of the cowardly bully." He then notes the innovations effected by Naharro, in putting plays upon the stage, etc. Lope can hardly mean this *autor*, who had no great reputation as a writer of plays, though he is styled *el. único poeta y representante* on the title-page of *La Marquesa de Saluzza, llamada Griselda*, which survives in an unique copy (see the *Revue Hispanique*, vol. IX., 1902). Neither could he allude to this Naharro as being dead eighty years (nor to Rueda, for that matter), seeing that Naharro survived Rueda, who died at Córdoba in 1565. I incline to think that Lope here means Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, in spite of the fact that he is placed after Rueda. In such matters of detail the great dramatist was often careless.

themselves to the level of the self-complacent mediocrities who followed them in the succeeding century—the Shadwells and Masons, the Moratins and Huertas, who preached the sacred rules with unction, knew precisely how success was to be won, and yet completely failed to win it.[1]

To these ineffectual pontiffs the age of Shakespeare and Lope was a barbarous period from which nothing better could be expected. This change of taste, this revolt against the freedom—or rather, as it was regarded both in England and Spain, against the lawlessness—of the older dramatists, was due, as is well known, to the direct influence of the French theatre, where, as is equally well known, the rule of the unities was never strictly observed. Moreover, the French theorists attached to the unities of time and place a degree of importance which they never occupied in the ancient classical theatre, and which they in nowise deserved. The Greek chorus made the unities of time, and still more of place, a necessity, but they were entirely subordinate; unity of action being, in the opinion of the ancients, the one thing really needful.

[1] In England the degenerate taste of the period of the Restoration altered the plays of Shakespeare Here the Shadwells and the Tates thrust them into the straight-jacket of the unities About a century later we find Trigueros, in Spain, accommodating some of the comedias of Lope de Vega to the same system Of *La Estrella de Sevilla* not a line of Lope's is left It is divided into five acts, and, in the copy I have, the poet's name is not even mentioned. The title is: "*Sancho Ortiz de las Roelas, Tragedia, arreglada por D. Candido Maria Trigueros.*" To another comedia—*La Dama melindrosa*—thus *refundida* by the same writer, there is prefixed a notice which is interesting. From it we learn that this play, which he calls *La Melindrosa*, "which suffices, as being a simpler title," should be called *Los Esclavos supuestos*. He says further: "The unity of interest, of action, of time and chiefly of place are here observed more carefully than in others, nevertheless this comedia is not, that which pleases me most amongst those of Lope which I have adapted, and it seems to me that this is due to the multitude of incidents, which can never fail to overload any drama." The changes he has made, he adds, are so slight that they scarcely deserve mention, and he goes on to say that the unity of place has not necessitated its division into five acts. My copy of this play was printed at Madrid, in 1803.

'Regular' plays had been written in Spain before Lope, and in England before Shakespeare, but the Spanish people cared no more for the unities than did the English. In fact the complicated situations of the Spanish drama, as it was fashioned by Lope, precluded any attempt to conform to the unities: this was especially the case when love was the chief motive, and the great majority of Lope's plays are *comedias de amores*.[1] These were first introduced by Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, whose *Propaladia* first appeared at Naples in 1517, and were continued by the comedias of Lope de Rueda, though with less skill and artistry.[2] In the plays of the former all the beginnings of the *comedia de capa y espada* of Lope are already clearly visible. They are written in verse of charming fluency and grace; here we have

[1] The *comedia nueva* did not lack distinguished defenders in the attacks that were made upon it by Suarez de Figueroa, Villegas, and other enlightened critics who considered it their special mission to guard the sanctity of the unities. Here is the irrefutable argument put forth by one of the greatest of Spanish dramatists, in defence of this very *comedia de amores*. It is from Tirso de Molina, *Los Cigarrales de Toledo* (1624) ". . . la comedia presente ha guardado las leyes de lo que ahora se usa, y, á mi parecer, el lugar que merecen las que ahora se representan en nuestra España, comparadas con las antiguas, les hace conocidas ventajas, aunque vayan contra el instituto primero de sus inventores. *Porque si aquellos estableciesen que una comedia no representase sino la accion que moralmente se puede suceder en veinticuatro horas, ¿cuanto mayor inconveniente será que en tan breve tiempo un galan discreto se enamore de una dama cuerda, la solicite, regale y festeje, y que, sin pasarse siquiera un dia, la obligue y disponga de suerte sus amores que, comenzando á pretenderla por la mañana, se case con ella á la noche?* ¿Qué lugar tiene para fundar celos, encarecer desesperaciones, consolarse con esperanzas y pintar los demas afectos y accidentes, sin los cuales el amor no es de ninguna estima?" etc. See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de las Ideas estéticas en España*, Madrid, 1896, Vol. III. p. 457.

To 'love,' as represented in the ancient drama, the rule of the twenty-four hours was no bar, but that love was a different thing from what is generally so called in the modern drama.

[2] The comedias of Torres Naharro seem to have been without immediate effect, at least, upon the theatre of his native land. He is not even mentioned by Rojas anywhere in his *Viage entretenido*.

the *galan*, the *dama*, the *criados* and *criadas* of Lope de Vega's later plays, besides the comic element, which is also present, and which was made much more prominent by Lope de Rueda. The plays of Torres Naharro were in five acts, while those of Rueda were merely divided into scenes, and were in prose. In the *simple* of the latter the *gracioso* of Lope de Vega is clearly foreshadowed.[1] Lope, in fact, dismisses the whole question as to the beginnings of the Comedia with these words: "They [comedias] are no older than Rueda, whom many still living have heard."[2]

Our poet therefore passed by his immediate predecessors, such as Juan de la Cueva,[3] Cristóbal de

In the *Loa de la comedia* in this work, after alluding to Lope de Rueda as a celebrated actor and great poet in his time, who began to bring the farce into fashion, and who regulated it, dividing it into acts and furnishing it with a *loa*, Rojas continues.

Y en efeto poco a poco
barbas y pellicos dexan,
y empiezan à introduzir
amores en las comedias
En las quales ya auia dama
y un padre que aquesta zela;
auia galan desdeñado,
y otro que querido era, etc.

Y auia . .
.
un vestido de muger,
porque entonces no lo eran
sino niños:
Viage Entretenido, Madrid, 1603, pp. 125, 126.

[1] On the intermingling of the comic and tragic in Lope, see Lessing, *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, No 69.

[2] Preface to Part XIII.

[3] Juan de la Cueva claims for himself the distinction of having first introduced royal personages upon the Spanish stage, saying in his *Exemplar poetico*:

"A mí me culpan de que fui el primero
que Reyes y deydades di al tablado,
de las Comedias traspasando el fuero."

Sedano, *Parnaso Español*, Vol. VIII. p. 59.

Virués, and others who wrote tragedies, and took up the comedia of Torres Naharro and Lope de Rueda,—continuing them as he found them, to use his own words.

A hostile passage in the *Eroticas* of Villegas, referred to above, distinctly mentions Torres Naharro as "first breaking the silence in Spain." Villegas, in his ironical way, puts these words into the mouth of a bad poet: "Barbarous must have been that age in which Terence lived, to judge from his poetry. I do not differentiate it from the past [age], when the *Propaladia* of Naharro banished silence from this Spain of ours. It lacked, in fine, the gallant spirit, and its style is so plain that it seems to drag along the ground, like a cart. . . . I likewise am a poet . . . but would not give a straw for Plautus, whose diction, I observe, crawls flat upon the earth; not like thine, Lope, which proudly raises itself until its burning torch touches the sun."[1]

The statement is made by Rojas.

"luego los demas poetas
metieron figuras graues
como son Reyes y Reynas
Fue el autor primero desto
el noble Juan de la Cueua," etc.

Viage Entretenido, ed cit. p 126.

But in Torres Naharro's *Comedia Aquilana*, there already appears a "Bermudo, *Rey*."

[1] "I dixo gran barbaria haber sohia
por çierto en aquel siglo de Terençio,
segun lo da a entender su poesia
Yo del passado no le diferencio,
quando la *Propaladia* de Naharro
de nuestra España desterro el silençio.
Careçio al fin de espiritu viçarro,
i es su estilo tan llano que pareçe
que arrastra por la tierra como carro.
. . . . . .
Poeta soi tambien . .
. . . . . .
Miro que su oraçion toda se agaçha,
no qual la tuya, Lope, que alça cresta
hasta tocar del Sol la ardiente haçha."

Elegia VII. ed of 1617, *Segunda Parte*, p. 31.

In the summer of 1609 Lope joined the "Congregation of the Slaves of the Holy Sacrament" in the Oratorio del Caballero de la Gracia.[1]

Four letters written by Lope in the year 1610 are extant. They are all addressed to the Duke of Sessa, and are important, as they enable us to fix,—approximately, at least,—the date when Lope moved with his family from Toledo, to settle permanently in Madrid. Of these two are dated in April, and one on June 8. In this last letter he says he hopes to be in Madrid with his family within eight days. Another letter dated at Toledo, June 30, shows that he had not yet left that city, and it is not, in fact, until the 7th of September following that we find Lope definitely established with his family in Madrid. On this date he purchased a house in the Calle de Francos, which he occupied till his death.[2] The price was nine thousand reals, of

[1] Schack, Vol. II. p. 175, quoting José Martinez de Grimaldo, *Fundacion y Fiestas de la Congregacion del Oratorio de la Calle del Olivar*, Madrid, 1657, fol. 24. Cf. Navarrete, *Vida de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1819, p. 468. Navarrete asserts that Lope said mass for the confraternity on the first Sunday in August, 1609, and further states that Lope was ordained priest at least as early as 1608. This is a mistake As we shall see later, Lope's wife did not die till 1613, and his ordination took place in the spring of the following year. Obviously he could not have said—though he may very likely have served—Mass in 1609

[2] The house which Lope occupied for twenty-five years, in the Calle de Francos (now the Calle de Cervantes), was on the left as one entered by the Calle del Leon, and was numbered 11, according to the ancient, and 15, according to the modern numbering, *Manzana* (Block) 227; the ground had a frontage of about 57 feet and a depth of nearly 100 feet. The house was of two stories, with a considerable court yard, which Lope had converted into a garden. The map of Madrid of 1656 shows this clearly. La Barrera says the house is (1863 ?) in good condition, and had lately been repaired and replastered. Schack says (*Nachträge*, p. 35) it was demolished not long ago (1854). The street now called the Calle de Lope de Vega (formerly Calle de Cantarranas) is wrongly so called. It is the next street to south of the Calle de Francos, and running parallel with it. In it was situated the Convent of the Trinitarian Nuns, to which Lope's daughter Marcela belonged. It has been commonly thought that Cervantes's natural daughter was also a nun in this convent. Recent research goes to show that she was married once, if not twice, and that she lived (unhappily enough) with her husband long after Cervantes's death.

which five thousand were to be paid in cash, and the remainder in two instalments, at four months each. There was a fair-sized garden to the house, and, when resting from his literary labours, it was the great poet's delight to saunter in this pleasaunce. Writing ten years afterward to the Conde de Lemos, he says: "Among my books and the flowers in my garden, I pass what may still remain of life, which cannot be much."[1] He describes his arbour to Francisco de Rioja, the Sevillan poet, in an *epístola* entitled "The Garden of Lope de Vega." It contains, he says, two trees, ten flowers, two vines, an orange tree and a white musk-rose; a fountain and two young nightingales.[2] Over the lintel of the house-door was the characteristic inscription:—

Parva propria, magna.
Magna aliena, parva.

For some years prior to September, 1610, when Lope bought the house in the Calle de Francos, he was the owner of the house in the Calle de la Victoria, "at the cart-gate of the said monastery," which he had inherited from his parents, and where he lived with them in 1588, as appears from his testimony in the libel suit. This house Lope sold in March of the following year, 1611, to Catalina de Neyra.[3]

[1] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XVII. p. 403.

[2] Que mi jardín, mas breve que cometa,
Tiene sólo dos árboles, diez flores,
Dos parras, un naranjo, una mosqueta.
Aquí son dos muchachos ruyseñores,
Y dos calderos de agua forman fuente,
Por dos piedras ó conchas de colores.
Pero como de poco se contente
Naturaleza, para mi son viles
Hybla monte feraz, Tempe eminente,
Hespérides, adóneos y pensiles.
Obras Sueltas, Vol. I p. 493.

[3] *Datos desconocidos*, p. 267. It is a curious coincidence that Jerónimo Velazquez owned a house or houses in this same street, the "Calle de los Majadericos, a la porteria de los carros de la Vitoria," which

It was in this house, in the Calle de Francos, that Lope passed the rest of his life; here, with his wife and little son Carlos, he was to spend many happy hours, though this happiness was rudely shattered only two years afterwards by the death of his son, when, in his own words "cruel death snatched from my hands all rest, all remedy and hope."

Lope pictures his domestic circumstances in an *epístola* to Dr. Mathias de Porras, and he attains such wonderful poetic charm that I doubt if a finer passage can be found among the many thousand lines with which his pen has enriched us:[1] "Now finally, the vicissitudes were over, I saw me freed at last from the pursuing rage of so great a sea of love: when lovingly there at my side arose the modest countenance of my sweet wife, without a thought that aught could befall me. When little Carlos with bright, beaming face like lilies fair and roses brought me life, singing with childish voice some little song,—in this light and this dawn I clothed myself whilst he was frisking in the fields about, as doth a lambkin at daybreak. Then all the childish nonsense that he lisped with inexperienced tongue, seemed something wise, and both with kisses overwhelmed our boy. . . . And I, rejoicing then to see such dawns after nights so many and so obscure, wept then at times my vain and idle hopes; and so, believing the hours more secure, not of my life, but of having reached a state to taste such happiness as this, I went thence to my study, meaning to finish the writing then in hand. Then they called to breakfast; sometimes I said quite angrily that I be not disturbed, so much the zeal for work doth conquer us. But Carlos, rosy and with teeth of pearl, entered to call me then, and brought light to my eyes, embraces to my breast: or he took me by the hand, and then drew me unresisting to the table, where I sat me down

he sold in February, 1595, as is shown by a deed of bargain and sale, printed by Pérez Pastor, p. 147. Were the two families ever neighbours here? It would be interesting to know.

[1] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. I. p. 323.

beside his mother." This happiness, as we shall see, was not destined to endure.

Three autograph manuscripts of comedias written by Lope in 1610, are known, all of them signed in April: *La hermosa Ester*, dated April 5, 1610, and now in the British Museum; *La buena Guarda* (*La Encomienda bien guardada*), dated at Madrid, April 16, 1610, and in the possession of Sr. Pidal;[1] and *El Caballero del Sacra-*

[1] The original cast of this play, as given in the autograph, is: Leonarda = *Catalina de Valcazar*; Doña Luisa = *Mariana*; Un Escudero = *Vibar*; Don Juan = *Luis*; Don Luis = *España*; El hermano Carrizo, sacristan = *Basurto*; Felis, mayordomo = *Olmedo*; Doña Clara = *Maria de Argüello*, Doña Elena = *Catalina*; Don Pedro, su padre = *Quiñones*; Ricardo, viejo = *España*, Don Carlos = *Benito*; Gines = *Coronel*; Un Pastor = *Riquelme*; La Hortelana = *Jeronima* The actors Argüello and Callenueva also belonged to this company: *Comedias Escogidas de Lope de Vega*, ed. Hartzenbusch, Vol. II. p. 325. This was the company of Alonso de Riquelme in 1610. Catalina de Valcazar or Valcacer was in 1598 the wife of the *autor* Gabriel Vaca (the uncle of Jusepa Vaca) She became a widow and was married to Alonso de Riquelme "a widower," on March 30, 1608: Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, pp. 105, 347. In the preceding year (1607) we find that Micaela de Gadea figures in the company of Riquelme as his wife. Sánchez-Arjona, *Anales*, p. 127. Maria de Argüello was the wife of an actor in the same company, named Argüello In 1619 she was the wife of one Pedro Barona: Pérez Pastor, p. 167. An examination of the records published by the latter shows that the theatrical people of that time, just as in our own day, became widows and widowers with astonishing frequency. Pedro de España was in the company of Alcaraz in 1607, and in that of Heredia in 1614. *Ibid.* pp. 99, 143. Martin de Vibar is mentioned as an actor in 1604. *Ibid.* p. 85. Diego Lopez Basurto, a celebrated *gracioso*, was in the company of Riquelme in 1606, where he received three reals per day *de racion*, and nine reals for each performance,—not an extravagant salary, surely. The Olmedo is probably the well-known *autor* of later years, Alonso de Olmedo, who in his early career figured in the Enoch Arden episode, with Luisa de Robles and her husband, which is related by Pellicer and again by Sánchez-Arjona, *Anales*, p. 223. He was living in great poverty in 1640, as his petition to the council of Madrid shows: *Ibid.* p. 224. Benito was probably Benito de Castro; Benito de Castro, Agustin Coronel and Luis de Quiñones were members of Riquelme's company in 1607: *Ibid.* p. 126. This Luis de Quiñones, so Sánchez-Arjona presumes, was the same Luis Quiñones de Benavente, who afterwards became celebrated as the author of the *Entremeses* published under his name.

mento, dated April 27, formerly in Lord Holland's collection. All three are printed in Part XV.

On January 24, 1610, Lope was received as a member of the Congregation in the *Oratorio de la Calle del Olivar*,[1] a fraternity that had been founded on Nov. 28, 1608, in the Convent of the Barefoot Trinitarians. Cervantes was one of the earliest members of this Confraternity, having entered on April 17, 1609; he was followed by Salas Barbadillo, Vicente Espinel, and Quevedo, who joined the fraternity in the same year, and long afterwards Calderon, Montalvan, Solis, and other poets became members. This brotherhood is generally called "The Congregation of the Calle del Olivar" because later on (1646) it removed to the oratory erected for it in that street.

Of the letters written by Lope to the Duke of Sessa, in the course of the year 1611, many are still extant. From these we learn that the Duke was banished from Castile in the month of June. The cause is not clear. La Barrera says it was on account of the street brawl with the Duke of Maqueda, but Cabrera, who alludes to this *pendencia y cuchilladas* several times, would probably have mentioned the fact, had that really been the motive. Lope merely speaks of "the slight cause, or almost none, for so much rigour," etc. Cabrera, under

[1] In the previous year, Lope, as we have already noted (p 190), had entered the Congregation of the Caballero de Gracia As to the nature of these brotherhoods, Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne de D. Quixote*, p 162, says · "Une confrérie représentait en Espagne au XVII[e] siècle ce que représente anjourd'hui un club; les gens d'un certain monde appartenait à telle *cofradia*, et l'on se qualifiait en ajoutant à son nom celui de la coterie pieuse qui vous avait admis. L'on se qualifiait; en même temps l'on se garantissait contre de fâcheuses suspicions, et, parfois aussi, contre les coups de la fortune adverse. Les confrères étaient en quelque sorte solidaires, obligés par point d'honneur de s'entr'aider · une *cofradia* bien organisée devait tenir un peu de nos sociétés de secours mutuels. C'est ce qui explique pourquoi tant de gens de lettres briguaient l'honneur d'être reçus membres de Congregations du Chevalier de Gracia où de la rue de l'Olivar, les plus communes du Madrid de Philippe III." See also Navarrete, *Vida*, etc., p. 117.

date of July 2, 1611, says that the Duke of Sessa was ordered to leave the capital and to betake himself to his estates, because his vassals needed governing, and because he had berated an alguacil on his rounds one night. He left Madrid for Valladolid on June 8, 1611.

The poet, as well as the patron, had his troubles. His wife Doña Juana had been ill for some time with (as La Barrera conjectured) a uterine malady. On June 12, Lope writes: "Doña Juana has her ailments; Carlos is well." On July 6 . . . "poor Doña Juana is suffering." On August 6: "Here I pass my life with this vexatious illness of my wife's, practising acts of patience which, if they were voluntary—as they are necessary—their atonement here would be no less than the beginning of purgatory."[1]

In a letter towards the close of August he speaks of insufferable nights because of Doña Juana's malady. "I don't know what would become of me if her courage and sweet disposition did not prompt me to serve her. Carlos is wearing trousers,"[2] etc. Immediately after writing this, Lope is guilty of a most unseemly pun. He says: "Renewed efforts are being made on the part of the physicians with regard to Doña Juana's health. They have resolved upon making a fontanel (fuente = also fountain); I wish I had one in my garden, as it is drying up for lack of water."[3] In the early days of September Doña Juana's condition improved. On Sept. 7, he announces: "Doña Juana is better; Carlos to-day put on another pair of trousers," etc. Ten days later he writes: "This city is so unhealthy that they say there are five thousand sick in it." Carlos, who

[1] It is a fault of La Barrera's *Nueva Biografía* that he rarely quotes the whole of a letter. Here is the one referred to in the text, as given by Schack,—its date, he says, is July 6, 1611. "Aquí paso, Sr. Exª, mi vida con este mal importuno de mi muger, exercitando actos de paciencia, que, si fuesen voluntarios como precisos, no fuera aquí su penitencia menos que principio del purgatorio"; etc. *Nachträge*, p. 31.

[2] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 166. [3] *Ibid.* p. 172.

in the meantime had an attack of fever, is better. On the 24th of September we read: "Doña Juana no longer complains, and it is no slight matter for a woman not to complain, especially if she is your wife; Carlos is without fever," etc.[1]

The illness of Lope's wife and son did not interfere with his duties as Secretary to the Duke of Sessa. Among the most pressing of these duties was the indicting of amatory epistles to the various loves of his patron;—to the Jerónimas, Floras, Jacintas and others. For these poetical effusions the Duke rewarded the poet very generously, as may be gathered from Lope's letters. We shall quote from a few of them. June 17: "To double my feeling of concern you increase your favours . . . may God keep this boy, for if my eyes should no longer see him, I could not have a greater grief." On June 30 he thanks the Duke for a benefice that he has conferred on his brother-in-law Cristóbal de Guardo. "He, Doña Juana and I kiss your feet a thousand times."[2] At the beginning of July: "What is a brother-in-law to me, or my son or my wife or myself, compared with the earth which your Excellency's feet tread?"[3] . . . On September 24, he writes: "Indeed I do not know with what words I could adequately appreciate your Excellency, nor what new style I should attempt in order to show myself sufficiently grateful for the many kindnesses you do me every day, and for the esteem in which you hold my ignorance. I well know that it springs from the greatness of your intellect and the generosity of your blood. What wonder then if you captivate all hearts with which you come in contact! I have a special love for your Excellency, and there is nothing in the world I would not attempt so as not to fall from your grace, which is due more to my good fortune than to my slight merits."[4] It is a sorry

[1] *Nueva Biografía*, p 172.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 171.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 170.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 172.

sight to see genius sink to such servility, and all for the *panem quotidianum*.

Other matters mentioned in some of these letters are not without interest. In the beginning of July, 1611, he writes: "Madrid is just as your Excellency left it: Prado, carriages, women, heat, dust . . . comedias, Jusepa, the journey to Portugal . . . much fruit and little money." . . . On August 6: "The lords pass the nights here listening to Morales, although they never hear; I don't know what has come over him, for if he was jealous when he left here, he has returned much more so: he takes shadows for men, and his host wants to put him out of the house, for with knife drawn and a taper in his left hand, he searches cellars and attics before going to bed, to see whether he can find any lovers, in feline form, on the roofs. . . . I see no one who longs for her," etc.[1] Again, towards the close of August:[2] "There is nothing new here, save that the great Morales has come. Last night Pastrana and others visited the señora Josefa Vaca, pallid and recently delivered and less repentant. There was a dance going on; I saw them through the lattice from the street, and having called out *Victor!* Pastrana answered from within: 'We should have said that'; and sweet words rained from every part of the room."[3]

It seems that at this time a journey which the Court was about to make to Portugal (see one of the letters above), but which was abandoned on account of the Duke of Lerma's illness, revived in Lope his old desire to be appointed royal chronicler; but nothing ever came of the matter. On February 1, 1611, Lope signed the autograph of the comedia *Barlan y Josafá* (*Los dos Soldados de Cristo*), the original of which was formerly in the collection of Lord Holland, and is printed in Part XXIV. of the Comedias, Zaragoza, 1641. On August 2 he finished the manuscript of *La Discordia*

[1] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 168.

[2] This letter seems to me earlier in date than the preceding one.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 168.

en los Casados; it contains a license to perform signed by Fray Alonso Remon, Madrid, 1615, and others dated Granada, 1615, and Lisbon, 1618. To this year belongs also *El mejor Mozo de España*.[1] At about this time, as may be gathered from the extracts from some of the letters published by La Barrera, the Duke of Sessa began to collect the manuscript and printed works of Lope. In one of them, written in October, 1611, Lope imparts to his patron what his biographer truly calls *poco eruditas noticias*.[2] What he says of Argensola's tragedies, is not without interest: "There were some tragedies of Lupercio's, and good ones, I think; such as that age permitted, when the wits were neither so numerous nor the ignorant so bold."[3] In none of the letters quoted by La Barrera does Lope seem to be in possession of the original manuscript of the work in question, and all go to show the extreme carelessness and indifference with which he regarded his own productions.

On September 26, 1611, Lope became a member of yet another pious brotherhood, called "The Third Order of San Francisco." On October 3, 1611, Doña Margarita of Austria, wife of Philip III., died, after having given birth to a son on September 22. The theatres were closed in consequence. This deprived Lope of his most immediate source of income, and he complains of his ill-luck in a letter of October 6-8. "I have bidden good-bye to the Muses on account of the absence of comedias; I shall feel their loss for, after all, they were a help in the frequent illness that my little family suffers."[4] Again, speaking of the same subject, he says: "Only the comedia has felt the misfortune," and adds: "with due discretion they are already trying to resuscitate the play for the good of the hospitals."

[1] Printed in Part XX Madrid, 1625.

[2] The letter is published by Schack, *Nachtrage*, p. 34.

[3] Of these tragedies two have survived *La Isabela* and *La Alejandra* They are printed in Sedano, *Parnaso Español*, Vol IV. Madrid, 1772. They were written about 1585. La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 211.

[4] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 175.

In November Doña Juana's illness again became worse, though, in the letters preserved, Lope alludes to it only once. He speaks of the tricks that Doña Juana's illness is playing, for "she is now complaining and despairing as at first, and, to leave her on such an occasion, did not seem to me to be right, though it would be so to risk her life, mine and that of my son for your Excellency."[1]

A number of Lope's letters, written in this month (November), refer to a new Academy founded by the Conde de Saldaña. Here is his very laconic account of the first meeting in the Count's house. Writing on November 23, he says: "The first one was held on Saturday last; we called at six, and he [the Count] came at ten o'clock: and the poets departed so hungry, tired, cold, muddy, and grumbling, that I do not know whether there will be a second one, although they made me secretary and assigned the subjects."[2]

About two weeks after this Lope, like the Duke of Sessa before him, was the victim of one of those mysterious street brawls of nightly occurrence in Madrid. His escape was almost miraculous.[3] The incident is related by D. Luis Fernandez-Guerra as follows: "On Monday,

[1] *Nueva Biographia*, p. 175.

[2] This letter is, in part, as follows: "No he podido, Sr. exmo. cobrar las canciones de Hortensio, y assi van en su lugar esas mias. haga V. exª. lo que los deseosos, que esperando la dama, gozaron la criada que traia el recado de que no venia. Yo las escribí para la academia del Sr. Conde de Saldaña; fué la primera el sábado pasado; llamamos á las seis y vino á las diez, salieron tales los poetas, de hambre, cansancio, frio, lodos y quejas, que no sé si habrá segunda; aunque me hicieron secretario y repartieron sujetos." La Barrera, *Nueva Biografia*, p. 176.

[3] Lope's narrative of the incident, in a letter to the Duke, is in these words. "Y perdone V. exª. el escribirle assi y de tan mala letra, que estoy metido en una gran refriega, porque viniendo de los *Descalzos* el lunes á las ocho de la noche, me dieron muchas cuchilladas, sin que pudiese desenvolverme; no me hirieron, que los que ven mi capa lo juzgan á milagro, antes la persona que intentó lo que digo, cayó en unas piedras y dejó alli mucha sangre, de donde se entiende que yo estaba inocente y él engañado. Hase alborotado el lugar como si yo fuera cosa de consideracion en él, y visitandome jueces," etc. *Ibid.* p. 554.

December 19, 1611, at 8 o'clock in the evening, an event occurred which was the subject of common gossip next morning. It was known that Lope de Vega had been stabbed, saving his life as by a miracle. It happened in this wise: The Brotherhood of the Slaves of the Holy Sacrament founded in the Convent of the Barefoot Trinitarians, situated behind the palace of the Duke of Lerma, now of Medinaceli, was to elect officers on December 27, for the ensuing year. Lope wished to add to the applause of his immense popularity and fame the lustre of being one of the four councillors to whom are committed annually the government of the congregation, composed of all that was most splendid in Madrid, both ecclesiastics and laymen. . . . On his return [from the *Descalzos*] he was coming up the Calle de Francos when blows and stabs began to rain upon him, without his being able to free himself of his cloak or lay hands upon his sword. 'They did not wound me,' he said to the Counts and Marquises who visited him on Tuesday, 'and those who see my cloak consider it a miracle; on the other hand the person who attempted to injure me fell upon the stones, shedding much blood. From which you may understand that I was innocent and he mistaken'."[1]

The theatres having been closed in October, it is probable that Lope took advantage of the opportunity to finish his *Pastores de Belen*,[2] a book composed of *prosas y versos divinos*, which he dedicated to his son Carlos. As early as the middle of October he writes to the Duke: "Know, my lord, that these days I have

[1] Fernandez-Guerra, *Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcon*, Madrid, 1871, p. 153.

[2] *Pastores de Belen, Prosas y Versos divinos de Lope de Vega Carpio Dirigidos á Carlos Felix, su hijo Año* 1612 *Con Licencia del Ordinario. En Lerida, Por Luys Manescal, mercader de libros.* This is the second edition, a copy of which is in my possession. Its *Aprobacion* is dated at Lérida, June 5, 1612. I have never seen a copy of the first (Madrid) edition, which in all probability issued from the press of Alonso Martin. Other editions are: Madrid, 1613; Lérida, 1613 and 1614; Bruselas, 1614; Valencia, Roan and Alcalá, 1616; Valencia, 1645, and Madrid, 1675.

written a book that I call 'The Shepherds of Bethlehem,' in sacred prose and verse, after the plan of the *Arcadia*. My friends say (flattery apart) that it is the most successful of my attempts; wherefore I have presented it to the Council and shall print it with all despatch; for it has been my devotion, and although on a sacred subject, it is so copiously interspersed with thoughts human and divine, that I think it will be equally well received. I have often thought how ill I employed my writings, my services and my years upon the owner of those thoughts of the *Arcadia*, nor can I help feeling sorry that they were not for your Excellency and Flora, of whose jealous imagination I am solicitous," etc.[1]

Very likely, as La Barrera surmises, it was the author's intention that the book should appear at Christmas (1611); but "the license and other requisites," as the poet says, delayed the work some months, so that it was not published till February of the following year. The *Aprobacion* is signed by Joannes Ludovicus de la Cerda, on November 15, 1611, and the *Fe de Erratas* on February 8, 1612.

The dedication of the "Shepherds of Bethlehem" to the poet's son Carlos, is as follows.[2] "This book of mingled prose and verse to the Infant Jesus is fittingly directed to your tender years; for if He grants you those which I desire for you, it will be well; and

[1] *Nueva Biografia*, p. 178 A similar thought is expressed at the conclusion of the *Pastores de Belen*, under the rubric *Belardo a la çampaña*: "If on other occasions you have appeared rude and rustic, O pipe, when to your sound I sang of the shepherds of my native Tagus, their vain loves and contentions, in the time of the erring thoughts of my early years, etc. . . . I now make amends, in part, for those vain fables, useless and teeming with lies, and cajoling flatteries of beauties that so quickly pass away, which were the light of my illusions."

[2] "Estos prosas y versos al Niño Dios, se dirigen bien a vuestros tiernos años; porque si él os concede los que yo os desseo, sera bien: que quando halleys Arcadias de pastores humanos, sepays que estos diuinos escriuieron mis dessengaños, y aquellos mis ignorancias. Leed estas niñezas; començad en este Christus, que él os enseñará mejor como aueys de passar las vuestras. El os guarde.—Vuestro padre."

when you may find Arcadias of human shepherds, you may know that of these divine ones I wrote in my disillusioned years, and of those human ones I wrote in my ignorance. Read these fancies of childhood; begin Christ with them, for He will better teach you how you ought to pass your childhood. May He guard you.—Your father."

It is quite clear, therefore, that when this dedication was written, probably in January or February, 1612, the son Carlos Felix was still living.

The *Pastores de Belen* is "a sacred pastoral of supreme simplicity, truth and beauty—as Spanish as Spain herself—which contains one of the sweetest numbers in Castilian."[1]

It is a very pleasant book to read; for, though the biblical stories are somewhat tedious, the lyrical portions are full of charm. The work was successful, but it breaks off abruptly in the fifth book, and was never finished. La Barrera attributes the scarcity of copies of the first edition to the severe expurgation of the work by the Holy Office. "Long passages in prose, such as those which relate to the histories of the chaste Susanna and of David, Amon and Tamar, as well as some precious compositions in verse, generally translations of the *libros santos*, are found pitilessly blotted out by the corrosive inquisitorial ink." He says that in a copy of the Madrid edition of 1613, over eighty leaves in the middle of the volume are destroyed. In this pastoral, as in the *Arcadia*, Lope introduced a number of friends in the guise of shepherds. According to La Barrera, *Elisio* is Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla and *Damon* is Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza.

[1] Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *History of Spanish Literature*, New York, 1898, p. 248. This admirable and scholarly work has been revised and augmented in the excellent Spanish translation of Sr. D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martin: *Historia de la Literatura Española*, Madrid, 1901. It is easily the best compendium of the whole period—down to our own century—that has yet been written. The poem alluded to above is the lullaby at the close of Book III. It has been translated by Ticknor, *Hist. of Span. Lit.* Vol. II. p. 208.

In this same year (1612) there appeared at Salamanca, and afterward at Valladolid, "Four Soliloquies," a little work of eight leaves. I have copied the full title below,[1] and its devout expressions contrast sharply enough with the life that Lope led. But these inconsistencies between conduct and profession will excite no surprise in students of life. In the meantime the Academy of the Conde de Saldaña had come to an end, and from its ashes arose another, in the beginning of February, 1612, founded by D. Francisco de Silva y Mendoza, younger brother of the Duke of Pastrana. Of this new Academy, called *El Parnaso*, and later *Academia Selvaje*, Lope, Cervantes, Luis Velez de Guevara, Vicente Espinel, Pedro Soto de Rojas and other *ingenios* were members. Some of the meetings seem to have been interesting. Of one of them Lope writes: "The Academicians are furious; at the last meeting two licentiates pulled each other by the bonnets; I read some verses with the spectacles of Cervantes, which seemed like badly poached eggs." Another sitting ended in something like a free fight. Like its predecessors, this Academy was short-lived. Suarez de Figueroa says that these meetings came to a close *con toda brevedad*. It appears that these peppery poets lampooned each other, or, as Lope puts it, bit each other poetically · "never did Mars cast such a hostile glance at the Muses," he adds, and so the Academy died untimely.

Lope's letters show that he was in poor health during the early months of 1612; to add to his misfortune,

[1] The title in English reads: "Four Soliloquies of Lope de Vega Carpio, being tears shed while upon his knees before a Crucifix praying to God to pardon his sins, after having received the habit of the Third Order of Penitence of Saint Francis It is a most important work for any sinner who wishes to free himself of his vices and begin a new life. Valladolid, 1612." Years afterward, in 1626, these *Soliloquies* were republished, with three more added, under the pseudonym of Padre Don Gabriel Padecopeo, an anagram of the poet's name. They are now reprinted in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XIII. p. 471.

towards the close of February he had a serious fall, and so injured his arm that, though the bone was neither dislocated nor broken, he was confined to his bed. About this time Doña Juana miscarried of a son; ill health pursues Lope like a shadow, and, he adds, "I believe if anyone were to ask me what ails me, I should not know what to answer, however long I might think about it."[1]

The Bishop of Jaen, D. Sancho de Ávila, having, towards the close of February, sent Lope a copy of his work: *Veneracion de las Reliquias*, the poet replied with an *Epístola* consisting of one hundred and five tercets, which he had printed, probably in Jaen, and which was afterwards included in the *Rimas Sacras* (Madrid, 1614). It is entitled *Respuesta de Lope de Vega Carpio al Sr. D. Sancho de Avila, Obispo de Jaen, habiendo le enviado su libro de la Veneracion de las Reliquias.*[2]

In this year (1612), Sebastian de Cormellas, of Barcelona, "who was in the habit of reprinting all good books immediately after they were issued," printed the following volume of comedias:

Tercera Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega y otros autores, con sus loas y entremeses, las quales Comedias van en la oja precedente. Dedicadas á D. Luis Ferrer y Cardona, etc. En Barcelona en casa de Sebastian de Cormellas al Call, Año de 1612. *Vendese en Çaragoça en casa de Jayme Gotar, mercader de libros.* 4°. The only known copy of this edition was examined by La Barrera in the National Library in Madrid, in 1841. It has since disappeared. It bore the *aprobacion* of Gaspar Escolano, "rector de la parroquia de S. Esteban y coronista de S.M. en la ciudad y reino de Valencia," dated 1611. This circumstance, and the dedication to the Valencian Ferrer y Cardona, prove that this is not the first edition, which must have appeared at Valencia earlier in 1612, or perhaps in 1611. It also confirms the conjecture of

[1] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 185.
[2] Reprinted in *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XIII. p. 385.

Münch-Bellinghausen,[1] to whom this edition was unknown. Besides these two editions—*i.e.* Valencia, Aurelio Mey, 1612, and Barcelona, Sebastian de Cormellas, 1612—there were two editions in 1613, at Seville, and one at Madrid (Miguel Serrano de Vargas). Of this last edition I have only the seventeen preliminary leaves, and the concluding *loas* and *entremeses*. There exists, in addition to these, a Barcelona edition of 1614 (Cormellas, a costa de Juan Bonilla). Of the twelve plays in this *Tercera Parte*, as is well-known, only three belong to Lope. They are: *La Noche Toledana; Las Mudanças de Fortuna y Sucessos de Don Beltran de Aragon;* and *Vida y Muerte del santo Negro, llamado San Benito de Palermo* (*El sancto Negro Rosambuco de la Ciudad de Palermo*). They appear in the second list of the *Peregrino*, Madrid, 1618.

On April 27, 1612, Lope signed the autograph of the comedia *El Bastardo Mudarra*,[2] formerly belonging to Sr Olózaga. It bears the *censura* of Tomas Gracian Dantisco, dated May 17, 1612, and three licenses to perform, dated at Zaragoza, Jan. 20, 1613; Antequera, May 13, 1616; and Zaragoza, June 17, 1617. The play was not printed till many years afterward, in Part XXIV., Zaragoza, 1641.

About this time—April, 1612—as appears from Lope's letters, the Duke of Sessa returned from his estates, whither he had been banished In one of these letters Lope solicits some employment for the bearer of it, his friend, the poet Gaspar de Aguilar.

[1] *Ueber die alteren Sammlungen spanischer Dramen*, p. 134 The author states that the D. Luis Ferrer y Cardona, to whom this volume, as well as the one published by Mey in 1608 *Comedias de Quatro Poetas*, etc., were dedicated, wrote under the pseudonym of Ricardo de Turia But the plays which appeared under this name are the work of Don Pedro Juan de Rejaule y Toledo. La Barrera, *Catálogo*, pp. 156, 320; Salvá, *Catálogo*, Vol. I. p 538.

[2] I have an admirable photozincograph reproduction (1866) of this play, preceded by a letter from Sr. Olózaga The names of three players are noted, in Lope's handwriting; they took the following parts: Doña Alanbra = *Ana Maria*; Gonzalo Bustos = *Cintor*; Rui Velazquez = *Benito*.

Doña Juana, after her miscarriage in February, went to recuperate at Toledo. Lope followed later to accompany his wife back to Madrid, and on the return journey they were caught by a heavy storm which forced them to pass the night at Pinto.[1] Lope reports that his son Carlos is well. The letters written in May show, in the words of La Barrera, "the intimacy and the honourable deference with which the family of the illustrious *ingenio* treated and favoured the lofty personage." These letters contain invitations to the Duke to visit the poet's cottage (*choza*), and requests for the loan of the Duke's coach to Doña Juana. In one of them Lope says: "As coach-hire I send your Excellency this trout, which I think will be fresh, since it comes from Alba. . . . Doña Juana begs your Excellency to have the coach here at four o'clock, as she is going to call for her mother; for it is she who is directing this festival, and she would like to reach there early, so as to enjoy the time till evening. I shall have one of the worst days in my life—I, too, am going—for among fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law no intelligent man can amuse himself."

There is considerable uncertainty as to the letters of Lope which are referred to this period. All are undated, and La Barrera can only assign two of them to the time between May 1612, and September 1613. In one of these Lope and Doña Juana express their sympathy to the Duke for the wounds he had accidentally received a few nights before, while returning from a visit to their house. The letter ends by informing Sessa that little Carlos has double tertian fever, and that his condition is quite serious; "he eats nothing; if you have any jelly, send it by Bermúdez" (*si allá hay alguna xalea mande V. ex.ª á Bermúdez que la embie*). This letter La Barrera

[1] "Yo salí á recibir á Doña Juana, de quien ya la vejez me ha hecho galán, y de viña á viña llegué hasta Pinto, donde hallé por correr los toros y al Marqués de Peñafiel en la fiesta; habiamos de partir en acabándola y fue la tempestad de suerte que creen que quedará todo el campo destruido," etc. *Nueva Biografía*, p. 190.

refers (without stating his reasons) to the close of August or beginning of September, 1612. In another, which La Barrera places immediately after this, Lope says: "I desire the health of Carlos, in order that your Excellency may have another Lope de Vega to love you as I do, although he may be of as little good to you as his father."

Those letters that are dated in September and October of 1613, contain no reference whatever, La Barrera says, either to Carlos or to Doña Juana. The former had died, in all probability sometime during the summer or in the early autumn of 1612, and Doña Juana, we now know, died in August, 1613. The death of little Carlos was a severe blow to his father, who loved the boy passionately. He has expressed his deep sorrow at his loss in a very beautiful and touching *cancion*, written shortly after his son's death, and printed in the *Rimas Sacras* (1614).[1] It breathes the tenderest Christian resignation. I give but two stanzas:[2] "And thou, happy child, who in the seven years of thy life wert never once disobedient to thy father, free me by thy example of my illusions; solace my sorrowful paternal eyes, thou who art now the light; from thy cradle to thy last bed, thou never gavest an hour of sorrow. . . . When I saw thee so saint-like and so wise, I recognised in thy tender years the age which was already leading thee to the cold shadows of death: then did I weep what now I gain and lose, and then I said: here doth age end, for never doth youth begin in this way. . . . For thee the little birds of varied song and colour did I cage, solicitous to please thee: for thee I planted trees and flowers, in which I could better contemplate thee. But scarce, my Carlos, didst thou issue forth from the pure air of dawn, still bathed with dew, when thou didst wither, and the white lily, congealed into ice, fell to the

[1] Lope also alludes with the deepest feeling to the death of Carlos in the *Epistola* to *Amarilis* in the *Filomena*, and in the *Epistola* to Dr. Matias de Porres, in the *Circe*, part of which we have quoted above.

[2] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XIII. p. 368.

ground, although transplanted to Heaven. O, Carlos, what divine birds dost thou now enjoy, that with bright, painted wings flutter through the celestial fields, in the eternal garden."

One can imagine what sorrow the death of her only child must have caused Doña Juana, whose health had been failing since the preceding February. During the next year there is complete silence as to Lope and his family. No single letter of all the vast number in existence refers to this important year in Lope's life. Doña Juana's grief had doubtless broken her health completely. She died on August 13, 1613, at Madrid, nine days after she had given birth to her daughter Feliciana.[1] The last Will and Testament of Doña Juana de Guardo[2] was discovered by Sr. Asenjo Barbieri, and has been published in the *Adiciones* to La Barrera, p. 656. It was executed on August 11, 1613, two days before her death Among the bequests, the testatrix disposes of several pieces of jewelry, on some of which money had been advanced to her by her father, Antonio de Guardo, and all the rest had been pledged to the persons mentioned, for money lent. So that in spite of the poet's liberal income, his wife was troubled, even on her death-bed, by the straitened circumstances of her family. To Luisa Debega, her husband's niece, she gives a pair of slippers with silver ornaments, and likewise the sum of a hundred reals

[1] Madrid, 13 Agosto, 1613—"En trece de Agosto de 1613 años murió Doña Juana de Guardo, casada con Lope de Vega, en la Calle de Francos. Recibió los santos Sacramentos de mano del Licenciado Mendiola. Testó ante Juan de Piña mandóse enterrar en los Carmelitas Descalzos, y mandó misas dozientas y quarenta y las que se pudieran decir aquel dia. Testamentarios, su marido y Antonio de Guardo y Alvaro Lopez de Castro, mayordomo del Duque de Alba." —Archivio parroquial de San Sebastian" *Datos desconocidos*, p. 279.

[2] That Doña Juana died in giving birth to Feliciana, is stated very plainly by Lope in his Epistle, entitled *Belardo a Amarilis*:

Feliciana el dolor me muestra impresso
De su difunta madre en lengua y ojos·
De su parto murió, triste sucesso.

Obras Sueltas, Vol I. p. 472.

to her servant Catalina. This latter is probably the Catalina who kept house for Lope de Vega after his wife's death, and who brought up the children of Micaela de Luxan, Marcela and Lope Felix. Doña Juana made her daughter Feliciana the residuary legatee. The fact that the death-register of Lope's son Carlos has not been found in Madrid, may be an indication that he did not die in that city, but probably at Toledo, whither his mother may have taken him on account of the unhealthiness of Madrid in summer.

CHAPTER IX.

LOPE TAKES ORDERS. DIFFICULTIES WITH SESSA. PUBLICATION OF LOPE'S COMEDIAS HIS PRIVATE LIFE.

It may be inferred from his letters that Lope soon recovered from the shock of Doña Juana's death. About the middle of September, 1613, Philip III. and the royal family made a journey to Segovia, Burgos and Lerma, and we find Lope in the royal retinue.[1] A letter which he wrote to the Duke of Sessa, dated at Segovia, September 23, about five weeks after the burial of Doña Juana, is significant enough. After describing the festivities,—the bull fights and cane tilts, etc., and saying that the rain had prevented the procession, destroying the altars and hangings,—he concludes: "I, my lord, have been quite comfortable here with my hostess Jerónima [de Burgos]; here I have seen the lords prowling around my house; the gallants come, but with less money than we needed. . . .

[1] An account of this journey of the Court is given by Cabrera, *Relaciones*, under the date of September 21, 1613.

Jerónima was present as I was writing to you, and bade me send you many greetings."[1] On October 16 and 19, he writes from Lerma, saying in the last letter that they are about to leave for Ventosilla.

On his return from Lerma Lope wrote the comedia *La Burgalesa de Lerma*, of which a manuscript, dated November 30, 1613, was formerly in the Osuna collection It was afterwards published in the *Decima Parte* (Madrid, 1618). *La Dama boba*, which he wrote for Jerónima de Burgos, and in which she created the role of *Nise*, was finished by him in Madrid on April 28, 1613, as the autograph, also formerly in the Osuna Library, shows.[2]

At the beginning of the year 1614, being then in his fifty-second year, Lope determined to enter the priesthood. With regard to this resolution, La Barrera asks. "Did he reckon with his own strength? Did he reflect upon the matter well? Let his subsequent actions answer this. Did he perchance cease the continuous, and certainly in no wise exemplary, occupation to which his dependence upon the Duke obliged him? No, at least not for some years. Did he determine to relinquish his dramatic labours in order to devote himself wholly to those of his lofty and holy ministry? Far from doing this, he continued them to the end of his days."

In his *Epístola* to Dr. Porras, Lope speaks of his

[1] In this same year Lope published a small devotional work in eight leaves, entitled *Contemplativos Discursos de Lope de Vega, a instancia de los Hermanos Terceros de Penitencia del Serafico San Francisco, etc. En Madrid. En Casa de Juan de la Cuestra. Año* 1613.

[2] Printed in the *Novena Parte*, Madrid, 1617; see above, p. 171. It has always been stated hitherto that in June, 1613, Lope signed the MS. of *La Niña de Plata y burla vengada*, now in the British Museum This is a mistake. Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly, it seems, was the first scholar to examine this MS critically He informs me that the MS is really dated Montilla, January 29, 1613; also that it is not in Lope's writing, that it is not signed by Lope, that it differs altogether from Lope's printed comedia, that it is (so far as he is aware) inedited, and that it bears no resemblance to Lope's style.

taking this momentous step:[1] "Although reticent through my great unworthiness, I disposed my soul for the priesthood, because that retreat protects and guards me." And in the verses to *Amarilis* he says: "I left worldly vanities and was ordained, for it was necessary to bring order into my disorder."[2]

Lope received minor orders at the beginning of March, 1614, and then went to Toledo about the 12th of the month, for his ordination as a priest. His letters to Sessa at this time are fortunately preserved, and they give some interesting details. The second letter is dated Toledo, March 15, 1614:[3] "I arrived, presented my credentials to him of Troy—for so they call the Bishop—and he gave me the subdiaconate; by this you may know that I am drawing nearer to being your chaplain; and you should see how fitting was the designation [of the Bishop], for only by Troy could a man of so many fires be ordained: but as cruel as though I had been he who brought in the [wooden] horse, for he reproved me for wearing a moustache, and in sheer desperation I had it taken off, so that I doubt whether your Excellency will know me, etc. . . . Here the Señora Gerarda [Jerónima de Burgos] has received me and lodged me with great kindness. She is much less entertained and more beautiful. She kisses the feet of your Excellency and bids me to send you her compliments," etc. . . .

In a letter dated March 19, he writes[4]: "My life in Toledo is spent in going and coming to solicit your Prelate, so that he may give me the dimissory letters . . . after I received the subdiaconate, as I wrote to your Excellency, I have not sought or expected any other entertainment from my coming here, for that was the principal object; although this person has received me in her usual manner, and I have already often told you how generous her disposition is, so much so that she

[1] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. I. p. 325.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 473.
[3] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 205.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 205.

has this day sought to obtain an eel to be presented to the Almirante de Napoles [the Duke of Sessa]," . . . etc.[1] Toledo, March 21, 1614: "My lady hostess is in good health and, as she has signified to me, wishes your Excellency every happiness, desiring to be co-sponsor with you after Corpus."[2]

Toledo, March 23, 1614.[3] "It appears, as your Excellency gives me to understand between the lines, that you are sorry the same causes should detain me here as gave suspicion there; but do not shoot at me with noiseless powder, for I assure you that I should consider it an act of disloyalty to hide my thoughts from you, and unworthy of the favours I have received. What is certain is, my lord, that I should wish to finish with my orders, and, since I already have the subdiaconate, not delay the rest, so that I may be free of this trouble. . . . This is my life, and the walks from my lodging to the church; I pray two hours, which now I am obliged to do, and in the evening I talk a while—till the hour for sleep comes—with some friend, and, since he who denies all confesses all, I divert my thoughts from my sorrows in the company of the friend with the fair name, and in this there is a certain pleasure for your Excellency, since there is nothing that sounds in the ears of a lover like the name of one he loves, even though it be from the lips of another. She is so grateful for the favour your Excellency shows her, that, seeing me concerned about sending you an eel, she relieved me of the anxiety by procuring the one which this servant of hers now brings to you, etc. . . . May you receive it kindly, and remember that she is to be your co-sponsor after Corpus." . . .

Lope must have been ordained priest shortly after this, for in the course of a letter written in the following month (April), he says expressly, ". . . *y mas despues*

[1] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 205.

[2] The allusion here is to the baptizing of Lope's daughter, Feliciana.

[3] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 206.

que soy de Evangelio."[1] Again, about the same time, he writes—still from Toledo: "That person [Jerónima] is well and cheerful; she speaks highly of the gentlemen of this city; I say that the lack of money must be the occasion for it. . . . I have so little [money], that I make bold to beg your Excellency, if you have any at hand, to send me some assistance, for I have made a fine purchase for my altar, and you shall see it," etc. . . . In another letter, dated April also, the poet refers to Gerarda's gratitude for a robe the Duke had sent her, and subsequently says he has had an opportunity of talking with Gerarda about Feliciana's baptism, and that she (Gerarda) was in a peasant's costume,—"for she had not yet changed her clothes."

In the following month Lope speaks of his convalescence as progressing, though there is no mention of his illness in any of the letters given by La Barrera, except one,—which the biographer, however, seems to think must be of later date (sometime in May),—where the poet says he is ill with a severe catarrh. We learn also from the correspondence that Marcela had been ill at this time, and that both she and Lopito were now at their father's house, in Madrid, in charge of his housekeeper Catalina.

It is unnecessary to quote further from these letters, written mostly in April and May, at Toledo,[2] whence Lope returned to Madrid, perhaps early in June. The correspondence shows plainly that the *mudanza de su vida* of which Lope speaks in one of the letters, was a myth. It may be feared that for some years after his ordination he led the same free life as before it.

[1] Of his ordination he says in another letter "Aqui he negociado que me ordenen las temporas de la Trinidad de Missa; V. exa. se aperçiva para oyrmela deçir el dia del Corpus en mi oratorio, siendo Dios servido." . . . Lope had had this private oratory in his house at least as early as Feb 14, 1613, on which date he had been exempted, by a royal privilege, from the charge called *de huespedes y aposento* *Ibid.*, p. 203.

[2] The letter written in May, 1614, has been given on p. 173.

One need not question his sincerity; but what can one say of his discretion and firm purpose? He went to Toledo to take orders, and lodged at the house of an actress, with whom he passed his evenings. He sent his letters to the Duke by the actor [Pedro] Valdés, husband of Jerónima de Burgos, and seems to have been thoroughly conversant with all that was going on in Pinedo's company, which was then acting in Toledo. The letters of March 15 and 23, already given, indicate the Duke of Sessa's strong suspicion that Lope was kept in Toledo by something absolutely unconnected with his ordination.

Concerning the identity of the person whom the poet calls *la señora Gerarda*, and *la amiga del buen nombre*, there can be no doubt. She is the actress Jerónima de Burgos (as La Barrera had rightly conjectured). Jerónima, Maria de los Angeles and Isabel Ana were apparently all members of the company of the famous Pinedo, whom Lope praises so highly in "The Pilgrim in his own Country" Association with such people was very congenial to Lope, and the delay of which he complains, in writing of his ordination, was probably not a source of grave spiritual affliction.

On June 16, 1614, the baptism of Lope's daughter Feliciana was completed in the Church of St. Sebastian, at Madrid.[1] She was born on August 4, 1613, and had been formally baptized (as it appears) soon afterwards. It remained to comply with the rubrics by the administration of the holy oil and chrism, the ceremony of exorcisms and other solemn rites customary in conferring the sacrament. The poet's brother-in-law,

[1] Madrid, 16 Junio, 1614—"En la yglesia parrochial de St. Sebastian de esta villa de Madrid, en diez y seis de Junio de 1614 años, yo, el Licenciado Christóbal de Guardo, hize las ceremonias de poner el sto. oleo y chrisma y los exorcismos y cathacismos á Feliciana, á quien por necesidad batiçó el Lic. Alviz, la qual nació en quatro de Agosto de 1613 años, hija de Lope de Vega Carpio y de Doña Juana de Guardo, su legitima muger, que vive en la Calle de Francos, y fueron sus padrinos D. Luis Fernandez de Cordova, Duque de Sessa, y Maria de Guardo." *Datos desconocidos*, p. 281.

Cristóbal de Guardo officiated; the sponsors were the Duke of Sessa and Maria de Guardo, the sister of the poet's deceased wife. This function had probably been so long delayed, partly on account of Lope's journey to Segovia and Burgos, and partly also, perhaps, because of his long absence in Toledo to receive holy orders; but the chief reason was, as his letters show quite clearly, because he preferred to wait until Jerónima de Burgos should return to Madrid. He wanted her to be one of the sponsors—the *madrina de pila*,—for Feliciana, as she had been for his son, Lope Felix del Carpio y Luxan, in 1607. In fact, there can hardly be any question that this was the true cause of the delay, as may be seen from the letters of March 21 and 23, quoted above. Why Jerónima's place was finally taken by Maria de Guardo does not appear.

Towards the close of 1613, Lope's friend Gaspar de Porres obtained a license to print a volume of the poet's comedias, the Fourth Part: *Doze Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Familiar del Santo Oficio. Sacados de sus originales. Quarta Parte. Dirigidas a Don Luis Fernandez de Cordoua, Cardona y Aragon, Duque de Sessa, etc. Año* 1614. *Con Privilegio. En Madrid, por Miguel Serrano de Vargas. A costa de Miguel de Siles, librero.* 4°.[1]

[1] My copy is. "En Pamplona, por Nicolas de Assiayn, Impressor del Reyno de Navarra Año 1614" The volume was also reprinted at Barcelona, in the same year

The Third Act of *Peribañez y el Comendador de Ocaña*, one of the plays in this volume, contains an interesting passage concerning our poet. He has here introduced himself, as he has so often done, under the pseudonym of *Belardo*

Peribañez. Tan viejo estays ya, Belardo
Belardo. El gusto se acabó ya.
Peribañez. Algo dél os quedará
Bajo del capote pardo.
Belardo. Pardiez, señor Capitan,
Tiempo fue que al sol y al ayre
Solia hacerme donaire,
Ya pastor, ya sacristan.
Cayó un año mucha nieve,

Porres dedicates the volume to the Duke of Sessa, saying: "In order to satisfy the author of this book for the little pleasure he takes in the imprinting of things that he wrote with such different intention, I found no more efficacious way than to direct them to your Excellency whom he loves so much, and desires to serve so much," etc. The prologue *A los Lectores*, was also written by Gaspar de Porres, and is not without interest: "The offences that many persons commit every day against the author of this book by printing his Comedias in the barbarous condition in which they have found them many years after they have issued from his hands, and filled with absurdities; and those which he suffers from others, who, for their own private interests, imprint or represent under his name those which are not his, have obliged me because of the love and friendship that I have borne him for many years, to publish these twelve, which I had as originals . . . for, although it is true that their author never wrote them with the intention of printing them, and many of them he wrote in a shorter space than they required, because of the little time that remained to their owners to study them; still one should not fail to recognize the fertility of his extremely rich vein, so well known to all. For I do not think there is any malice so blind that would deny to him what Heaven gave him of the art of making Comedias,—I

Y como lo rucio vi,
A la iglesia me acogi.
Peribañez. Tendreys tres diezes y un nueve
Belardo Essos y otros tres dezia
Un aya que me criaua,
Mas pienso que se oluidaua,
Poca memoria tenia, etc

(Fol. 96, ed 1614)

If Lope was really forty-two years old at this time, then the play was written in 1604; but he had not entered the Church, nor any religious order, as early as this He joined the Congregation of the Calle del Olivar in 1610, as we have seen It is more likely, therefore, that this comedia was written between 1610 and 1614.

mean of the precepts of them, which are disregarded in Spain. I refer to those captious persons to whom he wrote, for his defence, in the Academy of Madrid, and which poem is to be found in his *Rimas*; for these straitly critical ones must be few, to whom it is not evident that there are no other precepts in Spain nor rules for Comedias, except to satisfy the populace (*vulgo*), a maxim which was not displeasing to Aristotle, when he said that the poet had attained his object if he succeeded in pleasing his auditors."

As a letter to the Duke of Sessa, dated Toledo, April 1614, shows, Lope was by no means ignorant of the publication of this "Fourth Part" of his Comedias He writes that Dr. Porres had given him a copy of this Part of the Comedias, and had told him that he had also given a copy to the Duke. This Gaspar de Porres, the publisher of the *Quarta Parte*, was the *autor de Comedias* who had testified on Lope's behalf when he obtained his pardon in 1595. The Dr. Porres was his son, Dr. Matias de Porres; in January, 1597, he was a student at the University of Salamanca, where he had then been resident for some time[1] The long friendship existing between Lope and Gaspar de Porres makes it improbable that the latter should publish this volume without the poet's knowledge and consent.

Towards the close of June, 1614, Lope wrote to the Duke of Sessa the following remarkable letter:[2] "My lord . do not be bored in coming here to-night, for I can well speak plainly to so great a lord and master. Since I confess each day to writing these letters, he of S. Juan would not absolve me, unless I gave him my word that I would cease doing so; they assured me that I was in mortal sin and this has filled me with such regret that I believe I would not have had myself ordained had I believed that I should have to cease serving your Excellency in anything, and especially in those matters in

[1] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p 45

[2] *Nueva Biografia*, p. 214.

which you take so much pleasure. If I have any consolation it is in knowing that your Excellency writes so much better than I, for never in my life have I seen anyone who could equal you. And since this is an infallible truth, and not an excuse of mine, I beg your Excellency to assume this labour on your own account, so that I may not reach the altar with this scruple, nor be obliged to plead every day with the censors of my sins: for I assure you that you surpass me as much in what you write as you do in having been born the son of such noble Princes. I had never dared to say this [before] to your Excellency because of my immense love and my infinite obligations, devising every day, as best I could, a way of confessing myself. Now it has reached a point when no other means is possible. Your Excellency is the possessor of a clear understanding and a generous heart." . . .

In another letter written, apparently, immediately after this, he says:[1] "I have spoken to that person, most noble lord, and he told me resolutely that I must seek another confessor, and this with as much anger as though I had told him he were a heretic: I entreat your Excellency not to believe that I would fail to serve you for any less urgent cause. . . . I had written this letter to your Excellency when seeing yours, which was given to me, etc. . . . I again entreat you by the blood which Christ shed upon the cross, do not bid me offend Him in this; nor let my having preserved this friendship seem a slight sin to you, and the cause that my lady, the Duchess, now loses your Excellency for the length of time that you propose to absent yourself; for it is hard that you should write to me that I do my pleasure; it is but the pleasure of God, not mine, and this being so it will doubtless also be yours. . . . Your Excellency has no need of me, who have served you day and night in everything that you have commanded me, without considering myself, so that I might not fail one jot in your pleasure, and I wonder now that you hold yourself ill served by

[1] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 215.

me, for on this occasion, since the first day, against the safety of my soul I have continued an affair which has arrived at such a point that your Excellency leaves his house; I want no part in this, but desire to serve you in lawful things. . . . I have not deceived you, for many days ago I told you the cause; and these are not scruples, but sins for which I may not find the grace of God, which is what I now desire."

These letters need no comment. They reveal the mental anguish of the wretched priest, and even the deep despair into which he had been cast by this conflict between duty and friendship.

In the autumn of this same year (1614) Lope published his *Rimas Sacras*,[1] and dedicated them to his confessor, Fr. Martin de San Cirilo. The *Aprovacion* is dated Madrid, August 2, 1614. The *Rimas* consist of one hundred sonnets and various miscellaneous poems.

That the Duke of Sessa was not offended, but received in the proper spirit Lope's protest against any longer indicting his love-letters, is shown by a document dated Madrid, August 30, 1614, and is an additional proof of the protection given to the great dramatist by his patron. It is a power of attorney of "Lope de Vega Carpio, *clerigo presbitero* of the diocese of Toledo, residing in Madrid, to Pedro Duque de Velasco, treasurer of the Duke of Sessa and Baena, and residing in the latter city, setting forth the presentation to Lope de Vega, by the patron, the said Duke of Sessa, of the living (*prestamera*) of Alcoba, rendered vacant by the death of Don Juan de Roxas, and empowering the said Pedro Duque de Velasco to present the said nomination to the benefice before the Bishop of Cordova or his vicar, in whose

[1] *Rimas Sacras Primera Parte de Lope de Vega Carpio Clerigo presbytero Dirijidas al Padre Fray Martin de San Cirilo Religioso descalço de Nuestra Señora del Carmen. Año* 1614. *En Madrid. Por la viuda de Alonso Martin.* 8°. Reprinted in *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XIII. Other editions appeared at Lérida, 1614; Lisboa, 1616, Madrid, 1619; Lérida, 1626; Lisbon, 1658, and a counterfeit of the edition of 1619 was issued by the Conde de Saceda, about the middle of the eighteenth century.

diocese the said benefice is, and to beg that he may make collation and canonical institution of the said benefice, and then recover the rents and profits of the same," etc.[1]

Lope having been ordained a priest in April, 1614. the Duke of Sessa procured this benefice for him as soon as our poet was able to take possession of it. But, as Lope's correspondence with the Duke shows, the rents and profits of this *prestamera* do not seem to have been collected with much regularity. In the letter numbered 39 (La Barrera, p. 623), the poet writes: "I get no answer from Andalusia. It is now two years that Pedro Duque has forgotten me. May God forgive him and keep your Excellency many years."[2] In another letter, also undated, we read. "I have so little luck that when I am most in need, and have the heaviest obligations, everything fails me. I do not know what I can have done to Pedro Duque, for during two years he has not sent me a real from my benefice To-day is Tuesday. I beg your Excellency to remember to advise him of the ill turn he is doing me . . . for we poor priests cannot pass years without the help of benefices," etc.[3]

In the same year (1614) was solemnized the beatification of Santa Teresa de Jesus, and in the poetical contest or *certamen* which was "an indispensable ornament of all festivals in that golden age of Spanish letters," Lope was one of the *Tribunal de calificacion* of the verses handed in, the *fiesta literaria* taking place on October 16. Before a numerous and distinguished assemblage in the church of the *Carmen Descalzo*, Lope inaugurated the ceremony by reciting a panegyric on the Saint "with such gravity and grace of diction, such propriety and spirit in his gestures, such sweetness and efficacy in his arguments, etc., that it caused the greatest pleasure and emotion in

[1] *Datos desconocidos*, p 284

[2] In a marginal note to the autograph is the explanation "This Pedro Duque is a 'mayor-domo ó apoderado del Duque de los Estados de Baena,' who is called Pedro Duque de Estrada"

[3] *Nueva Biografia*, p 625.

the hearts of the auditors." Among the wits who took part in this festival were Lope, Cervantes, Espinel and many others.[1]

In the latter part of the autumn Lope made a journey to Avila, in reference to a chaplaincy: "I left with the intention of being in Ávila two days, which, with four more for going and coming, would be six; but having arrived there, I was told that I might make claim to a chaplaincy instituted by my lord, the Bishop of saintly memory,[2] as he preferred his servants, and inasmuch as there was no older priest among them, I took some pains in the matter, prayed in the Chapter like a Demosthenes, etc. . . and in order not to return by way of Las Navas and the Escorial, Albaro Lopez and I decided to come by way of Segovia, where trout and Sanchez made us delay until I had finished *El mayor Imposible*, as the comedia which I wrote for him is called, if the being able to write it was not so [*i.e.* the greatest impossibility], in the midst of the greatest quantity of fleas that ever visited the world since the plagues of Egypt."[3]

At this point La Barrera quotes a number of letters written by Lope to the Duke, which seem to belong to a slightly later period; but as their date is quite uncertain, and as they are of great interest, I shall give them here. The first is dated Madrid, December ——· "Alonso de

[1] It is reprinted in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol XVII *Oracion y Discurso que para dar Principio al Certamen Poetico hizo Lope de Vega Carpio en alabanza de Santa Teresa de Jesus. Impresso en Madrid por la Viuda de Alonso Martin Año de MDCXV* 4°. In 1614 was also published the *Acto de Contricion de Lope de Vega Carpio en ocho Octavas glosando el verso,* "*Dulcissimo Jesus, en ti confio,*" printed at Valladolid, and reprinted in the *Semanario pintoresco*, May, 1854. I have never seen this poem.

[2] This Bishop was D. Jerónimo Manrique, Lope's friend in his early years (see p. 14) The chaplaincy, according to La Barrera, brought Lope one hundred and fifty ducats annually.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 223. This allusion to the trout at Segovia is the first indication I have found that Lope was an enthusiastic fisherman, the Eresma, which girdles Segovia on the north, is still famous as a trout stream.

Riquelme [the theatrical manager], my lord, came here much troubled this morning, because Sanchez, as a last resort, had spoken to you, asking you to command me to write [a play] for him; and so it seemed best to both of us that he should go with this writing while I see your Excellency to inform you what harm might occur to him [Riquelme], if you should request me to turn my attention to anything else, for he [Riquelme] has nothing to represent [*i.e.* no play], nor will anybody else write for him, on my account; while Sanchez has all the comedias of Andalusia, and has Luis Velez [de Guevara] and other poets, who hasten to him with the offspring of their genius. Sanchez has done me notable injury and Riquelme good deeds; now choose the one whom your Excellency thinks most likely to incline the Muses, who, as they are women after all, cannot be compelled when they have no desire. I want to obey your Excellency in everything, but I am sure that," etc.[1]

From another letter we learn that Riquelme had gone to Toledo, but could not obtain the necessary license to play. Whereupon Lope drafted a letter and sent it to the Duke of Sessa, begging him to sign it, and "add two lines of his own," which letter was then to be used by Riquelme. On December 24, Lope writes: "To-night I take the musicians and the dancers (*bayles*) to the Caballero de Gracia; it is a good distance off, and the streets are muddy; if you could send your coach here, merely to take them (and then return to serve your Excellency), and let it go back for them afterwards, at two o'clock, I do not know how I could thank you sufficiently for the favour." This cool request of the poet's is interesting as a proof that Lope's connection with the theatre continued to be as close as ever after his ordination. Concerning the *impresario* Sanchez, mentioned above, with whom our poet was not on friendly terms, there is much uncertainty, because the name is a very common one. Sánchez-Arjona[2] thinks it was Hernan Sanchez de Vargas, "who was a well

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 223. [2] *El Teatro en Sevilla*, 1887, p. 113.

known patron of the Andalusian poets, putting many of their works upon the stage, especially those of D. Luis Velez de Guevara," and then refers to the letter in the text above, which he assigns to the year 1614. This is very probable,[1] but it may be noted that there was another well known actor named Jerónimo Sanchez (husband of the famous actress Maria de los Angeles), who in 1610 had taken up the stranded company of Mari Flores (widow of Pedro Rodriguez), and had petitioned for a license to perform in Madrid, in August of that year.[2] A cross-light is thrown on the matter, though only to confuse it still more, by a letter dated Madrid, November 9, 1608, written by Lope to the Conde de Saldaña. He says: "There is nothing new here, unless it be . . . that Jerónimo Lopez came with *la Baltasara*, who was somewhat thinner. The widow of Sanchez is now Heredia's. They are persuading her to marry and say let señor Gayferos come to liberate her."[3] I do not catch the point of this allusion to Gayferos and Melisenda.[4] Does it mean that the widow of Sanchez has joined the company of Heredia? If Sanchez was dead at this time, it cannot, of course, refer to the person mentioned in the letter above, nor, as we have seen, to Jerónimo Sanchez.[5]

[1] See below, pp. 229 note and 236

[2] Pellicer, *Tratado histórico*, etc Vol. I p 90 Jerónimo Sanchez was still living in 1623, and a list of the members of his company in that year is given by Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 194.

[3] *Nueva Biografía*, p 635

[4] For the ballads concerning Gayferos and Melisenda, see Wolf, *Primavera*, II p. 229 In Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos acerca del Histrionismo en España en los siglos XVI. y XVII.* we read, under the date of May 7, 1609.—"Obligacion de Andres de Najera de sacar en la fiesta del Corpus una danza de cascabel intitulada *Danza de Don Gayferos y Rescate de Melisendra*, que ha de llevar nueve personajes, quatro franceses, quatro moros y la infanta Melisendra, y un castillo encantado y un caballo de papelón pintado y Don Gayferos," etc.

[5] Jerónimo Lopez and Alonso de Heredia were well known *autores*; the latter was the husband of Maria de Rojas, as early as 1604 (*Nuevos Datos*, p. 355). Fernán Sanchez de Vargas died in 1644, in great

On November 3, 1614, Lope's comedia *El Premio de la Hermosura* was represented in the park at Lerma, "by our lord, the Prince; the most Christian Queen of France and the most serene Infantes Don Carlos and Doña María, and some of the ladies-in-waiting." An account of this representation has been published,[1] and the description is very interesting, the scenic effects on this occasion being most elaborate. "The comedia was by Lope de Vega; the loftiness of the verses and their propriety and fitness showed it, for only his genius could write verses meet for such actors. He took the subject from his *Angélica*," etc. In this play Lope appears as the gardener *Fabio*, and takes advantage of the opportunity to solicit the post of chronicler of the Kingdom, which, as Menéndez y Pelayo observes, was always one of our poet's manias. "They did not think me worthy even of being chronicler and yet people come from strange lands to see me." Probably, however, this passage was added afterwards, shortly before the play was published (1621), in the hope that the lines might impress the Count Duke of Olivares, to whom the comedia was dedicated. To this year belongs also a manuscript, formerly in the Osuna library,—not an autograph, according to Gallardo,—of the comedia *El Príncipe perfeto*, dated at Madrid, December 23, 1614.

In June of the following year we find Lope again in Toledo. The letter which he writes to his patron from this city, dated June 9, entirely concerns their love-affairs. In the first part of it he mildly reproves

poverty, in the public prison of Madrid. *Ibid.* p 331. Baltasara de los Reyes, wife of the actor Miguel Ruiz, was a member of the company of Gaspar de Porres in 1605. *Ibid* p 84. She was commonly called *la Baltasara*, as Lope styles her. Pellicer gives her name as "Francisca Baltasara, a no less celebrated actress than holy anchorite." She achieved her greatest triumphs in the company of Heredia. At the height of her success, she withdrew from the stage and entered a hermitage dedicated to St. John the Baptist, near Cartagena. *Tratado*, Vol II. p 50.

[1] In *Comedias inéditas de Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio*, edited by Fuensanta del Valle and José Sancho Rayon. Madrid, 1873, p. 479.

the Duke for continuing his *amour* with Jacinta, after her many fits of temper. "I never felt so sorry as on the day I found out that her cunning had gone to the extent of feigning sickness, so that your Excellency should visit her. Ay Señor Duque! *You* were the weak one," etc. . . . Of himself he says: "I arrived here fleeing from the dangers in which the tongue of a favoured infamous woman can place a man of my cloth."[1]

At the beginning of October, 1615, the King and princes, together with the whole Court, went to Burgos, and in that city were celebrated by proxy the marriages of the Infanta, Doña Ana of Austria, eldest daughter of Philip III. with Louis XIII. of France, and the sister

[1] This letter is interesting for the light it throws on the *vie intime* of the poet; we see that women contrived to keep him in perpetual hot water. The portion of the letter that concerns Lope is as follows. "La parte segunda desta carta adverti á V. exa que era mia, y assi respondo á la cuenta que me pide de mis pensamientos, no sin alguna sospecha de los que engendró en su pecho la malicia de aquel buen ombre. Yo, Señor Exmo, llegué aqui huyendo de las ocasiones en que la lengua de una muger faboreçida infame puede poner á un hombre de mi hauito Y respondiendo tambien á la objecçion tacita de que no se huye bien del peligro acercándose á él, como yo arriba reprehendo, digo. que siendo, como fué, testimonio, no le puede correr mi conçiençia aunque no quede libre mi reputacion, pero en confianza de que los que me conocen están desengañados, quise huir del mayor mal, aunque diesse de ojos en el que era menos Presumo, Señor, que como hombre acabado al mundo se persuaden façilmente á tan mal gusto, como quien ya no los podia hallar mayores, ygnorando que el dinero nunca fué viejo, ni las diligençias con muger ingratas. A los conjuros de V. exa. no hallo otra respuesta . . . pues plegue á Dios, Señor, que si despues de mi hauito he conocido muger desonestamente, que el mismo que tomo en mis indignas manos me quite la vida sin confession antes que ésta llegue á manos de V. exa., y créame que no le encubriera pensamiento, etc. . . . no ay mas causa á mis ausencias que huir la persecucion de una mujerçilla que escrive aqui me persigan, como lo han hecho, dándome vayas de noche en quadrillas judios desta ciudad con quien ella tiene conocimiento; assi me lo dicen los que las oyen, que yo duermo en parte que es ynposible . . . y en materia de tal muger, no ynporta que V. exa. haga conçeto de alguna mozedad, pues siendo seglar no fué prodigio; aunque para mí sí lo es que aya en el mundo quien apetezca una muger, dexando la profession, tan desatinadamente fea, que en su cara se han vaziado Fariseos para las procesiones, y en su alma neçedades para matar entendimientos." *Nueva Biografia*, pp. 225-6.

of the latter, Isabel de Borbon, with the Prince of the Asturias, afterwards Philip IV. From Burgos the King commanded the Duke of Lerma to accompany the Infanta Doña Ana as far as Bidasoa, and there to receive the French princess. The Duke of Sessa was one of the Grandees selected for this journey, and Lope accompanied him. He writes to his patron about the clothes he needs for the expedition: "a cassock and long cloak without hood, of some kind of black silk; the cassock lined with baize, and the cloak with plush, so that Lerma and the others may know that I accompany your Excellency, and so that I may appear without shame wherever it may be necessary for us to be together," etc. The journey occupied about six weeks. On the return, on November 24, at the Duke's invitation the whole suite went to Lerma, where there were more festivities, the King and Court finally making their solemn entry into Madrid in December.

It appears that Lope had returned at the beginning of the month, while the Duke of Sessa remained at Lerma or Valladolid. Writing to his patron at this time he says: "I have written a *comedia de amores* in which I give a succinct account of the journey; they are studying it now; I do not know how it will be."[1] This comedia, entitled *Los Ramilletes de Madrid*, also *Las dos Estrellas trocadas*, was published in 1618, in the *Onzena Parte* of the Comedias. It is interesting for the many personal

[1] An account of this journey to Burgos and Lerma is also contained in a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional (*Comedias escogidas de Lope de Vega*, ed Hartzenbusch Vol. I p xx). Towards the close of *Los Ramilletes de Madrid*, Fabio says:

"Tambien he visto a Belardo
Que decian que por medio
Se habia quebrado un brazo:
Y debio de ser el peso
De lo que tiene en las manos,
Pues es mas que todo el cielo."

Sr. Hartzenbusch thinks this refers to the fact that Lope had been charged to give an account of the journey. Lope had disabled his arm in February, 1612, as above noted: see p. 204.

allusions to the author and the Duke of Sessa. In a letter of December 12, Lope expresses the hope that the Duke may return by the time the Princess makes her entry into Madrid, adding that his comedia has been performed, and was a great success. He complains, however, of his poor health: "Fever, with bad humours, and great pain have not been lacking."

Of autograph comedias belonging to this year, only one is known. It is the manuscript, now in the British Museum, of *El Galan de la Membrilla*, dated "En Madrid a 20 de Abril de 1615."[1] It was printed in the *Decima Parte* of the Comedias, Madrid, 1618. The *Quinta Parte* of Lope's comedias, as it is sometimes called, also appeared in 1615. It is entitled · *Flor de Comedias de España de diferentes autores. Quinta Parte. Recopiladas por Francisco de Avila, vezino de Madrid. Dirigidas al Doctor Francisco*

[1] There is a curious story related by Suarez de Figueroa (*Plaza universal*, ed. 1630, fol. 254), which is quoted in part by Ticknor (II. p 318), concerning this play *El Galan de la Membrilla* Figueroa's words are. "Hallase en Madrid al presente un mancebo grandemente memorioso. Llamase Luis Remirez de Arellano, hijo de nobles padres y natural de Villaescusa de Haro. Este toma de memoria una comedia entera de tres vezes que la oye, sin discrepar un punto en traça y verços. Aplica el primer dia a la disposicion; el segundo a la variedad de la composicion, y el tercero a la puntualidad de las coplas Deste modo encomienda a la memoria las comedias que quiere. En particular tomó assi *La Dama boba*, *El principe perfeto*, y *La Arcadia*, sin otras Estando yo oyendo la del *Galan de la Membrilla* que representaua Sanchez, començó este autor a cortar el argumento y a interrumpir el razonado, tan al descubierto, que obligó le preguntassen de qué procedia semejante aceleracion y truncamiento, y respondió publicamente que de estar delante (y señalóle) quien en tres dias tomava de memoria qualquier comedia, y que de temor no le usurpasse aquella, la recitava tan mal. Alborotose con esto el teatro, y pidieron todos hiziesse pausa, y en fin hasta que se salió dél Luis Remirez, no huuo remedio de que se passase adelante" It is strange that three of the plays here mentioned as having been taken down from memory by Arellano, had, apparently, not yet been written when the license for the *Plaza Universal* was issued. The first ed. of this work is dated Madrid, 1615; my copy is of Perpiñan, 1630, with a license to print the work, dated April 4, 1612. At this date neither the *Principe perfeto*, nor *La Dama boba* nor *El Galan de la Membrilla* had been written. This portion of the work must have been inserted immediately before printing.

Martinez Polo, Catedratico de prima de Medicina en la Universidad de Valladolid. Año 1615. *Con Privilegio. En Alcala, por la viuda de Luys Martinez Grande.*" In this edition, a copy of which is in the British Museum, each play is paged separately. There were four other editions: two at Madrid, 1615 and 1616, and two at Barcelona, in the same years. The first edition appeared at Madrid, 1615 (Viuda de Alonso Martin). The volume contains twelve plays, of which only one, *El Exemplo de Casadas y Prueba de la Paciencia*, was written by Lope. Restori thinks he has discovered evidence of the existence of a *Quinta Parte* of Lope in a copy of the *Flor de Comedias* in the Biblioteca Palatina, at Parma. The original title-page of the volume is missing, and the following title has been supplied in ink: *El Fenix de España Lope de Vega Carpio, Familiar del Santo Oficio. Quinta Parte. Dirigidas a don Marcos Matheo Palacios Cauallero Aragones. Con Privilegio. En Madrid, Año* 1616. *A costa de Tomas de Alfay, Mercader de Libros.*" Restori thinks it very improbable that this title-page was wholly invented, and believes that it has most likely been copied from an edition which has disappeared.[1] We must reject Fajardo's statement as to a *Quinta Parte* which, as he alleges, appeared at Seville, in 1615, and contained certain plays, of which he gives a list.[2] Of these plays *Las Bizarrias de Belisa* was not written till May, 1634, and *El Desprecio agradecido* must be nearly as late, as a passage in the play shows. In the same year (1615) the Sixth Part of Lope's comedias was issued from the press, *en Madrid, por la viuda de Alonso Martin.*[3] There were two reprints in the following year, one at Madrid, and one at Barcelona. The latter has the following title-page: *El Fenix de España, Lope de Vega Carpio. Familiar del Santo Oficio. Sexta Parte. Dirigidas a Don*

[1] Restori, *Una Collezione di Commedie di Lope de Vega Carpio*, Livorno, 1891, p. 8.

[2] See *Comedias Escogidas de Lope de Vega*, ed. Hartzenbusch, Vol. IV. p. 538.

[3] See Salvá, *Catálogo*, Vol. I p 540. Two other small works by Lope also appeared in 1615: *Coloquio pastoril en alabança de la limpia y*

Pedro Docon y Trillo, Cauallero del Hauito de Santiago, etc. . . . Año 1616. *Con Licencia. En Barcelona, en casa de Sebastian de Cormellas al Call.* 4°. The *Aprovacion* is dated at Madrid, December 11, 1614.

Of the year 1616 four manuscript comedias have been preserved: *El Sembrar en buena Tierra*,[1] signed in Madrid, January 6, with a license to perform dated Jan. 12, 1616, signed by Tomas Gracian Dantisco; *El Principe perfeto* (second part), autograph, dated Madrid, Jan. 16, 1616; *Al pasar del Arroyo*, a copy of which, dated Jan. 23, 1616, was formerly in the possession of Lord Holland;[2] and the autograph of *Quien mas no puede* (as Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, to whom I owe this information, tells me), signed by Lope at Madrid on

pura Concepcion de la Virgen Nuestra Señora. Compuesto por Lope de Vega Carpio. Malaga, 1615, eight leaves in 4°. also *Segundo Coloquio de Lope de Vega entre un portugués y un Castellano, un viscaino, un estudiante y un moço de mulas, en defensa de la limpia Concepcion de Nuestra Señora, etc. Malaga*, 1615

[1] The original cast of this comedia, as given in the autograph, now in the British Museum, is interesting

Don Felix [galan] = *Ortiz*	Liseo = *Escruela* (*Escoriguela*).
Florencio „ = *Benito.*	Fidelio = *Ra*——— ?
Galindo, criado = *Sanchez.*	Arseno = *Ceruela.*
Doña Prudencia [dama] = *Eugenia*	Otavio [mercader] = *Ramon.*
Ynez [su criada] = ———.	Un Escriuano = *Ramos.*
Celia [dama] = *Luçia.*	Un Alguaçil = *Plaza.*
Elena [su criada] = ———.	Doña Ana [dama] . . .
Fabio = *Plaza*	Pedro . . . .
Fileno = *Ramos*	Gonzalo . . . . .
Don Alonso [galan] = *Valdivieso*	Antonio . . . . .
Lisardo [su amigo] = *Herrera*	Riselo, criados. . . .

For Cristóbal Ortiz de Villazán, see above, p. 172, note. The 'Sanchez' is, in all probability, Fernan Sanchez de Vargas, the manager of the company, and the 'Luçia' is Lucia de Salcedo. *Nuevos Datos*, p. 116, and see *post*, p 237 Juan de Escoriguela was still acting in 1640 in Prado's company. Sánchez-Arjona, p. 235. Eugenia de Villegas was the wife of Antonio Ramos, who is mentioned as an *autor* in 1606: *Nuevos Datos*, p 94. Juan de Valdivieso was in the company of Vallejo in 1619. Sánchez-Arjona, p. 203.

[2] Printed in the *Dozena Parte* of the Comedias, Madrid, 1619; the former play in the *Decima Parte*, Madrid, 1618.

September 1, 1616. This last-named autograph, which has hitherto escaped all bibliographers, is now in the possession of the well-known publisher, Mr. John Murray, of London.

From this dry chronicling we turn to a matter of exceptional interest—*una noticia de picante y excitativa curiosidad*, as La Barrera puts it. Towards the close of June, 1616, Lope suddenly left Madrid for Valencia. In a letter to the Duke of Sessa he says he is going to the latter city for his son, a barefoot friar. *Un hijo de Lope Fraile franciscano!* This is indeed enough to excite our curiosity. Barrera doubts whether this was really the cause of Lope's going to Valencia, and suspects—shrewdly enough, as the event shows—that here again there was a woman in the case. It appears that about this same time—the beginning of July—the Conde de Lemos, Lope's former patron, arrived at Barcelona, returning from Naples on the termination of his Viceroyalty. From Barcelona he went by sea to Valencia, and disembarked at the Grao, on August 5, bringing with him, amongst his retinue, the theatrical company of the celebrated *autor* Sanchez, who had entertained him by land and sea with the famous comedias which they represented. Now, in this company, we are told, was a former sweetheart—*una antigua querida*—of Lope's. In his letters, as we shall see, he never calls her by any other name than *la loca*—the mad one. La Barrera hints that this mysterious 'mad one' may be Jerónima de Burgos, but I think the succeeding pages will show that this is improbable.

This sudden departure of the poet-priest naturally aroused the gossips and the envious curs that were always snarling at his heels.[1] To throw these off the

[1] That Lope's stay in Valencia at this time was well known in Madrid, at all events among those conversant with theatrical matters, is seen by two letters written by Jerónimo Dalmao y Casanate, to the deputies of the Kingdom of Aragon. The first is dated Madrid, July 22, 1616; after speaking of the canonization of St. Isabel, which was to take place, the writer continues "It is fitting that you should solemnize

scent he pretended that his love for his former patron had taken him to Valencia, and he accordingly paid several visits to the Conde de Lemos, who, as we learn from one of the poet's letters, showed him great respect and consideration, "placing me by his side in public," etc.

The Duke, it appears, immediately suspected that it was not Lope's son, but quite a different attraction that drew him to Valencia, "in the middle of the dog-days." Lope at first begs the Duke to believe that it was not *la loca* that induced him to make the journey, but a month later he candidly confesses that it was. Here are the letters: "Madrid, June 24-26, 1616.—Three times have I called upon your Excellency to kiss your feet and receive your benediction, for, with a letter from the General of the Franciscans I am going to Valencia for that son of mine, a barefooted friar (*voy á Valencia por aquel hijo mio, frayle descalço*); I shall return as soon as possible," etc. Shortly after his arrival in Valencia,—about the middle of July,—Lope was seized with a violent fever which kept him in bed for seventeen days, as appears from this letter: "Valencia, August 6, 1616.—Your Excellency came very near losing a servant, and if not one of the oldest, at least one who has always

this festival by having a comedia written, but Lope de Vega, whom you desire to compose the play on the holy life of the Queen, is not here now, having gone to Valencia many days ago, but I have been assured that Luis Velez, a modern poet, will do it very well, for those which he writes in the sacred style (*a lo divino*) are almost better than Lope de Vega's" He then mentions that the price of such a comedia will be 600 reals. The second letter is dated Madrid, August 6, 1616 "I wrote to you from the Escurial that I had received the letter in which you requested me to arrange with Lope de Vega about writing a comedia on the life of the holy Queen Isabel, and likewise what I had done in the matter; and that Lope de Vega is in Valencia. You will see whether the poet about whom I wrote you, will please you, for all the theatrical managers assure me that he will do it very well. He is called Luis Velez, and in the devout vein (*cosas á lo divino*), he it is who writes best now."—*Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, Vol. VIII. pp. 76-7.

most desired to serve you in all things. For seventeen days I have been confined to my bed with a violent fever, so that I thought the end of my life had come, and my only anxiety was that I might lose it where I could not see the face of your Excellency . . . I got as far as the palace, as well as I was able, to see the Count [of Lemos], who was much grieved to find me so feeble, for I am so changed that I do not know myself. He showed me much favour and bade me sit beside him in public. . . . Of the Duke I have no more to say except that he showed what manner of person he is by his hospitality. . . . Yesterday *la loca* arrived here; she came, together with Sanchez and the whole company, with the Count, from Barcelona, by sea. Both by land and sea they entertained him with comedias, some of which the Duke praised most enthusiastically. . . . *La loca* has come to see me and asks me to write to you and tell you that here your Excellency has a slave; this I do and I entreat you not to believe that she was the cause of my journey hither, for I have been here a month, and she in Barcelona. . . . My son is coming to-morrow, most eager that I should take him with me · I have arranged it, although I have lost some of my courage, for he is to be a companion with his father."[1]

Who was this son of Lope de Vega, this Franciscan friar, of whom we now hear for the first time? The poet only alludes to him twice, in the letters we have quoted above: "I am going to Valencia for that son of mine, a Franciscan friar," and again: "My son is coming to-morrow, most eager that I should take him with me." As to this mysterious youth, La Barrera puts the pertinent query: "Is it possible, perchance, that not even his name has remained in the works of the immortal and fruitful genius, though printed only once, as a proof of parental and affectionate remembrance?" He hazards a conjecture that seems a very happy one. In the *Rimas Sacras* of Lope, imprinted at Madrid in 1614,

[1] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 239.

there is a poem in thirty-one octaves, with the following rubric: *Revelations of some things very worthy of being noted in the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, made to Saint Bridget, Saint Elizabeth and Saint Metildis, directed to Padre Fray Vicente Pellicer, Barefoot Friar of the Seraphic Father Saint Francis, in Monte Sion, of the Kingdom of Valencia.*" Beginning with the second octave we read:[1] "O thou humble Vincent who, happy, didst leave the name Fernando in the world, exchanging silk for the sack cloth of the loving Francis, since with bare feet thou dost hasten to the glorious pallium, following in his steps, hark to the number of sufferings and sorrows of him who granted so many favours. How well it doth befit thee, tender youth, this sorrowing

[1] O tú, Vicente humilde, que dichoso
Dexaste al mundo el nombre de Fernando,
La seda por sayal del amoroso
Francisco, humano Seraphim, trocando;
Pues con descalzos pies al glorioso
Palio corres, los suyos imitando,
Oye de quien le dió tantos favores
El numero de penas y dolores.
Quan bien te viene á tí, mancebo tierno,
Esta imagen de Christo dolorosa,
Para que lleve celestial gobierno
La nave de tu vida religiosa. .

The two concluding octaves are:

Estos numeros, pues, de señalados
Casos de la Passion del Rey divino,
¡O Vicente humildissimo! contados,
¿Qué *pecho no* penetran *diamantino?*
¡Ay si fueran de mi tan bien llorados
Como ya de tus ojos imagino,
O fuera tanto mar el llanto mio
Que della te engendrára como rio!
¿Quien nos dará á los dos lagrimas tales
Que basten á llorar tales tormentos?
Mas si no son con lo infinito iguales,
Busquemos infinitos sentimientos;
Tú que á Sion de Babilonia sales,
Seguros tienes ya tus pensamientos;
¡Ay de quien queda en tan confuso abismo,
Que aun no vive seguro de si mismo!"

Obras Sueltas, Vol. XIII. p. 268.

image of the Christ, so that the ship of thy religious life may have celestial guidance. . . . These many striking examples of the Passion of the King divine, O most humble Vincent, being related, what breast of adamant would not be moved? Ah! if by me they had been so much wept as I imagine they have been already by thine eyes; or that my tears were so great a sea that from it, like a stream, 'twould thee engender. Who will vouchsafe unto us two such tears as may suffice such torments to lament? . . . Thou who in thy thoughts securely forth goest to Sion from Babylon, Alas for him who remains in this maze of error and lives not even sure of himself." These verses seem to indicate the very close relationship—the *mancomunidad*, as La Barrera observes—between the poet and the young friar. The name the latter had "in the world," as the second verse tells us, was Fernando; and so this Fray Vicente was Fernando Pellicer, Lope's natural son, who must have been, as Barrera says, *prenda de alguna conexion amorosa* of the illustrious poet in Valencia, in the year 1599, and was therefore about fifteen years old—*mancebo tierno* he is called—when these verses were written. The religious order, the time and the place certainly all combine to favour this conclusion

Having returned to Madrid in the beginning of September (1616), Lope wrote to the Duke of Sessa as follows:[1] "If your Excellency knows what took me from here in the middle of the dog-days, with as much abruptness as discomfort, why do you tell me that the person who has recently come [the Count of Lemos] is the one who obliged me to such a sudden demonstration of humour and fancy? The truth is that I have taken him as a shield for this madness, and in the prosecution of my first plan, I visited him, a thing which will cease as soon as I see that the rumours about my departure, of which you wrote to me, have subsided; for all this we, who are always in the public eye, must do, although we be of humble

[1] *Nueva Biografia*, p. 239.

birth, or else we must shake what they call honour from our shoulders. . . ." Another letter written shortly after this, concludes thus: "Of the comedia I know nothing up to the present time, as the day has been a busy one, and a very disagreeable thing has happened; for a certain mother has sent for me, and it cannot be to my advantage, since, if a complaint be avoided it will be a matter for a gift, and although the latter move rocks to pity, I would rather have wished that she had bidden me not to see her daughter for ever."[1] It appears that there are no less than eleven other letters written by Lope in which he mentions *la loca*. They were evidently all written after the return to Madrid. Here is one of them:[2] "Sir: It was not my fault that I missed you last night, for I waited until eleven o'clock, and mistrustful, I went to pass the excessive heat with *una loca*, on the threshold of her door, [to see whether] your Excellency did not pass, being obliged to do so in order to go to the Prado; for until one o'clock I stood there on the watch, though, when I returned to the house, they told me that Gonzalo had come for me."

In a subsequent letter: "Sir, I have not had an opportunity to copy the ballads; to-morrow the Muses will leave me, and this is a matter of sheer necessity, *porque en mi no son damas, sino rameras*. As regards *la loca*, it is as I told your Excellency," etc. In another: "I should like very much to see something written by that angel of the Palace, for after I saw the ignorance of Don Gregorio, any entanglement seems possible. I got out of those [entanglements] of my *loca* when I told you . . . etc . . . I have wasted reputation, time, money, and efforts, for all were ill-employed on such an unfortunate case."[3] Again Lope says: "I am here passing very

[1] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 239 [2] *Ibid* p. 240.

[3] "He ganado reputacion, tiempo, hacienda, passos, que todo era mal empleado en tan infeliz sugeto," is the text given by La Barrera, p. 241. *Ganado* seems to be a mistake here for *gastado*, and I have so translated.

delightful mornings in the arms of a being clever, neat, loving, grateful, and complaisant, whose disposition, if beginnings do not deceive, seems that of an angel."[1] Still, I must admit, it is doubtful who is meant here. In another letter Lope speaks of the baseness and ingratitude of *la loca*, and again of "her base conceits, as ignorant as she is."

Who was the elusive person whom Lope in these letters calls *la loca*? In one of them, as we have seen, he says she was an actress, and a member of the company of Sanchez at the time (1616). La Barrera had at first conjectured that she was Jerónima de Burgos. If we knew the persons who comprised the company of Sanchez in 1616, there would perhaps be little difficulty in determining who *la loca* was. In the cast of *El Sembrar en buena Tierra*, given on p. 229, which was licensed to be represented on January 12, 1616, the name Sanchez occurs, and this was in all probability his company; if so, he was Fernan Sanchez de Vargas, who had had a company of his own as early as 1609. The names of but two actresses, it will be observed, occur in this *dramatis personae* Eugenia and Luçia. Now, in a letter written by Lope in August, 1617, and which we shall quote presently, he announces the fact that a child had been born to *Amarilis*,—of whom we shall read abundantly hereafter—that the weeping of some women present had been displeasing to *la señora Lucina*, and that this must have been because her name resembles that of Luçia de Salcedo. This Luçia de Salcedo was then a rival or an enemy of *Amarilis*. La Barrera puts the query whether this Luçia could be *la loca*. This conjecture seems much more probable than that *la loca* is Jerónima de Burgos. The name Salcedo is well known in the annals of the Spanish theatre of the time; in 1595 Mateo de Salcedo was an *autor de comedias* in Madrid,[2] and in 1610 Nicolas de Salcedo

[1] La Barrera, p. 241.

[2] Pérez Pastor, in the *Revista Española*, Vol. I. p. 243.

was an *autor* in Seville.[1] In 1602 Maria de Salcedo appears as the wife of Pedro Ximenez de Valenzuela, also an *autor*, and on March 5, 1610, there is a record of an agreement between Luis Alvarez and Mariana Herbias, his wife, and Alonso Riquelme, whereby the former agree to become members of the latter's company, and in which it is further agreed that to Mariana de Herbias shall be given "all the parts that were acted by *Lucia de Salcedo*, because she enters in her place," etc.[2] This Lucia de Salcedo is unquestionably the same person to whom Lope alludes in his letter of August, 1617, and she, it seems to me, is much more likely than Jerónima de Burgos to be *la loca*.[3]

Towards the close of 1616, in all probability, Lope obtained, through the influence of the Duke of Sessa, the office of *Procurador Fiscal de la Cámara Apostólica*, in the Archbishopric of Toledo Lope mentions the fact in a letter to the Duke: "To-day the secretary of Monseñor came to my house with the Auditor and heard mass in the oratory; the Secretary gave me the instrument conferring on me the title of Procurador Fiscal de la Cámara Apostólica, an office of greater consideration than the one you had requested," etc.[4] To this year belongs an *auto sacramental*, entitled *La Isla del Sol*, signed on April 6, 1616, "written for Alonso Riquelme," with an *Aprobacion* dated at Valencia, 1617. The MS. was formerly in the library of the Duke of Osuna, and is also cited by Huerta in his catalogue, as a *suelta*.

[1] Sánchez-Arjona, *El Teatro en Sevilla*, p. 97.

[2] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 116.

[3] Restori, *Una Collezione de Commedie*, p 12, states that Jerónima de Burgos was a member of the company of Sanchez in 1616 If this were so, of course the whole aspect of the case would be altered, but I do not know that there is any authority for this statement.

[4] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 244.

CHAPTER X

THE AMOUR WITH AMARILIS

In Lope de Vega Carpio, La Barrera says, "Love was the most imperious necessity, the vivifying sun of that prodigiously fertile imagination." Not long ago our poet was "diverting his sadness," with *la amiga del buen nombre*, while in August, 1616, we find him at Valencia, attracted thither by the charms of *la loca*, perhaps a different person from that *amiga* in whose company he was passing "some very pleasant mornings." And yet, towards the close of 1616 he is on with a new love,—Doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo, the wife of Roque Hernandez de Ayala, "a business man" (*hombre de negocios*).[1] The story we are about to relate is certainly

[1] The letters referring to this period of Lope de Vega's life were first published by Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, under the pseudonym of José Ibero Ribas y Canfranc, with the title *Ultimos Amores de Lope de Vega Carpio, reveladas por él mismo en cuarenta y ocho cartas inéditas y varias poesías. Madrid*, 1876. In the introduction the author gives an interesting account of these autograph letters. It appears that some time prior to 1854, Don Agustin Duran had copied 62 letters from a collection of seven or eight volumes belonging to the Archives of the Duke of Sessa, Count of Altamira. These were sent to Sr. Duran by a friend. Three of the volumes again came to light in 1863, in the above mentioned Archives, and exact copies were made of them and deposited in the Biblioteca Nacional. They were entitled *Cartas y villetes de Belardo á Lucilo sobre diuersas materias*. Here they were carefully examined by La Barrera, who arranged them (or at least two hundred and twenty five of them), copying them out in chronological order, as nearly as possible—for they were mostly undated. He used them for his *Nueva Biografía*, which was finished in 1864, but was not published till 1890, owing to lack of funds. Another volume of original letters of Lope de Vega, also written to the Duke of Sessa, was in the possession of the Marqués de Pidal. Excerpts from this volume, which consists of 147 letters, and which undoubtedly formed the continuation of the preceding three volumes in the Archives of the house of Sessa, are printed in the Appendix to La Barrera. They cover the con-

the most discreditable in Lope's career. He was now a priest, and his conduct is all the more reprehensible on that account. To a life which had been far from exemplary he added a chapter which it is painful to associate with so august a spirit. The letters show how intimate were the relations between Lope and the family of Roque Hernandez de Ayala, whom Lope and his friends,—the powerful Duke of Sessa; the Familiar of the Holy office, Juan Izquierdo de Piña; and Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla,—combined to hoodwink. And we shall see that this *amour* was carried on with a recklessness and a defiance of public opinion which is astounding. Lope may be called shameless, but not hypocritical. There was absolutely no attempt to hide anything. Lope's moral reputation in Madrid at this time, and in fact for a considerable period before, was bad. The reference to him made by Cervantes in the preface to the Second Part of *Don Quixote*, which appeared in the early months of 1615,—though unworthy of the greatest Spaniard of them all—is sufficient evidence of this. The scurrilous allusions to Cervantes in the preface to the spurious Second Part of Avellaneda's *Don Quixote*, and which he believed had been prompted by Lope de Vega, led him to forget himself for once, and to say: "I am not likely to attack a priest, above all if, in addition, he holds the rank of Familiar of the Holy Office. And if he said what he did on account of him on whose behalf it seems he spoke, he is entirely mistaken, for I worship the genius of that person and admire his works, and his constant and virtuous occupation."[1] I have translated these words literally—"his constant and virtuous occupation"[2] (*la occupacion continua y virtuosa*)—because they are unquestionably a sarcastic

cluding years of the poet's life. Sr. Barbieri's work gives in full the letters that bear upon this period. The commentary is copied, with only the slightest verbal changes, from that of La Barrera, which was preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional.

[1] *Don Quixote*, Part II. Preface.

[2] Ormsby translates: "His unceasing and strenuous industry."

allusion to Lope's notorious misconduct. Nor did his arch-enemy, Don Luis de Góngora, lose this opportunity of lashing the recreant priest.[1]

In only two of these letters is Doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo mentioned by name; in all the others she is called *Amarilis*. In the first of these epistles to the Duke, Lope says: "I need your Excellency's coach at Doña Marta's house to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock, as we are going to San Isidro to fulfil a promise concerning the illness of Marcela; on leaving us there it can again serve your Excellency, and at five in the afternoon, or preferably at four, Francisco can return for us. I send to your Excellency one of the letters I wrote to *la loca* so that one may see by it that they are not ardent, for in such domestic matters, etc. . . . I beg you again to have the coach here at 8 o'clock, for before nine it will be back again at the house of your Excellency, since it has but to leave us at the hermitage, where we are to dine and pray to the Saint for your Excellency."

Another letter bears no date (it is of Dec. 31, 1616):[2] "I have invited the family of Doña Marta to supper to-morrow evening. . . . They will be here at six o'clock. . . . If you want to enjoy a little music, you may step in here casually between seven

[1] Among his inedited verses is the following *décima*

"Dicho me han por una carta
Que es tu cómica persona
Sobre los manteles mona
Y entre las sábanas *Marta*.
Agudeza tiene harta
Lo que me advierten despues,
Que tu nombre del revés
Siendo *Lope* de la haz,
En haz del mundo y en paz
Pelo desta *Martà* es."

It may be worth observing that, after his marriage, Lope's father, Felix de Vega, who was noted for his piety in later years, left his home in the valley of Carriedo on account of an entanglement with another woman, and went to Madrid. His own wife, with whom he was afterwards reconciled, followed after, *llena de celos*.

[2] *Nueva Biografia*, p. 263.

and eight, that is, if you are so inclined and have nothing else to do; and also tell Quixada to send me two dishes of sweets—for that is a thing we know nothing about here—and also some tablecloths and napkins." In another undated letter: "I beg your Excellency to order five woollen coverings to be sent me for this little bed room, where I am dying of cold." From this letter we also learn that Lope's daughter Marcela had lately had small-pox.[1] Again, he speaks of passing one of the most terrible days of his life, the whole time in the sight of *el viñador* [Roque Hernandez de Ayala], and says that he arrived drenched to the skin. "In that storm there was for me no cave of Aeneas, for my mother was not Venus, but Francisca Flores" This is the only mention that I have found of Lope's mother in all his works, and one could wish that it occurred in a more decorous connection. He names as his companions on this journey Medinilla, Juan de Piña and as the fourth, "that husband, [Roque Hernandez] an inhabitant of Medellin."[2]

Again, in a third letter, which likewise has no date, he writes:[3] "I have not closed my eyes during the whole night. . . . I have not even wished to eat, for I have been in such despair that I have implored God to take my life: only your Excellency's letter could give it to me,—your letter so full of grace and favour that again I put my mouth to the earth that your Excellency treads, and pardon you for having believed me capable of a thing so foreign to my love and obligation. . . . I was born in two extremes, which are love and hatred; I have never known a middle course, and have therefore loved your Excellency beyond all things that God has made. I have proclaimed it to

[1] *Nueva Biografia*, p 265

[2] *Ibid.* p. 266. Medellin is a small town on the Guadiana, not far from Mérida (Estremadura).

[3] *Ultimos Amores*, p 46 In the succeeding pages I have quoted Lope's letters mainly from this work, as La Barrera often contents himself with excerpts.

the world with tongue and pen, and if I have not succeeded in serving you, it has been the fault of my understanding and not of my will," etc.

It appears from the letters which follow that the Duke of Sessa, in the pursuit of the "laudable desire to collect everything that the genius of the great poet produced," wanted to possess the secret correspondence—doubtless for the most part poetical—between Lope and the beautiful Amarilis; and accordingly the poet charged his daughter Marcela, at this time about eleven years old, with the task of procuring these love epistles from the lady. Another undated letter reads thus:[1] "I can no longer conceal from your Excellency the absence of these papers, the search for which has cost me immense labour. I cannot make myself believe that they are lost, nor that anyone has taken them, but I have put them away so carefully that I cannot find them. . . . I thought I had put them in some book, and to-morrow there will not be a leaf of them which I shall not examine. Those promised by Amarilis will come soon, for on this account alone shall I again be friendly with her, for we have had a quarrel about some trifle," etc.

Again we read: "Marcela did not get the papers, because the quarrel continues; to-day she will try again."[2]

The next letter also refers to the correspondence (*papeles*). It tells of Lope's having dined at the house of his friend, the notary Juan de Piña, whither Amarilis had also been invited: "There I gave her your Excellency's present and she told me that she had handed the letters to her mother for safe keeping, and that she would ask her for them to-night. I shall go to see her and will try to bring them," etc.[3] But in another letter there is further question of the

[1] *Ultimos Amores*, p. 47; where *encubrir* instead of *escribir*, as given by La Barrera, is the correct reading.

[2] "No sacó Marcela los papeles, porque duran las divisiones: hoy vuelve á la misma empresa." *Ibid* p. 49.

[3] *Ultimos Amores*, p. 53.

papeles which Amarilis now does not want to give up; why, Lope says, he does not know, unless she imagines that he has changed, and is taking this precaution to get them back; "in this she is much mistaken, *porque yo estoy perdido, si en mi vida lo estuve por alma y cuerpo de muger, y Dios sabe con que sentimiento mio, porque no sé como ha de ser ni durar esto, ni vivir sin gozarlo; porque pensando en que ya lo dejo, me muero de celos de sucessor*," etc. A frank but sad confession for the poor priest, who had now lost all reserve and self-control! At the end of this note he says: "I have just been told that Amarilis is going to the 'Comedy of the Labyrinth'; I wish I could extricate myself from hers, but I have no thread of gold, nor would I even wish to have one," etc.[1] This comedia, so La Barrera conjectures, was *El Laberinto de Creta* of Lope, afterwards published in the *Decimasexta Parte* of his comedias, 1621 · it is hardly credible, he says, that it was the *Laberinto de Amor* of Cervantes.

In a succeeding letter (also without date, but written probably in June, 1617) we have the first intimation of the condition in which Amarilis now found herself, and the words in which Lope announced it to the Duke can leave no doubt in one's mind that Lope was the father of the child to which Amarilis was soon to give birth.[2] He also adds that he had been occupied for some days with a "history or rather a narrative of some martyrs in Japan," which he had been induced to write by the account that had been sent to him by "unos Padres" from that country. "I think that it will please, for I also know how to write historical prose when I choose." About the same time he writes: "With reference to the

[1] *Ultimos Amores*, p. 59.

[2] "De los sucessos de Amarilis no ay mas de çielo y agua y esperar el puerto con el curso de los dias, que en fin no paran; yo lo desseo por mil cossas, y no es la menor bolber á emparentar con el Almirante de Napoles, no porque le quiero poner en las passadas liberalidades de Feliciana, sino para onrrar mi sangre, que sin duda está allí, y porque hasta el çielo que desseo para mis hijos sea de mano de V. exa." *Ibid.* p. 59.

comedias, your Excellency has never had *La Dama boba*, because it belongs to Jerónima de Burgos, and I printed it from a copy which I signed · the one that is here is *San Segundo*, and is in the possession of Ortiz ; I shall ask him for it to-day. I did not print the *Exemplo de Cassadas*, because it was printed " . . . He also urges the impression of his comedias, as " these infamous people print my comedias vilely." The comedias which he desires to have speedily printed are those that compose the *Novena Parte* of his plays, the first part that was printed by himself, and which, in fact, contains *La Dama boba*, but not *San Segundo de Avila*, a play that was long considered lost.[1]

In the year 1617 two parts of Lope's comedias were issued at Madrid by the bookseller Miguel de Siles, both of which he dedicated to the Duke of Sessa. The title of the first is: *El Fenix de España, Lope de Vega Carpio, Familiar del Santo Oficio. Septima Parte de sus Comedias. Con Loas, Entremeses y Bayles Dirigidas á don Luys Fernandez de Cordoua, Cardona y Aragon, Duque de Sessa, etc. Año* 1617. *Con Privilegio En Madrid. Por la viuda de Alonso Martin. A costa de Miguel de Siles, mercader de libros*" The *Aprobacion* is dated at Madrid, July 26, 1616 An edition also appeared at Barcelona (Sebastian de Cormellas) in 1617.

In the dedication to the Duke of Sessa, the bookseller Miguel de Siles says, after referring to the Duke's generosity towards the cause of literature "I have therefore wished to place at your feet this *Seventh Part* of the Comedias of the excellent Lope de Vega Carpio, certain that they will obtain the favour and grace which the author himself, so worthily honoured and favoured by your Excellency, has enjoyed. . . I entreat your Excellency by your acceptance to save these writings from the wreck into which nearly all that are published have fallen."

The title to the Eighth Part is: *El Fenix de España, Lope de Vega Carpio, Familiar del Santo Oficio. Octava*

[1] See above, p 100.

Parte de sus Comedias. Con Loas, etc. Dirigidas (as in Part VII.). *Año* 1617. *En Madrid. Por la viuda de Alonso Martin.*[1] This volume was also reprinted at Barcelona, in 1617.

Let us now resume Lope's interrupted correspondence. In an undated letter (July? 1617), he asks the Duke not to have his letters to Amarilis bound, "as they were not intended for such great publicity." Again we read: "I shall do what your Excellency commands to finish that book. That of the Comedias [the *Novena Parte*] is coming on famously, and is dedicated to your Excellency with a fine epistle and the arms of Córdoba on the title-page. I have again seen Góngora, whom I met by chance in the afternoon with the Almirante: he is kindlier towards me, and I must have seemed to him a more upright person than he had imagined."[2] He says that he is enjoying "such a state of felicity in love" that he fears its decrease, and relates an incident he had heard from Captain Flores, mentioning him as though he were well known to the Duke. We have seen that the poet gives his mother's name as Francisca Flores. Can the Captain have been her brother? Lope also bespeaks the kind offices of the Duke for the poet, Vicente Espinel, "a man distinguished in Latin and Castilian verse, besides having been *unico en la musica.*" . . Again: "I shall try to get the permission of Amarilis to go and serve your Excellency; but it is doubtful; you need not expect me, so that she may not say that I am courting pleasure while she suffers pain of which we have both been the cause."[3]

"The papers will go to-morrow. I shall write them this afternoon, for heat, suffering, and love occupy the attentions of men (*que calores, dolores y amores ocupan los hombres*)." Lope appears to be exercised as to who will be the sponsors at the baptism of Doña Marta's child, which is not yet born. "God knows who will

[1] Both these Parts were reprinted at Barcelona in the same year by Sebastian de Cormellas.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 64. [3] *Ibid.* p. 65.

be the godfather," he writes. In a subsequent letter he thanks the Duke for having graciously consented to be one of the sponsors. "Our only anxiety now is the delay in parturition, *por el desseo y porque casi cae en la ausencia de su dueño, que nosotros llamamos* EL VIÑADOR, *y V. exa.* LA BUENA CARA."[1] These are the names they had bestowed upon Roque Hernandez de Ayala, the husband of Amarilis

After speaking of the sufferings of Amarilis, which he says are not so great as those of his own soul, he continues: "I did not sleep last night, although I have been to confession; ill betide the love that wars with Heaven," etc. He concludes by saying: "I shall never grow weary of eternally adoring your Excellency as my sole master, my lord and my protector, to whom I owe my life, and to whom may God give so long a life that on the morning of the day of judgment I may speak of Jacinta's affairs with the same pleasure."[2] Who

[1] In the same letter "V. exa se ria que por acá nos amamos á lo burdo, porque dicen las mugeres que en los brazos lo grosero es lo mejor" *Ibid* p. 68 Strange sentiments, no doubt, from the pen of the great poet; but if the most secret correspondence of the nineteenth century singers—say from Byron to Rossetti—were published to-morrow, is it so certain that we should find no parallel passages? It is notorious that a considerable proportion of the correspondence of that unlyrical, reserved genius Prosper Mérimée is withheld from publication owing to its pornographic character, and this is no isolated case.

[2] Here is the greater part of this *lettre intime*, written about Aug. 8, 1617: "Amor, definido de filosofos, es desseo de hermosura, y de los que no lo somos, es deleite añadido á la comun naturaleza de los hombres, que bien vemos que sin amor apetece un hombre el ayuntamiento y brazos de la muger. pero añadiendole la falta de la voluntad, que yo llamo costumbre, aquel desenfado conocido hace que no pensemos que en otra novedad se hallará gusto, siendo todo lo que no conocemos mejor que todo lo conocido como se ve por manifiesto ejemplo en lo que habemos querido, que no nos parece que es como lo que queremos. V exa. no se fatigue, que yo sé que es tan cuerda, que no le hace que siga su gusto donde aora el habito y lo que le cuesta le inclinan á pensar que es el ultimo bien: que fuera desto es triste casso andar á conocer voluntades nuevas, nuevas sábanas, nuevos alientos, y por decirlo á lo picaro, nuevos 'tomalo, mi vida.' Aqui se rie V. exa., y dice: de vicio está

this Jacinta was, whose name occurs a number of times in the correspondence of Lope with his patron, can only be conjectured. She was an *amiga* of the Duke's, —probably an actress, and possibly she may have been Jacinta Herbias. But even here there is some discrepancy in the dates, for apparently the Duke met his Jacinta in 1617, while the tragic incident in which the actress Jacinta Herbias—then a widow—was a passive participant, took place in 1639. At all events, as an illustration of the times and manners, it may be worth noting here.

On the afternoon of November 10, 1639, in the theatre *La Monteria* in Seville, a comedia was performed, and after the *baile* or dance at the end of the first Act had been executed by Jacinta, one D. Pedro de Montalbo, who was studying for the priesthood (*clerigo y estudiante*), cried out: "Bravo, Jacinta!" to which Antonia (who was playing first part to Jacinta's second), called from the stage: "Bravo indeed, and welcome, for she deserves it." And as some of those who were shouting, exclaimed: "Bravo, Jacinta, and down with Antonia!" one D. Lope de Eslava arose and cried out: "Bravo, Antonia, and down with Jacinta! and whoever says anything else lies like a cuckold." Whereupon Don Pedro shouted: "You lie!" On hearing which, Don Lope, blind with rage, drew his sword and rushing upon him, mortally wounded him. "Yet there were not lacking those who asserted that an old feud had existed between Don Pedro and Don Lope, because the former had accused Doña Ana de Espinosa [also an actress, and the wife of the actor Juan Roman] of living with Don Lope."[1]

este poeta; pues, Rey mio, apéese V. exa. de la divinidad de su sangre, y humillando el estilo sepa que en llegando á la verdad de ser ombres, hay muchas partes en nosotros en que convenimos, y aun con los animales; que solo en lo esencial del alma con los angeles." *Ultimos Amores*, p. 70.

[1] Sánchez-Arjona, *Anales del Teatro en Sevilla*, Sevilla, 1898, p. 234; see also Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 304.

A few days after writing the letter quoted above, perhaps on August 11, 1617, Lope says that Amarilis is suffering intensely, and that the Señora Lucina has not left her side for six days. He also gives this fatherly advice to the Duke concerning Jacinta, *una amiga suya*: "Jacinta is well worthy of all this love; may your Excellency reward hers; love, cherish, serve, follow her star, for this is not without a superior influence at our birth." He sends his patron a bundle of the *papeles de Amarilis*, which he hesitates to forward, as he thinks them unworthy of the Duke's 'divine wit.' He hands them over *sub sigilo* of so many confidences, and accompanies them with some verses.[1]

On August 12, 1617, Lope addressed two letters to the Duke, in which he informs him that Amarilis, after three days of terrible suffering, had given birth to a child. He had not seen her since the previous day, "in order not to arouse suspicion" (*por no dar que sospechar*). What was noteworthy to him, he says, after mentioning the weeping of the women present at the birth, was the fact that *la Señora Lucina* did not view this matter with any pleasure; "it must have been because her name recalls Lucia de Salcedo."[2] This remark seems strange, in view of the fact that Lucina, as Lope himself says, was the constant attendant of Amarilis, never leaving her side for days. The name Lucia de Salcedo is doubtless introduced here to indicate the jealousy of a rival, perhaps another old flame of the

[1] These verses are.

Leed esos pensamientos,
si no honestos, amorosos,
hareislos vos mas dichosos
que ellos se vieron contentos.
que de todos mis intentos
os hace mi pecho alarde
sin que el temor me acobarde;
pues es gloria para mi,
si á un ángel los escribí,
que un Principe me los guarde.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 73. *Ultimos Amores*, p. 72.

poet's! As we have already seen (p. 237), she is probably *la loca* of Lope's letters.

This child of Lope's, to which Amarilis gave birth in the Calle del Infante, where she was then living, was baptized two weeks afterwards in the parochial church of San Sebastian at Madrid, and received the names of Antonia Clara—the first name from its godfather, Don Antonio de Córdoba y Rojas, Conde de Cabra, eldest son of the Duke of Sessa, and the second, Clara, from the saint on whose festival she was born. Apparently the Duke of Sessa, although he had promised Lope to be one of the sponsors for the child, drew back when the time came, and sent his eldest son to represent him.[1] The other sponsor was the daughter, or perhaps the sister, of Lope's friend, the notary Juan de Piña.

In spite of the fact that he had "made confession," as he tells us, Lope did not scruple to foist the paternity of the girl on Amarilis's husband, though he had acknowledged in a letter to the Duke of Sessa that the child was undoubtedly his. Perhaps this was more than the dissolute Duke could countenance, and may have induced him, at the last moment, to take no active part in this bad business Our poet even condescended to crack ribald jokes with the Duke, at the expense of the befooled husband. He writes to his patron after the christening:[2]

[1] Only a week before the baptism Lope wrote to the Duke reminding him that he was to be one of the sponsors ". . . digo que se acuerde V. exa que es compadre de Amarilis de hoy en ocho dias, pero no para que le dé cuidado, sino aviso de que se me ponga muy galan, que hasta la madrina es de cassa" (*Ibid.* p 76) The latter phrase perhaps refers to Marcela, but he evidently thought it best afterwards to substitute someone else. The certificate of baptism is as follows. "Partida. = En la Iglesia Parroquial de San Sebastian de esta villa de Madrid, en veinte y seis de Agosto de mil seiscientos diez y siete años, Yo, el licenciado Parra, Cura tiniente, Batizé á Antonia Clara, que nació en doce de dicho mes y año, hija de Roque Hernandez de Ayala, hombre de negocios, y de Doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo, su ligitima muger, que viven en la Calle del Infante, y fueron sus padrinos Don Antonio de Córdova y Rojas, Conde de Cabra, y Doña Clemente Cecilia de Piña. = Licenciado Parra." *Ibid.* p. 81

[2] *Ultimos Amores*, p. 76.

"Great things are going on these days; it cannot be written, but may be spoken, and at all events, I shall see you this evening at sun-down, and even believe that I shall bring with me the putative father of the child, I was going to say the *puto*," etc.

Lope, it is true, speaks of being in years when reason should predominate over the appetite (*en años que es justo que la razon predomine al appetito*), but these are words. The spirit seems to have been willing, but the flesh was deplorably weak. Again he says: "I call upon God as a witness to my grief, for I have done everything but weep; nor have I eaten nor slept, but knowing my appetites and that I was born with Venus adverse in quadrature, I console myself, knowing that it is impossible for good to come to me through woman."[1]

Amarilis was now convalescent, and Lope writes to the Duke: "Amarilis has invited me this evening, the first visit since her convalescence; it will be well for your coach to be at my house before six o'clock." In a letter written at the close of August, he says:[2] "Amarilis wishes to go to Mass; if the coach should be necessary to go to Atocha, I shall advise your Excellency, for this favour is still a relic of the baptism, since it is only returning to the church the goddaughter of the Count, my lord," etc.

This churching Mass, called *la misa de parida*, was celebrated at Atocha: "The Count, my lord (God keep him many years), the worthy son of your Excellency, as godfather, after the manner of Andalucia, remedied the necessity of a coach for the parents of Clara, by sending his own, in which Amarilis drove forth to Mass so splendidly, that I had the *verdugado* removed, so that it would hold us all. The festival was in Atocha, not as gay as it would have been without the face of her husband, for this sort of man generally wears a timid look. All went off well," etc.[3]

Lope naturally resented the impertinence of the husband in assisting at a ceremony to which he was really, though unconsciously, a stranger. In the eyes of the poet the

[1] *Ultimas Amores*, p. 78. [2] *Ibid.* p. 83. [3] *Ibid.* p. 84.

man was an intruder, an interloper of the most objectionable kind, whose very presence was a blight. Meanwhile the *Novena Parte* of Lope's comedias was preparing for the press. His dedication of the volume to the Duke of Sessa is dated April 28, 1617. We also learn from a letter written towards the close of August or beginning of September that book speculators were endeavouring to procure the impression of another volume from another press. Lope mentions at the same time that he had written his *Discurso sobre la nueva Poesia*, which he is going to read to the Duke, remarking at the same time, however, that he now repents having written this epistle against the *culteranistas* or *gongoristas*, "knowing that he thereby exposed his peace and quiet to the arrogance and shamelessness of the defenders of the *nueva poesia*."[1]

The *papeles de Amarilis*, which the poet seems to have had so much difficulty in procuring for his patron, and which have been mentioned so often, are now coming back into his hands, and in a letter of September, 1617, he sends the Duke a bundle of fifteen, "which will suffice to weary you. She says that they have taken many of them from her, and she is right, besides those which she has erased at the beginning, either for lesser love or for greater fear. I should wish that they had been written more carefully: *perdone V. exa., que en el trato de los brazos mas corren las puterias que los conceios*"[2] (*l c.* p. 87). We learn from this

[1] "Estos dias he passado mal con los de la nueva poessia No sé qué ha de ser de mi, pero leeréle á V exa quando le vea una carta que le escriui y no se la he dado, ni copiado del original, porque me arrepenti de haber la escrito y estudiado, conociendo que disponia mi quietud á las arrogancias y desberguenças de sus defensores," etc. This *epistola* was first published in the *Filomena* in 1621.

[2] The following characteristic letter, written in October (1617), I refrain from translating: "Bueno se anda V. exa. de Paternidad en Paternidad, Duque mi señor. Los frailes son los mas discretos hombres del mundo; no van á la guerra ni pagan millones; gozan lo mexor y danles dineros, porque dicen las mugeres que los ponen debajo: debe de ser mas firme el eje, que hay muger que tiene las nalgas como ruedas de torno, por quien decia Ciceron: 'abreme que me torno'; no sé á

letter also that the ninth volume of the comedias had at last appeared, and that without Lope's order, but anticipating it, the bookseller Miguel de Siles had sent a handsomely bound copy to the Duke of Sessa. The title is as follows: "*Doze Comedias de Lope de Vega sacadas de sus originales por el mesmo. Dirigidas al excelentissimo Señor don Luys Fernandez de Cordoba y Aragon, Duque de Sesa, etc. Novena Parte. Año* 1617. *En Madrid, por la viuda de Alonso Martin. A costa de Miguel de Siles, mercader de libros.*" La Barrera says the *Aprobacion* is signed by Juan de Piña, April 28, 1617. In my copy, which is the Barcelona edition, Sebastian de Cormellas, 1618, it is signed by El Doctor Cetina on April 1, 1617, though there is also a *censura* signed by Juan de Piña on April 28, 1617. There is also an edition of Madrid, 1618. In the dedication to his patron, Lope says: "From the papers of mine which your Excellency possesses, I have taken these twelve Comedias, which I now return to you printed, to prove that I cannot give you anything of mine which is not yours. And although they contain only my thoughts, they will serve at least to make known to all that your Excellency is my master, even to my thoughts." And in the Prologue, he makes this statement: "Seeing my Comedias printed every day in such a manner that it were impossible to call them mine, and that in the contentions in this behalf I am always condemned by those who had most solicitude and pleasure in following them, I have resolved to print them from my originals;

quantos capitulos Don Quevedo lo dixo mexor en una satira. 'Las, Dios nos libre, faldas levantadas.'

"¿Qué le pareze á V. exa. del parentesis? A la fé, señor, ellos hazen hijos y otros los crian, perdone lo descalzo, pero yo sé que un letrado portugués probó en una informacion que se habia de mudar una casa de bonetes del sitio en que estaba, porque un rio venia á dar á donde se cogia agua para beber el pueblo; y decia que como se lavaba en el colegio la ropa de los tales Padres, no sé qué manchas de las camisas se deshacian en el agua y de aquella andaban preñadas todas las mugeres que la bebian; increible es esto; pero si quiere el otro filosofo que se empreñase la que se sentó en el baño sobre la luxuria que habia dejado el mancebo sobre la piedra, bien podia ser verdad lo que dixo el letrado." *Ultimos Amores*, p. 90.

for although it is true that I did not write them with this intention, nor that from the ear of the theatre they should be translated to the censure of the study chamber, I now hold it for better, seeing the cruelty with which certain interests rend my reputation. This will be the first volume, which begins with the Ninth Part, and so the rest will go on following," etc. It is hard to guess exactly what Lope means by this statement, which seems to reject all the previous volumes as incorrect, and to treat them as though they were issued without his knowledge and consent. As we shall see, he repeats the assertion here made in Part Fifteen (1621) of his Comedias, where, under the rubric · 'The Theatre to the Reader,' he says : "The author of these comedias is fulfilling the promise he made by publishing those which come into his hands, or rather to his feet, begging for correction. He does what he can for them, but he can do little, as his occupation with other things does not give him the opportunity of correcting them as he would wish," etc.

It is difficult to believe that the eight volumes of his comedias which had been published up to 1617, were all issued without Lope's acquiescence. The first two Parts were published by the bookseller Alonso Perez, with whom Lope was certainly on friendly terms at this time, and who later proved his genuine devotion to the poet. The Fourth Part was dedicated to the Duke of Sessa by Gaspar de Porres, the *autor de comedias* who, as we have seen, had proved himself one of Lope's staunchest friends in the days of his banishment And in his 'Address to the Reader' it will be remembered, Porres speaks of his friendship of many years with the poet, and adds that, because of the barbarous manner in which Lope's plays had been printed, he now publishes the Fourth Part, corrected *con sus originales*.[1] Parts Seven and Eight are likewise dedicated to the Duke of Sessa by the bookseller Miguel de Siles, who also issued Part Six. There can therefore scarcely be any question about the legitimacy of these volumes, unless, perhaps, as regards

[1] See above, p. 215.

the Sixth Part. With the 'Third Part' and the 'Fifth Part' of the Comedias, we know the case is different; to the publication of these Lope was an entire stranger, and to these alone can his remarks be justly applied. His complaint that his comedias were frequently garbled and disfigured was certainly well founded, as was also the still more serious one that many a play by contemporary poetasters masqueraded under his name, which was the talisman that insured the recognition of the public. But in the case of the volumes that preceded the ninth, with the exception of the third and fifth, it is not easy to see that Lope had any real grievance.

The extant manuscripts of Lope's comedias belonging to the year 1617, are apparently the following: *El Desden vengado*, autograph, signed at Madrid, August 4, 1617, with an *Aprobacion* by Tomas Gracian Dantisco, Madrid, September 9, 1617;[1] *Lo que pasa en una Tarde*, autograph, formerly in the Osuna collection, dated November 22, 1617, and with an *Aprobacion* signed by Tomas Gracian Dantisco, at Madrid, December 10; *La Lealtad en la Traicion*, copy, dated Madrid, November 22, in the Biblioteca Nacional.

To return once more to the poet's letters. Those that survive, of the close of 1617 and the beginning of 1618, are concerned almost entirely with Amarilis and her *papeles* which Lope was sending to the Duke as fast as he could obtain them from her. They add no new facts to our knowledge of the poet's life, and I have not

[1] Formerly in the Osuna Library. On the first performance of this comedia, the cast, as the original MS. shows, was: El Conde Lucindo = *Fadrique*; Tomin, su criado = *Coronel*; Feniso = *Juan Jerónimo*, Roberto = *Juan de Borgas*; Leonardo = *Cosme*; Rugero, Rey de Nápoles = *Juan Bautista*; Lucena, dama = *Doña María*; Celia, dama = *Manuela*, Evandro, su padre = . . . , Ynarda, criada = *Vincenta*. Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 46. The autograph also bears a license to perform at Lisbon, March 21, 1622. Manuela [Enriquez] was the wife of Juan Bautista. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 195, and see *post*, where some of the other players in this cast are noted. There is a Vicenta de Borja, wife of Jusepe Jiménez mentioned as being in the company of Pinedo in 1617, perhaps identical with the *Vincenta* named above. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 162.

thought it desirable to quote further from them. The letters to the Duke of Sessa written during the years 1616–1618 have not only thrown light upon this hitherto obscure portion of Lope's life, but they have enabled us also to recognize the autobiographical character of *Amarilis*,[1] an eclogue written towards the close of his life, and first published in 1633, with a dedication to the Queen of France. Naturally the poet here, as in the *Dorotea*, has disguised his story as much as possible, and made such changes in dates and other details, as would be likely to mislead the reader. From this eclogue, in which Lope figures as Elisio, we gather the following facts: Doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo, the beautiful Amarilis,—or Marcia Leonarda, as Lope also calls her in the dedication of his *Novelas*,—was born at Alcalá de Henares. At the age of thirteen she was married, against her will, to a rich merchant, Roque Hernandez de Ayala, who in the eclogue is called Ricardo, "a rustic ploughman of the mountain regions of the Asturias," and is always represented as a boor. La Barrera describes him as an "*hombre de grosero entendimiento y de prendas fiscas de grado no menor toscas y repugnantes.*" This may be a fact, and it is even probable enough; but the truth is that we know nothing at all about him, except what Lope tells us, and, like the rest of mankind, Lope was not likely to praise a rival in love. His own words, it will be remembered, are: "I was born in two extremes, which are love and hatred, I have never known a middle course." The one great crime of which Hernandez de Ayala was guilty in the eyes of the immortal poet, was that he was the husband of Amarilis. Lope alludes to him in his letters as "this man," "that tyrant Herodes," and the like, and speaks of him in the eclogue as "rude and unworthy of her lovely hand." "Sacrificed upon the altars of Pluto," La Barrera adds, "there began for the beautiful Amarilis a period of mortal and inconsolable sadness, which lasted thirteen years." Lope says that he first met her, when she was twenty-six, "in a garden where a tourney

[1] Reprinted in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. X. p. 147.

was celebrated one day by *gallardos pastores*," and he fixes the date at the time of Philip III.'s death.[1] But the king died in 1621, and we know that Lope met the fair, frail Amarilis at least five years before this time. As was his wont in these cases, he speedily became *locamente enamorado* of her, and, after a long probation, she deigned to receive his attentions.[2] The husband, it appears, died very opportunely, either in 1618 or in the early part of 1619,[3] and we may be sure Lope was convinced that no act of Hernandez de Ayala's life became him so well as his leaving it.

Some time before this, however,—it is impossible to be more precise, as Lope's letters referring to the incident are undated—Doña Marta seems to have begun divorce proceedings against her husband. It would certainly be interesting to know precisely on what grounds this suit was based. One would imagine that the relations between Lope and Amarilis must surely have been known to the husband; but whether he did or did not know, he made no attempt to rid himself of Doña Marta.[4] So she resolved to be free of her encumbrance, and, urged doubtless by the passionate poet, she began an

[1] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol X. p. 167.

[2] He says "Hasta que ya despues de largos plazos
Gané la voluntad, que no los brazos."

[3] The poet describes his taking-off in this wise
Contento desta vida, y ya perdida
La esperanza de verla mas dichosa,
La dura muerte mejoró mi vida—
Que alguna vez la muerte fue piadosa,
Mató la de *Ricardo* aborrecida,
Sacando deste Argel su indigna esposa
Y mi deseo, que su fin alcanza,
Naciendo possession, murió esperanza
Obras Sueltas, Vol X p 171.

[4] In the eclogue *Amarilis* we read.
Miente quien dice que la ofensa larga
Puede durar sin verla el ofendido;
La breve puede ser, mas si se alarga
O no sabe de honor ó bebe olvido . . .

action for divorce.[1] In one of his letters to the Duke, Lope says that his anxiety over the case has been such that he neither ate nor slept. "I laugh outright at the notion that a woman must prove blows and kicks before she can say that her husband forced her to sign papers."[2] . . . The appeal to the Council by the other side still remains, and of this we have some fear. . . . We have celebrated the decision in our favour," etc. In another letter[3]

[1] It must be borne in mind that the word "divorce" had, and still has, a restricted meaning in Spain. As a Catholic who considered marriage to be a sacramental contract dissoluble by death alone, Doña Marta could not possibly obtain a divorce *a vinculo matrimonii*. No such idea occurred to her, nor could it have been entertained by any tribunal in the country. What she sought was a divorce *a mensa et thoro* in other words, a legal separation — the nearest approach to divorce recognized by Spanish law.

[2] "Señor, . . doy palabra á V. Exa. á fe de criado suyo que con la definitiva de el pleyto de Amarilis ni he comido, ni dormido, ni sabido si estaua en mi ó en el proceso. Mucho he passado. Doy gracias á Dios que se ha lucido, pues tubimos sentencia en fabor, y la mandan amparar en su dote; dando la fuerza por bien probada. Riome mucho de que una muger pruebe bofetones y cozes para dezir que su marido la forzó á firmar escrituras . . Resta aora la apelacion del Consejo por la parte contraria, donde ay que temer, y exemplos cada dia; para su remedio sera importantisimo el fabor de V. Exa. . . . Festejado habemos la sentencia en fabor, aunque no es de Millon y medio, pero dentro de las espheras de nuestra actividad, nos alegramos vulgarmente y á lo humano, como los Señores á lo divino." *Nueva Biografia*, p. 621.

[3] "Un sobrino de este ombre que se llama Diego de Miranda, dió en ynquietar á Marcelica. Sali á la causa, como padre, y remedié su insolencia con este odio, sin reparar en mi hávito y años. Dixo á su tio que yo entrava á offenderle en su casa, aunque él me escrivió un papel, me embió á llamar por otro, y me llebó despues él mismo á ella. Por quitar á su muger la joya que le dió V. Exa. y las cosillas que ella tiene, y que él no la ha dado, hizo mil invenciones; y la ultima alçarse con *cuarenta mil reales, pensando por este camino dexarla sin camisa, como* otras vezes lo ha hecho.

Está enseñado á que ella la dé de comer y vestir, y á quitarle lo que tiene, y piensa que ella lo puede ya sufrir, ó que tiene porque. . . .

Decir que se esconde su muger es testimonio, porque V. Exa. es testigo que ha estado con su cuñado, el qual, porque tambien es interesado, le incita á desatinos.

Yo le diré á V. Exa. á boca en esta materia cosas que le admiren. Salió de aquella casa porque la querian prender por los Estelionatos,

he gives some curious details of the relations of the various parties. After speaking of one Diego de Miranda, a nephew of 'this man' [Roque Hernandez], who had molested his daughter Marcela, and whose insolence "I punished, heedless of my gown and years," Lope continues: "In order to deprive his wife of the jewel your Excellency gave her, and the few little things which she had and which he has not given to her, he has devised a thousand schemes; and the last one is to appropriate forty thousand reals, thinking in this way to leave her without a shift, as he has done before. He is accustomed to her feeding and clothing him, and then taking away from her what she has, and he thinks she can now endure that also, etc. . . . To say that his wife is in hiding is true, for you yourself are a witness that she has been with her brother-in-law, who, etc. I shall tell your Excellency some things about this affair that will astonish you. She left that house because they wanted to arrest her for swindling—a crime to which she was forced with blows and kicks and wounds, as was proved by the sentence in her favour." He speaks of the husband's threats to bring him (Lope) before the Señor Presidente as mere foolishness which the man would soon have cause to regret. "He has left his wife in the greatest straits, and in seven months has not given her a farthing.

delitos en que este hombre la puso con bofetones y cozes y heridas, como se lo tiene probado con una sentencia en fabor. . . . .

La hacienda que dize que se llevó á mi casa, es embeleco, que si algo tenian es ese dinero que él ha escondido, y me espanto como no se afrenta de tales mentiras. Las amenazas de que ha de hablar al señor Presidente contra mi son disparates, que quando los intente, es fuerza que me oygan, y yo le tengo unos testigos prebenidos de cierta cosa qu él sabe, que le hará arrepentir destas quimeras. . . .

Dexó desamparada á su muger, y en siete meses no le ha dado un quarto. Ella ha vendido para sustentarse, y á su madre y ama y criada, lo poco que tenia, pero esto es ordinario en él, que desde que se cassó no ha traido á su cassa un pan, y ha comido algunos regalos sin preguntar nada.

Su muger dicen que está en un monesterio. Riome de que él diga que la sustentará, pero la verdad es que él quiere que ella le sustente."

Nueva Bugrafia, pp. 622-3.

She has sold what little she had to support herself . . . for since the marriage he has contributed nothing to the maintenance of the family, though he has partaken of several feasts without ever asking a question." . . .

Again he says that Amarilis is low spirited, because the persons who are acquainted with her case do not wish to give evidence. "I can only help her with my wishes. I fear we shall lose what we have gained in the first decree, and that all will rain down upon me."[1] In another letter Lope, speaking of Roque Hernandez, stigmatizes "the shamelessness of this scoundrel" (*la desvergüenza deste picaro*). It appears that Hernandez attempted to get possession of the girl Antonia, and for this purpose had written to the Duke asking him to have the child sent to him, for, as Lope says: "He was dying to kidnap her, for this seemed a way to force her mother, believing that where the filly goes, the mare will go also."[2] That the husband of Amarilis was successful seems to follow from another letter, though Lope speaks therein of "his children," as though he had been temporarily deprived of Marcela also.[3]

It was not long after the birth of Antonia that her mother, Doña Marta, was stricken with a terrible

[1] *Nueva Biografia*, p. 624.

[2] "En mi casa me dixeron que Roque Hernandez havia escrito un papel á V Exa. en razon de embiarle otro para su muger, que llega la desverguenza deste picaro, guiado de Estrada, á estos atrevimientos, y que en el le pide á V. Exa mande que le embien la niña Antonia, que rabia por conocerla y por hurtarla, que le parece medio para obligar á su madre, creyendo que yrá la yegua donde fuere la potranca. V Exa. dirá que entiende que la niña está mala, pero que advertirá á su madre con un criado, y le enbiará el papel. Esto se entiende si este llega primero, que podria ser, pues ayer no le avian dado." *Ibid.* p. 625.

[3] "Señor, yo confieso á V. Exa. que he huido por falta de animo, que en materia de hijos soy tan tierno, que asi por lo que amo á V. Exa. como por la commemoracion de los mios que ese tirano Herodes (que asi llamo yo al garrotillo) me ha llevado, no lo he tenido para dar á V. Exa. el pésame, y porque le pueden escusi aquellos de quien consta que le saben sentir." . . . *Ibid.* p. 630.

affliction. She became blind,[1] probably from a *gota serena*, as La Barrera terms it (an old medical term for amaurosis, a partial or total loss of sight, independent of any discoverable lesion of the eye itself). When this misfortune occurred we do not know precisely, but it must have been before the beginning of 1623; for in this year Lope's daughter Marcela joined the sisterhood of the Barefoot Trinitarians, and in a letter referring to her profession, the poet says: "Amarilis has more hope than improvement, so far as her eyes are concerned."[2] But another letter of Lope's leads one to believe that Doña Marta became blind before the close of 1619, for I take the '*perdido*' of this letter[3] to be the husband of Doña Marta, and he, as we shall see from the dedication of the comedia *La Viuda Valenciana*, must have died before October 1619. Lope alludes to "this *perdido*, who no longer has anything of a man except the appearance, and this is so worn and changed through his folly and extravagances, that I hardly know him when I accidentally see him. . . . The mother of pity (for so I call this lady) opposed my anger by having recourse to your Excellency; and she was not mistaken, for they profited by it, since to her came the intercession, and to him the remedy. But it will not be the remedy of his madness, for now he says that he wants to return to Italy, and in a single hour he takes two thousand years of new resolutions. The effect of this matter I went to discuss with this lady, and bore from thence sincere messages for your Excellency, and both from her and from Antonia a thousand grateful acknowledgments.

"All this is little compared with help for the eyes, the pity of which would have moved your Excellency's

[1] See the beautiful and touching lines in the eclogue *Amarilis*, *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. X. p. 176.

[2] De sus ojos tiene [Amarilis] más esperanza que mexoria, y está tan agradecida á las memorias y merzedes de V. Exa. que si yo fuera el que solia, tuviera zelos" *Nueva Biografia*, p. 641.

[3] *Nueva Biografia*, p. 631.

heart, and which matter I do not dare to discuss for fear of moving my own eyes to tears. God has given her so much patience in her suffering that it is a greater sorrow to hear her than to see her. May He help her." Lope alludes several times, in his correspondence with his patron, to the condition of Amarilis's eyes. Once he has some hopes of a cure that an English woman is trying with "some plasters or caustic"; the treatment causes intense suffering, but, he concludes, "what remedy was ever beneficial without pain?"[1] In another letter which, fortunately, is dated, we read that Lope had been ill for eighteen days, with a painful inflammation, accompanied by violent fever. From this same letter written on April 18, 1628, we also learn that the cure of Doña Marta's eyes was progressing, that she could distinguish darkness from light: "which is a good beginning," says Lope.[2] A week later he writes that "there is no news concerning Amarilis's eyes."[3] But a further disaster was reserved for the poet: Doña Marta, besides being stricken with blindness, went out of her mind. So at least we are to infer from the eclogue *Amarilis*. During these fits of madness she was, at times, lethargic, and again she would grow violent and tear her clothes to pieces.[4]

[1] " . . Dixome que . . advertese á V. Exa que la cura una ynglesa con tales principios, que tiene esperanzas de ver, fundadas en alguna diferencia, si bien con excessivos dolores de la cura, que son unos parches o causticos; pero qué remedio sin dolor fue provechoso?" *Ibid* p. 640.

[2] "La cura va adelante, y por buen principio conoze el resplandor y con distincion la sombra de la luz." *Ibid.* p. 641.

[3] "De Madrid, 25 de Abril de 1628 De los ojos de Amarilis no ay novedad." And in another letter, undated, however, we read. "Antonica trahe una novena á Santa Lucia, que salud de tales ojos ángeles la han de pedir á Dios." *Ibid.* 641.

[4] "Aquella que gallarda se prendia
Y de tan ricas galas se preciaba,
Que á la Aurora de espejo le servia,
Y en la luz de sus ojos se tocaba,
Curiosa los vestidos deshacia,
Y otras vezes estupida imitaba,

La Barrera says that Doña Marta became insane four years after her stroke of blindness, and there is an indication to that effect in the eclogue *Amarilis*; but this is evidently one of the instances in which Lope purposely endeavoured to put the reader off the scent: at all events there is no allusion to the second calamity in any of his extant letters down to the year 1628. This madness was finally cured.[1]

Within two months of her recovery, however, Doña Marta died. Through the investigations of Dr. Pérez Pastor, we now know that the death of Doña Marta took place at Madrid on April 7, 1632. She died in the Calle de Francos, perhaps in the very house where Lope had lived so long, and in which, three years afterwards, he also breathed his last. Surely misfortunes were following quickly upon one another in the poet's old age: but the most crushing blow was yet to fall. This, however, is anticipating matters, and it is now convenient to return to the year 1619, and resume the chronological order of events which has been suspended for the purpose of presenting the Marta episode with clearness.

CHAPTER XI

DEDICATIONS TO MARTA. DEATH OF HER HUSBAND. ATTACK ON ALARCON. VIEWS ON *CULTERANISMO*

If Lope became the target at which Góngora, Villamediana, and others aimed the shafts of their satire, he had himself

> El cuerpo en hielo, en extasis la mente,
> Un bello marmol de escultor valiente."
> *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. X. p 180

[1] "Las diligencias finalmente fueron
Tantas para curar tan fieros males,
Que la vista del alma le volvieron,
Que penetra los orbes celestiales." *Ibid.*

to thank. Beyond an occasional attempt to puzzle the reader, Lope made no effort to conceal his *amours* from the cultured public, to which they must have been well known. Indeed, he seems during his whole life to have courted rather than shunned the notoriety with which his name was thus constantly associated, and to have derived no less satisfaction from his conquests than from his achievements in the domain of letters. How heedless, or rather how utterly defiant, Lope was of public opinion appears from the fact that his comedia *La Viuda Valenciana*, written about this time (1619), is dedicated to Doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo, under the pseudonym of *Marcia Leonarda*. *La Viuda Valenciana* was first published in *Parte Catorze* (Madrid, 1620) of the Comedias, the *Aprobacion* of which is dated October 23, 1619. From this dedication it is plain that Roque Hernandez, the husband of Doña Marta, was already dead, and the allusions to him are in such deplorable taste that Schaeffer[1] is compelled to say:—"Wie man ein derartig unmoralisches Stuck mit einer noch unwurdigern Vorrede einer Dame widmen kann, ist nahezu unbegreiflich. Dasselbe ist eine Mischung von Lustspiel und Posse, hat deshalb sehr schöne, aber auch recht rohe Stellen. Das Räthselhafte des Abenteuers Camilo's ist sehr poetisch geschildert ebenso die heftige Leidenschaft der Witwe, welche eine kaum stichhaltige Art Entschuldigung in dem Umstande sucht, dass ihr verstorbener Gatte auch Camilo geheissen. Im übrigen empfängt man entschieden den Eindruck als ob Lope *absichtlich* mehrere undelicate Situationen gewahlt hatte, denn abgesehen von der Haupthandlung, führt er uns ganz unnöthigerweise eine auf den Diener Camilo's bezügliche Episode vor, nach welcher dieser die abgeschuttelte Freundin seines Herrn zu dessen eigener Verwunderung zur Gattin nimmt."[2]

[1] *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas*, Leipzig, 1890, Vol. I. p. 153.

[2] I quote a part of the dedication of "The Valencian Widow," merely observing that the name of the heroine is also Leonarda: "Aqui es donde entra *La Viuda Valenciana*, espejo en que V. m. se tocará mejor

Lope is extravagant in his praise of Doña Marta's poetical and musical gifts:—"When you make verses, Laura Terracina, Ana Bins, Safo, Valeria and Argentaria yield the palm to you; when you take an instrument into your hands, the father of this music, Vicente Espinel, stands spell-bound at your divine voice and your incomparable skill; when you write a letter, the Castilian tongue vies with the best; the purity of courtly speech takes on a stately grace; the elegance equals the gravity, and the gravity rivals the sweetness."

Had Lope now for the first time fallen a victim to the blindness of love, such language would be comprehensible; but, as things were, it shows how completely he had lost his head. And he was incorrigible. In the following year he dedicated to Doña Marta his comedia *Las Mugeres sin Hombres*, published in the *Decimasexta Parte* (Madrid, 1621), and again in 1621 he included

que en los cristales de Venecia, y se acordará de mí, que se la dedico. No fue todo mentira; que si no pasó á la letra, á lo mas sustancial no hice mas de darle lo verisimil, á imitacion de las mugeres que se afeitan. Estoy escribiendo á V m. y pensando en lo que piensa de sí con ojos verdes, cejas y pestañas negras, y en cantidad cabellos rizos y copiosos, boca que pone en cuidado los que la miran quando rie, manos blancas, gentileza de cuerpo, y libertad de conciencia en materia de sujecion; pues la señora muerte, en figura de redentor de la Merced, la sacó de Constantinopla y de los baños de un ombre que comenzaba á barbar por los ojos y acababa en los dedos de los pies Oi decir que su madre de tal difunto era de Osuna, ó que al hacerse preñada pensó en un cofre; la imaginacion haze caso, no nos metamos con los filósofos, que creen mas á las acciones del espiritu que á la naturaleza de la comun herencia; él tenia estas gracias, y por añadidura el mas grosero entendimiento que ha tenido celoso despues que se usa estorbar mucho y regalar poco. Suelen decir por encarecimiento de desdichados. 'Fulano tiene mala sombra' No la tuvo muger tan mala desde que ay sol; y siendolo V. m. de hermosura, se espantaban muchos de verla con tan mala sombra. ¡Bien aya la muerte! No sé quien está mal con ella, pues lo que no pudiera remediar fisica humana, acabó ella en cinco dias con una purga sin tiempo, dos sangrias anticipadas y tener el medico mas aficion á su libertad de V. m. que á la vida de su marido Puedo asegurarle que se vengò de todos con sola la duda en que nos tenia si se habia de morir ó quedarse; tanto era el desseo de que se fuese: no porque él faltase, pues siempre faltó, sino porque habiendo imaginado que nos dejaba, fuera desesperacion el volver á verle," etc —*Parte Catorze de Comedias*, fol. 100.

in the volume containing his *Filomena*, a novel entitled *Las Fortunas de Diana*,[1] likewise dedicated to Marcia Leonarda. In it the poet says that he has only hesitated to write a novel, not out of ingratitude, but merely for fear of not succeeding in pleasing her. "For to command me to write a novel was something new for me"; although he admits that he made use of this form of writing in the *Arcadia* and the *Peregrino*. He speaks of the novels of "Miguel Cervantes, to which style and grace were not lacking," and continues: "I, who never entertained a thought of writing a novel, find myself embarrassed between your pleasure and my obedience. But, in order that I may not fail in my obligation, nor appear negligent, having found so many inventions for a thousand comedias, I shall serve you with this [novel], which I know, at least, that you have never heard, nor is it translated from any other tongue," etc. Three other novels, *La Desdicha por la Honra*, *La prudente Venganza* and *Guzman el Bravo*, followed in 1624, in the collection entitled *La Circe, con otras Rimas y Prosas*. They are all likewise addressed to Marcia Leonarda, whom Lope, in one of his poems, calls the tenth Muse.[2] He also included in *La Circe* three beautiful sonnets to the same lady to celebrate her marvellous singing; when Amarilis sings, her voice carries him so far from this world, that in thought he dwells with the Creator,—"a proof that there is something angelic in her voice, since it inclines to such lofty contemplation."

As to Lope's relations with Doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo, his biographer, La Barrera merely says:

[1] I have an edition of the *Novelas* published separately at Barcelona in 1650, though Lope's name nowhere appears in the volume. The title is. *Novelas amorosas de los mejores Ingenios de España*. Another edition was issued at Zaragoza in 1648. The novels are reprinted in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. VIII.

[2] "Tenga el sabio cristal defensa y guarda,
No viva el coro de las nueve solo;
Pues decima será *Marcia Leonarda*,
Corriendo Marsias, y Francisco Apolo."
Epistola á Don Lorenzo Van der Hamen, in *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. I. p. 341.

"In whatever manner we may judge or consider them, it cannot be denied at least that they continued under the form of friendly intercourse, sustained by the affection, and vivified by the tender pledge of that love, the child Antonia Clara, who grew up graceful, pretty and witty, inducing her father, in 1625, when she was eight years old, to prefix a sonnet in her name, to his *Triunfos divinos*" (*l.c.* p. 293).

In a letter to the Duke of Sessa in June, 1617 (see above, p. 243), Lope mentions that he had been occupied for some days with a "history or rather a narrative of some martyrs," an account of which had been sent to him from Japan by certain priests. "It will make fifty leaves, which are now almost finished." In February 1618 this work appeared.[1] In the prologue, addressed to the famous Jesuit historian Juan de Mariana, there is a reference to the violent attack which had been made upon Lope in the same year, in a Latin work, entitled *Spongia*, by Pedro de Torres Rámila, a lecturer on Latin grammar at Alcalá de Henares. The *Spongia* seems to have vanished utterly. Not a single copy is in existence, apparently, and our knowledge of its contents is due entirely to the excerpts from it to be found in the *Expostulatio Spongiæ*, a counter-treatise, written in defence of Lope and his partisans, by *su grande amigo* D. Francisco Lopez de Aguilar Coutiño, under the pseudonym of Julius Columbarius, and published in the following year. Torres Rámila directed his attacks against the *Arcadia*, the *Angélica*, the *Dragontea*, the *Jerusalem*, the *Isidro* and the *Comedias*. Evidently there was not much that escaped his censure. He is

[1] *Triunfo de la Fee en los Reynos de Japon, por los años de 1614 y 1615. Al Ilustrissimo y Reuerendissimo Señor el Cardenal de Sandoual, Dean de Toledo. Por Lope de Vega Carpio, Procurador Fiscal de la Camera Apostolica en el Arzobispado de Toledo. Año 1618 Por la viuda de Alonso Martin.* The *Aprobacion* is dated September 24, 1617. The work is republished in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XVII. Lope also wrote a comedia upon the same theme, entitled *Los primeros Mártires del Japon*, the MS. of which—formerly in the Osuna collection and now in the Bib. Nacional at Madrid—has been edited by Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo, for the Spanish Academy's ed of Lope, Vol. V.

especially severe upon Lope's epic, styling the *Jerusalem* an *insipida epopeya*, which comprises many actions, instead of a single one, and which has neither beginning, middle nor end.[1] But as Navarrete[2] has remarked, Torres Rámila was not alone in his attack upon Lope; for about this time the *Fenix de los Ingenios* (unique among wits), as Lope is mostly called, was assailed by a coterie of poets, including Micer Andrés Rey de Artieda, Cristóbal de Mesa, Cristóbal Suarez de Figueroa, Estéban Manuel de Villegas,[3] and, of course, his arch-enemy Góngora, whose gibes never ceased.

In 1618 two parts of Lope's Comedias appeared, and strange to say neither of them was dedicated to his patron, the Duke of Sessa. The first is: *Decima Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Familiar del Santo Oficio. Sacadas de sus originales. Dirigidas por el mismo al Excelentissimo señor Marqués de Santa Cruz, Capitan general de la esquadra de España. Año* 1618. *Con Privilegio. En Madrid. Por la viuda de Alonso Martin. A costa de Miguel de Siles, mercader de libros. Vendese en su casa, en la Calle Real de las Descalzas.* 4°. Of the *Aprobaciones* of this volume, one is signed on Nov. 7, 1617, by Doctor Gutierre de Cetina,[4] the other on Nov. 13 by the celebrated

[1] Interesting as this controversy is in many respects, we cannot spare space for it here. The reader will find the matter discussed at length by Barrera, *op. cit*, pp. 299-312. The *Expostulatio Spongiæ* is also an extremely rare book a copy of it is in the British Museum library, as Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly informs me.

[2] *Vida de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1819, p. 141.

[3] The passages are noted by Schack, *Geschichte*, etc., Vol. II. p. 189: Christoval de Mesa, *Rimas*, 1611, fols. 187 and 216; Artieda, *Discursos y Epigramas*, fol. 87; Villegas, *Eroticas*, Madrid, 1618, Elegia VII.; and Figueroa, *El Pasagero*, Madrid, 1617, fols. 103 and 108. See also Ticknor, II., p. 402, and above p. 189.

[4] Not to be confounded with the poet Gutierre de Cetina, who died in the previous century. He was certainly dead before 1575 when Argote de Molina published the *Discurso de la Poesia* at the end of the *Conde Lucanor*. Cf. Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *Luis Barahona de Soto, Estudio biográfico, bibliográfico y crítico* (Madrid, 1903), pp. 128-133.

dramatist Fray Alonso Remon. Three other editions of this Part are known: one at Barcelona, 'por Sebastian de Cormellas,' 1618, which I possess; and two at Madrid, 1620, and 1621, 'por Diego Flamenco.' In a half-playful, half-satirical preliminary address to the reader, Lope replies to those who complain of the asperity of his prologues: "Do you think I have fulfilled what I promised? For if I have flattered you, read these comedias, or leave them, for it does not matter, as they have already given me the profit which you think you are taking from me." The only manuscript play of Lope belonging to this year, so far as I know, is *La Batalla del Honor*, autograph, dated April, 1618, and formerly in the possession of Agustin Duran.

In the same year appeared: *Onzena Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Familiar del Santo Oficio. Dirigidas á D. Bernabé de Vivanco y Velasco, Cavallero del Abito de Santiago, de la Camara de su Magestad. Sacadas de sus originales. Año* 1618. *Con Privilegio. En Madrid, por la viuda de Alonso Martin de Balboa. A costa de Alonso Perez, mercader de libros. Vendese en la Calle de Santiago*, in 4°[1] The *Aprobacion* is dated February 4, 1618

This volume contains a prologue of 'The Theatre to the Reader,' which is interesting despite its rambling style. Here the poet says that he is not surprised at men coming to hear his plays seventy times, learning twenty verses of each Act, going home, making up the rest with verses of their own, selling the play with the title and name of its author—the play being replete with extravagances and absurdities—and pocketing the money which this swindle brings them. He calls upon the authorities to stop the public sale of such manuscripts, because it works such wrong to the respectable poets, under whose names these persons sell plays which do not belong to them. "You may safely read these, for they are from Lope's copies, and not from the poetical hotch-pot of those

[1] Of this *Onzena Parte* there is but one other edition, that of Barcelona, 1618, Sebastian de Cormellas, which I possess.

drones who eat of the honey which the legitimate bees have culled from the many and divers flowers, and have stored up," etc. The poet concludes by asking the reader to read his comedias and be entertained, and thereby encourage him to print another twelve plays that he has by him—"and which are among the most celebrated that their owner has written, which comedias have now reached the number of eight hundred."

In view of Lope's declaration that he had already written eight hundred comedias before the month of February, 1618, it is interesting to note that in the sixth edition of *El Peregrino en su Patria*, issued in the same year, he gives a list of all his comedias written down to this time—reprinting the first list of the *Peregrino* (1604), containing two hundred and nineteen titles—and adding a new list of one hundred and fourteen additional plays, and sixteen repeated from the first list. This makes a total, after deducting the duplicate titles, of three hundred and thirty-three comedias written by this date. Lope, however, reckons them as amounting to four hundred and sixty-two, which does not speak very highly for the mathematical knowledge he acquired in his early years from Juan Bautista Labaña. But even taking it at the larger number, how is one to account for the immense discrepancy between this statement and the assertion in the *Onzena Parte*, that he had then written eight hundred plays? This rather shakes our faith in Lope's subsequent computations.

In the following year another volume of comedias appeared:

Dozena Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio. A Don Lorenzo de Cardenas, Conde de la Puebla, quarto nieto de Don Alonso de Cardenas, Gran Maestre de Santiago. Año 1619. *Con Privilegio. En Madrid, Por la viuda de Alonso Martin. A costa de Alonso Perez, mercader de libros.* 4°. The *Aprobacion* is signed by Vicente Espinel, at Madrid, August 15, 1618.[1]

[1] According to Salvá, *Catálogo*, I. p. 542, there were two issues from this same press in 1619

This volume also contains a prologue, entitled: *El Teatro*, as follows:

"In the 'Eleventh Part' I promised you, friendly Reader, twelve other comedias, which I here offer you, so that you may not say that I do not keep my word. . . . I am consoled in knowing that the common herd will not worry me, as they are wont; for in your study, where you are to read them, you will permit no one to make a noise, nor speak ill to you of that which you know; free from the risk of the man who comes late, of the actor who makes a mistake, and of the woman (actress) who is disagreeable to you because she is ugly and badly gowned, or because of the years that she has trodden my boards. . . . Amongst those who follow me, there are some who understand, others who think they understand, and others who say what they hear from those who do understand. . . . Do not trouble yourself, therefore, to deprive the wits who honour me with their writings, of their good name, for as all the elements decay—unless it be fire—your words will be water, your objections air, your thoughts earth, and the fame of my illustrious poets a living fire which consumes your envy and which time does not consume."

A letter written by Lope in this year, and not printed by La Barrera, may find a place here. It affords additional proof of the protection offered our poet in his early years by D. Jerónimo Manrique. It is dated Madrid, January 2, 1619. In it he says: "It is perhaps three years ago since I spoke to your Grace, informing you of the many years I served my lord the Bishop, D. Jerónimo Manrique, and offering my services for any chaplaincy that might be vacant. The love I bore [illegible] was immense, my obligation to him is no less, for [illegible] little learning that I have I owe to him. I should [illegible] happy to end my life in that holy church [of Ávila], aided by another benefice, which the Duke of Sessa has conferred upon me."[1]

Two manuscripts are cited of dramatic pieces written

[1] *Revista de Archivos*, April and May, 1902, p. 386.

by Lope in 1619. In the National Library at Madrid, according to La Barrera, there is an ancient MS. copy of the comedia *Ver y no Creer*, with the *Aprobacion* of Dr. Luis Navarro, dated August 25, 1619, and of Tomas Gracian Dantisco, dated Oct. 16, 1619; and in the Osuna collection there is an autograph MS. of the *auto sacramental: Las Hazañas del segundo David*, dated Madrid, April 28, 1619.

Two volumes of comedias appeared at Madrid in the following year:

Trezena Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Procurador Fiscal de la Camara Apostolica en el Arçobispado de Toledo, Dirigidas, cada una de por si, á diferentes personas. Año 1620. *Con Privilegio. En Madrid, Por la viuda de Alonso Martin. A costa de Alonso Perez, mercader de libros.* 4°.

The *Aprobacion* is dated Madrid, September 18, 1619. The prologue of this volume is likewise interesting. It will be noted that Lope has not dedicated this 'Part' to any one person, but has dedicated each play separately, and here is his reason: "This 'Thirteenth Part' of my comedias is published under the protection of divers persons, for among so many the recognition due for the honour that is done in the dedication of books—a matter which Spaniards do not appreciate—may not be wanting. As an example I may cite the letter that Pope Innocent VIII. wrote to Lorenzo de Medici, Grand Duke of Florence, for Angelo Poliziano, and in it these words: *Et nunc in hujus animi testimonium ducentos aureos illi mittere decrevimus.* This custom is not current in our age, and so the novelty will have its excuse," etc. He speaks of comedias in Spain being no older than Lope de Rueda, whom many still living have heard." . . . "The poets who write them with erudition, although they be few, since they do not always please the common herd, are worthy of esteem; but the ignorant laymen, although they sometimes please them and content them, speaking to them in their tongue, aspire to no more fame than the medical empirics, who cure without art, and by their

rashness kill a thousand, for every one they cure by chance. . . . To this must be added the stealing of comedias by those whom the vulgar call—the one *Memorilla*, and the other *Gran Memoria*; who, with the few verses which they learn, mingle an infinity of their own barbarous lines, whereby they earn a living, selling them to the villages and to distant theatrical managers: base people these, without a calling, and many of whom have been jail-birds. I should like to rid myself of the care of publishing them [*i.e.* these plays], but I cannot, for they print them with my name, while they are the work of the pseudo-poets of whom I have spoken. Receive then, Reader, this Part, corrected as well as it was possible to do it, and with my good will, for the only interest it has is that you may read these comedias with less errors, and that you may not believe that there is anyone in the world who can take down a comedia from memory, on seeing it represented; and if there were such a person I should praise him and esteem him as standing alone with this power, even though he should lack understanding, for seldom are they found together, as philosophers declare and as experience confirms."

A second edition of "Part Thirteen" appeared at Barcelona, in 1620.[1] The third play in this volume,

[1] A curious bibliographical fact has been brought to light concerning this *Trezena Parte*, by Dr. Pérez Pastor, *Datos desconocidos*, p. 286. He publishes the following document: "Capillas de casa de Madrigal 5 Abril (1620). De capillas de Maria de Quiñones . . *la mitad de dos trezenas partes de Comedias de Lope*." In the margin is written "Pagóse esta trezena parte en casa de Alonso Martin

. . . . . .

"Capillas de casa de la viuda de Alonso Martin, Mayo 1620 . . . *Comedias trezena parte* . . .

"(*Libro de la Hermandad de San Juan Evangelista a la Porta Latina y de los Impressores de Madrid.—Año* 1619 *á* 1620.)"

This shows that the proof-sheets of one half of the *Trezena Parte* were from the press of the widow of Alonso Martin, and the other half from the press of Juan de la Cuesta. *Casa de Madrigal*, *Casa de Maria de Quiñones*, and *Casa de Juan de la Cuesta*; all indicate the same press, for the last-named was the husband of Maria de Quiñones, this press having been directed by Pedro Madrigal in the latter part of the sixteenth, and by Juan de la Cuesta at the beginning of the seventeenth century. An ex-

entitled *El Remedio en la Desdicha*, the author dedicated to his daughter Marcela, at that time fourteen years old. This piece, he tells his daughter, is taken from the story of Xarifa and Abindarráez, in Montemayor's *Diana*, and concludes the short dedication with these words: "God keep you and make you happy—although you have endowments not to make you so, especially if you inherit my fortune—until you may have consolation, as you are mine.—Your father."

The last comedia of this *Trezena Parte*, entitled *Los Españoles en Flandes* has prefixed to it a dedication to Cristóbal Ferreira de Sampayo, which is so remarkable that I translate it here. It shows Lope's relations with another of his contemporary poets, the celebrated dramatist, D. Juan Ruiz de Alarcon y Mendoza. There can scarcely be a doubt that the following cruel remarks are intended by Lope for Alarcon, who, as is well known, was a hunchback: "How much we ought to guard ourselves against those whom nature has branded is shown by numerous examples and by our experience. The parts by which wit (*el ingenio*) is known, nature delineates upon the face; and envy and the other vices likewise. It is generally observed that the members which are in their natural proportion, so far as concerns their shape, colour, number, position and movements, indicate a good natural constitution and good judgment; and that those who have not the due proportion and the other parts mentioned, have an evil and perverse nature. And so Plato has said that whatever the animal to which a semblance is found in men, that animal they will imitate in their habits. . . . I

amination of my copy also proves this. The leaves are numbered from 1 to 152, the last comedia, the sixth, extending to this page, and the signatures run from A to T. With the seventh play, *El Alcalde mayor*, the pagination again begins with page 1, and the signatures are marked aa—tt. In addition to this, the woodcuts at the top of the page, at the beginning of each play, differ from those of the first six plays. Those used in the later plays are the same as those found in Part XIV. of Lope, printed by Juan de la Cuesta. Cuesta therefore, as the document shows, printed the last six plays, while the preliminary leaves and the first six plays are from the press of the widow of Alonso Martin.

believe your Grace has doubtless already judged my complaint (if it be just to entertain it in this connection) of certain men whose favourable disposition I have not been able to gain, nor have they been able to overcome themselves. . . . I believe . . . that there are poets who are frogs in shape and in the noise they make; and, besides these, many others of divers forms, which I do not care to repeat here, since I have depicted them in an epistle of mine, printed with my *Rimas*. Aristotle, in the *Historia de los Animales*, says that the frogs of the marshes are the enemies of bees; and as by the latter are to be understood the good poets, because they distil the savoury liquor from divers flowers, the appellation is quite a fitting one. Besides this, the same philosopher describes the hunchback as having an ill breath; and gives as a reason that, being shut in, decay takes place, for the lungs, not being in their proper position, cannot readily transmit it [*i.e.* the breath]. For it is clear that an ill breath must infect everything with which it comes in contact while one is speaking. Pride and contempt are the ordinary attributes of such men—if men they are to be called. . . . A Christian of unmixed blood was guarding the sepulchre one Holy Thursday, when a man who was reputed to be a Jew, approached it. The Christian gave him a blow with his halberd, and on his complaining to the curate, and the latter reproving him, replied: 'Señor licentiate, we either watch or we do not watch.' And so I answer: 'We either feel or we do not feel; we either are or are not.' Let the envious look upon it as certain that they must receive their blow from time to time, and especially if there be any reason for not reaching the sepulchre. And I, having the protection and defence of your Grace and of your rare understanding . . . I dedicate to you this comedia entitled *Los Españoles en Flandes* . . . so that you may defend me against every malicious writer, and against the correctors of the vices of others and the crafty concealers of their own, whose books do not sell because they sell every one of whom they treat in them" (fol. 164).

It is not pleasant to think that the great poet should so far forget himself as to hold up to public ridicule the bodily defects of a brother-dramatist. We shall see hereafter that others of Alarcon's contemporaries sinned in like manner. Indeed there does not seem to have been much chivalry amongst them, and in the eager scramble for the mob's applause, all nobler sentiments and impulses were frequently forgotten. Here again we find Lope's constant complaint of the envy of his fellow poets,—they are all *envidiosos* whenever they make a modest bid for some share of that popular favour which he would willingly have monopolized.

The other volume of comedias that appeared in this year, is: *Parte Catorze de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Procurador Fiscal de la Camara Apostolica, y su Notario, descrito en el archiuo Romano, y Familiar del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion A quien van dirigidas dice la siguiente pagina. Año* 1620. *Con Privilegio. En Madrid, por Juan de la Cuesta. A costa de Miguel de Siles, mercader de libros. Vendese en su casa en la calle real de las Descalzas.* 4°.[1]

To this Part Lope has also prefixed an address by 'The Theatre to the Reader,' from which the following sentences are taken: "This is the Fourteenth Part of the comedias which have been represented (although at various times) upon my stage, written by the author whose name appears upon the title-page, and to whom I owe, if not my beginnings, my progress in the Spanish tongue, paving the way for the rest of the rare wits who honour me with their compositions, and who have followed him. Greater things may be hoped from them, for it is now so easy to write a comedia which does not observe the rules of art, such as are now in vogue, that managers are unable to free themselves of the importunities of poets. Many of these plays are pleasing to the public (*vulgo*) taken together, which are displeasing to the individuals taken separately: the contrary is the fault

[1] Of this volume there was another edition printed at Madrid in 1621, *Por la viuda de Fernando Correa Montenegro*, which I possess.

of accidents, now because of the passions of the powerful, now because of the defects of the action, of the memory, of the skill, of the place, of the heat, of the cold, of the night, of the voices and of the music; now because the auditors come in an ill humour, with pleasure, with jealousy, with losses, with quarrels, with the fixed determination not to be pleased, or for other divers causes that I shall not mention in order not to weary you, and which every day are seen upon my benches. They were wont, not many years ago, to leave them by threes and fours when the plot did not please them, or the poetry, or those who recited it, and to punish the authors by not returning. Now, to my misfortune, it is a shame to see a bearded fellow give a whistle, such as a rogue might utter in a circus, and another play an instrument, etc. . . . Woe is me! many men I see from my boards . . . who, knowing that those who write my comedias are so few, instead of encouraging them with praise, discourage them with vituperation," etc.[1]

Of the eighth play in this volume, *El verdadero Amante*, one of the earliest that Lope wrote, we have already spoken. The ninth comedia, *Las Almenas de Toro* is dedicated to the famous Valencian poet, Don Guillen de Castro, probably in compliment to him as the author of *Las Mocedades del Cid*, one of the most widely known comedias of this period, and one of the most important, owing to the influence it has exerted. At all events, *Las Almenas de Toro* is the only comedia by Lope, so far as I know, in which the *Cid* appears as one of the *dramatis personae*. However, Lope does not allude in the dedication to Don Guillen's *Cid*, but to his tragedy of *Dido*, 'most celebrated,' as he terms it, "and upon which, on the day that I saw it in that most illustrious city [Valencia], I made the following epigram," etc. There can scarcely be any question that this refers to Lope's visit to Valencia in 1599, and not to his period of exile from

[1] This last statement is a flat contradiction of what the poet had said but a moment before.

the close of 1588 to 1590, for Don Guillen was born in 1569, and was too young at that time to have gained much celebrity as a dramatic poet.[1]

There is a letter of Lope's extant, written in this year, which is pleasant reading, for it not only reveals a condition of ease and comfort on his part, and a freedom from anxiety about money matters that was very exceptional, but shows also that Lope received aid from others beside his patron, the Duke of Sessa. Dated at Madrid, May 6, 1620, it is addressed to the Conde de Lemos, who had been one of Cervantes' patrons towards the close of the latter's life. After referring to matters which are of no present interest, the writer continues: "I have passed a year without being a poet *de pane lucrando*, a miracle of the Duke of Osuna, who sent me five hundred crowns from Naples, which, together with my benefice, sufficed to put the *olla* into the mouths of these children, among whom there is a girl of fifteen, virtuous and not without charm. I pass, Señor Excellency, among my books and the flowers of my garden, what is still left of life—which cannot be much—vying in the matter of plots with Mesqua and Don Guillen de Castro, as to who can make the best ones in his Comedias. Either one of these two wits could serve your Grace better upon this occasion," etc.[2] The daughter of fifteen years, to whom Lope alludes in this letter, is Marcela, who was born in 1605.

On May, 19, 1620, the beatification of San Isidro, the pious ploughman, and patron Saint of Madrid, was celebrated in the capital with great pomp and solemnity. As usual in all such celebrations there was a poetical tournament—a *certamen or justa poetica*, of which

[1] Lope's words, above, are the only indication we have that Guillen de Castro's tragedy of *Dido y Eneas* was written before 1599. It is very probable that the *Mocedades del Cid* had also been written before that time. See the introduction to my edition of Guillen de Castro's *Ingratitud por Amor*, Philadelphia, 1899, p. 16.

[2] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol XVII. p. 402.

Lope de Vega was appointed the *fiscal* or director. The *justa* took place in the parochial church of San Andrés, where the bones of the saintly ploughman reposed, and many of the most famous poets of Spain competed for the various prizes. Here, as Ticknor says, Lope had an opportunity of exhibiting himself to the mass of the people, as well as to the court, in a character which, being both religious and dramatic, was admirably suited to his powers and aims. The part taken by Lope in this poetical celebration was not new to him. It will be remembered that he was the moving spirit in the *justa poética* held at Toledo in May, 1605; and in another held at Madrid in October, 1614, on the occasion of the beatification of Santa Teresa de Jesus, Lope was one of the judges. At the festival of San Isidro the church of San Andrés was magnificently decorated with rich tapestry and hangings; the body of the Saint, in an elaborately wrought urn of silver was placed in the middle of the principal chapel. The chair and table from which Lope read the *certamen* stood in front of the judges. There was an immense gathering of the nobility, clergy, and general public. Lope opened the ceremony with an inaugural oration in verse, and at the conclusion he distributed the prizes. Further, under the name of *El Maestro Burguillos*, he contributed some humorous verses to each of the nine *certámenes* of which the *justa* was composed, in addition to some *décimas* in his own name. Among the poets who contributed verses was Lope's son, Lope de Vega Carpio, *el mozo*. His contribution is a *glosa* in *quintillas*, and certainly shows great promise · it is announced as being by a new poet, who has not yet completed his fourteenth year (fol. 76). Don Pedro Calderon Riaño, then twenty years old, is represented by a sonnet and some *octavas*. The various poems of the competitors were collected and published by Lope in the same year.[1] They form what is perhaps the best

[1] *Justa Poetica y Alabanzas Justas que hizo la insigne Villa de Madrid al bienauenturado San Isidro en las Fiestas de su Beatificacion, recopiladas*

collection of verses produced at any of the various "poetical joustings" which had by this time become frequent, and which soon began to be parodied by the wits of Madrid. Towards the close of this collection we read: "It is to be observed that out of jest they gave to Master Burguillos for having written the nine *certámenes* a cheque for two hundred *escudos* upon the banks of Flanders, and although the said Master was a graduate in his faculty, he was so ignorant of maritime cosmography, which is called hydrography, that he did not know these banks were in the sea, being banks of sand which are very dangerous," etc. That Lope nevertheless received for his share in this poetical celebration a more substantial reward than a cheque upon a sandbank is proved by a document[1] which has been preserved. From this we see that Lope had petitioned the *Ayuntamiento* or town council of Madrid to be paid for his share in the above *justa*, and that on August 28, 1620, the council decreed that in view of the time and labour Lope de Vega had expended upon it, three hundred ducats should be paid to him out of the funds appropriated for the said festival.

The brilliant manner in which Lope had conducted this *certamen*—the best part of the whole festival, as the town council of Madrid had declared—had, if possible, increased his popularity. His name was now on every tongue, and he determined to take advantage

por Lope de Vega Carpio Dirigidas á la misma insigne Villa. En Madrid, por la Viuda de Alonso Martin, [1620].

[1] Madrid, 28 Agosto 1620.—"En este Ayuntamiento, habiendo dado fe los porteros dél que han llamado á todos los caualleros regidores que estan en esta villa para ver una peticion de Lope de Vega Carpio en que pide se le pague el certamen que esta villa hizo y imprimió por la Beatificacion de Sr. Sn Isidro, se vió la dicha peticion y tratado sobre ello y mirada la mucha ocupacion y trabajo que en ello tuvo el dicho Lope de Vega y que se hordenó lo hiciese y que en las fiestas que se hicieron por la dicha beatificacion fue la mejor el certamen, se acordó que al dicho Lope de Vega se le den trescientos ducados, los quales se le paguen de donde se pagó el gasto de la fiesta con liceneia de la Junta" Pérez Pastor, *Datos desconocidos*, p. 293.

of the moment to better his condition. His Majesty's chronicler, the licentiate Pedro de Valencia, having died on April 10, 1620, our poet endeavoured to procure a nomination to the vacancy, and accordingly on June 1, 1620, petitioned the King to that effect. But his petition[1] was unsuccessful; he never became the King's chronicler, and this is not to be regretted. But his failure is another proof that Lope could not have had many friends at Court, notwithstanding the assertions of his biographer Montalvan that he was honoured and courted by everybody; or, if he had friends, they had not sufficient influence to be of any service to him. The appointments which he received were either in the gift of the Duke of Sessa, or were obtained wholly through Sessa's influence The prologue to the *Trezena Parte* of his comedias shows clearly enough the disappointments which Lope underwent from those to whom his works were dedicated, and who had failed to give him any return for his condescension. Certain it is that the offices and dignities which Lope did succeed in obtaining were such as were repeatedly bestowed upon feeble poetasters and obscure churchmen, and were in no wise commensurate with his fame or genius. That he, for example, never obtained the habit of one of the great military orders is due, in all probability, not to any question of birth or position, but to the fact that his enemies at Court were powerful enough to prevent his receiving substantial favours or honours, in spite of his great renown as a poet and his popularity among the people. As to the office of royal chronicler, it is probable that Lope had had it in mind for some time. In a letter to the Duke of Sessa, written

[1] "Madrid, 1° Junio 1620.—Senor. Lope de Vega Carpio, Comissario del Sto. officio y fiscal de la Camara apostolica, Dize que por muerte de Pedro de Valencia coronista de V. Md. está vaco el dicho officio. Suplica a V. Md. humilmente se sirua de hacerle merced del, que el amor y voluntad con que siempre a deseado emplearse en el seruicio de V. Md. mostrandolo en las ocasiones que se han ofrecido, le ayudara acertar a seruir a V. Md. en este oficio en que la recibira muy grande." *Ibid.* p. 288; and see above, pp. 197 and 224.

in June, 1617, in which he mentions that he had been occupied for some time with his *Triunfos de la Fe en los Reynos de Japon*, he says, as we have already noted (p. 243): "I think that it will please, for I also know how to write historical prose, when I choose."

Two manuscript works by Lope bearing the date 1620 are known. The first is an autograph of the *auto Sacramental* entitled *Obras son Amores*, formerly belonging to D. Agustin Duran, and now in the National Library at Madrid; but there is some uncertainty as to the year, the original figures in the MS. having been erased, and 1620 substituted.[1] The other manuscript, also apparently an autograph, according to Barrera, proceeds from the Osuna collection, and is a comedia entitled *En los Indicios la Culpa*, printed in 1630 in the *Parte veynte y dos de las Comedias del Fenix de España Lope de Vega Carpio, y las mejores que hasta ahora han salido. En Zaragoza*, 1630, *por Pedro Verges.*

We have previously spoken of the violent attack made upon Lope by Pedro de Torres Rámila in his *Spongia.* The former now published his poetical defence of himself in the second part of the following work: *La Filomena con otras diuersas Rimas, Prosas y Versos. De Lope de Vega Carpio. A la Ilma. Señora Doña Leonor Pimentel. Con Privilegio. En Madrid. En casa de la biuda de Alonso Martin, á costa de Alonso Perez:* 1621. The volume contains the *Filomena*,[2]

[1] Now published in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed Menéndez y Pelayo, Vol. II. Madrid, 1892. This *auto* is not to be confounded with the comedia *Obras son Amores*, published in the *Onzena Parte.* The date of the *auto* has also been given as May 31, 1615, which was afterwards changed to 1618; at all events, it is earlier than 1620, for according to Sánchez-Arjona, *El Teatro en Sevilla*, this *auto* was written for the Corpus Christi festival at Sevilla, in 1618, and Lope received 20,400 maravedis = 600 reals for it. It was first represented in Sevilla by the company of Antonio Granados. *Ibid.* pp. 293 and 307.

[2] Another edition of the *Filomena* appeared in the same year, "En Barcelona, por Sebastian de Cormellas." The *Filomena* is reprinted in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. II.; the *Epistolas, ibid.* Vol. I; the letters on the New Poetry, *ibid.* Vol. IV. pp. 459-482.

a poem divided into two parts, the first, consisting of three cantos in *octavas*, treats of the fable of Progne, Filomena and Tereus, King of Thrace; the second—of considerable importance for the biography of Lope—consists of a single canto in the form of a *silva*, with *octavas* at the beginning and end. It contains the defence of the author (the Nightingale) against the attacks of Torres Rámila (the Thrush), in the *Spongia*. The volume included besides a novel—*Las Fortunas de Diana*, directed to the Sra. Marcia Leonarda (Doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo)—the *Descripcion de la Tapada*, a description, in ninety-one *octavas*, of the country seat of the Duke of Braganza, in Portugal; and also a poem in ninety-eight *octavas*, the subject of which is the mythological story of *Andromeda*. Finally the *Epístolas*, valuable for the information they give concerning the poet's life and works, form the principal remaining part of the volume, though perhaps Lope's correspondence upon the subject of the New Poetry, an attack upon Góngora and the *Culteranistas*, is no less important. For despite the fact that Lope at times adopted the extravagant manner of the *culto* poets, he frequently made them the butt of his wit, as in the well-known sonnet:

"Boscan, tarde llegamos. Ay posada?"[1]

La Barrera quotes the verses from the *Andromeda* beginning: *Paró en la cumbre del Parnaso*, and ending with: *Decir quien es, por no causar disgusto* (*Obras Sueltas*, II. p. 507), and asks: "Does Lope allude to himself in these enigmatical verses? Everything leads one to think so." He then notes the interesting fact that in a copy of the *Filomena* in his possession, there is found in the margin, opposite these lines, and written in Góngora's own hand: "If you mean this for yourself, Lopillo, you are an idiot, sans cunning or sense." And with this agrees perfectly, as the same scholar points out, the sonnet of Góngora beginning: *¡ Aquí del Conde Claros ! dijo y luego.*

[1] *Laurel de Apolo*, Madrid, 1630, fol. 123.

And yet Lope, in his *Discurso sobre la nueva Poesia*, alluding to Góngora always as "*este Caballero*," says: "The wit of this gentleman, since I have known him—which is more than twenty-eight years—is, in my opinion, the rarest and most uncommon that his native province has produced. Of his studies I have heard much from Pedro Liñan de Riaza, who was his contemporary at Salamanca, so that *non indoctus pari facundia, et ingenio praeditus*, I took a fancy to him, which was continued on seeing him and conversing with him when I went to Andalucia, and it always seemed to me that he favoured me and liked me somewhat more than my small acquirements deserved . . . He wrote in every style with elegance, and in the lighter vein, to which he was much inclined, his wit was no less celebrated than that of Martial, and much more decorous. We have some remarkable works of his in that pure style, continued during the greater part of his earlier years, from which we all have obtained instruction and pleasure,—the two things of which this art should consist. But not content with having attained the highest degree of fame in that softness and sweetness, he wished (as I have always honestly believed) to enrich the art of poetry, and also his native tongue, with such ornaments and figures of speech as had never before been seen or imagined, although somewhat shadowed forth by an Italian poet, who, however, being a Genoese, did not attain to the purity of the Tuscan idiom." This can hardly be an allusion to Marini, who was a Neapolitan. Lope continues: "Well did this gentleman succeed in his intent, if that was his intent; the only difficulty is in receiving it [into use]; from which there have arisen so many other difficulties, that I doubt whether they will ever cease till the cause ceases. I think the obscurity and the ambiguity of the words must cause difficulty to many," etc. . . . "Many have been carried away by the novelty of this kind of poetry, nor have they been mistaken, for in the older style they would never in their lives have been poets, and in the modern style they are so in one day:

for with these transpositions, four ideas and six Latin words or emphatic phrases, they find themselves elevated to a degree that they do not know themselves, nor even know whether they understand themselves. . . . The whole foundation of this edifice is the transposition of words," etc. Lope complains that figures are heaped upon figures: "For to make the whole composition figures, is as vicious and unsuitable, as if a woman who rouges herself, instead of putting the colour on her cheeks —a very proper place—should put it on her nose, brow and ears," etc. Poetry, he continues, should cost great labour to the writer and little to the reader, "a saying which does not offend the divine wit of this gentleman," etc. . . . "But, be that as it may, I must esteem him and love him, taking from him with humility what I can understand, and admiring with veneration what I cannot understand. But, as for the rest of them who imitate him, never can I esteem them . . . for they begin where he left off,"[1] etc. And our poet concludes with these words: "In order that your Excellency may the better understand that what I have said relates only to the bad imitation, and that I reverence the first master of this style, I shall end this discourse with this sonnet, which I made in praise of this gentleman when his own country did not accord to his two famous poems the applause which was their due:

Sing, Andalusian Swan: let none cry, Hold:
Let the green nymphs of Tagus hear thy song,
If thy ungrateful Baetis do thee wrong,
And leave the praise of grace like thine untold.
One wond'rous Lyrist's voice, and soul so bold,
I prize not like those echoes, clear and strong,
Of thy sweet lonely-musings, borne along,
From harp of silver frets and chords of gold.
Still let thy Sea-maid fly with foot of snow:
Thy burning words, O giant bard, she craves
To tell what fires in breasts immortal glow.

[1] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. IV. pp. 464-474.

For thou, howe'er unlovely Envy raves,
Shalt, like an Orpheus, charm the crystal flow
Of waters, far as sunlight walks the waves."[1]

Churton, in commenting on the passage above, says: "One cannot imagine how such extremely respectful language can have been used by Lope in speaking of Góngora, if the latter was, what some later critics have said he was, a fierce, proud and arrogant person, who used the language of unmeasured abuse against his antagonists. Certainly his published poems contain nothing of the kind. There are indeed two or three sonnets, in which Lope is glanced at; but it is in an amusing good-humoured way, such as may at least be fairly tolerated."[2]

We can only say that any doubt which Churton may have had as to the real attitude of Góngora towards Lope would certainly have been dispelled could he have read some of the Cordovan's poetry that has since been published.[3] It was Lope's mortal fear of Góngora that made him so conciliatory. Góngora knew his every vulnerable point, and kept him in constant dread: Lope was merely trying to appease his old enemy to the very last. Truly, as Fitzmaurice-Kelly says, Lope's fear of Góngora is pathetic.[4] References to him and to *culteranismo* are frequent in Lope's writings; I shall quote only the following, from a letter written as the *Filomena* was passing through the press, *i.e.* at about the same time that the *Discurso sobre la nueva Poesia*, quoted above, was written: "I saw a sonnet by Don Luis [de Góngora]; it pleased me: he writes now in the Castilian tongue, for

[1] Diego de Colmenares replied to this *Epistola* of Lope, from Segovia, under date of November 13, 1621, taking up the defence of Góngora and his school. To this Lope again replied, as we shall see further on. *Nueva Biografia*, p 356.

[2] *Gongora, an Historical and Critical Essay, etc.* London, 1862, Vol. I. p. 191. The above translation of Lope's sonnet is taken from the same excellent work.

[3] See the verses quoted by Fernandez-Guerra, *Juan Ruiz de Alarcon*, pp. 244-245.

[4] *History of Spanish Literature*, New York, 1898, p. 289.

they say it [the Castilian tongue] appeared to him one night clothed in patches of divers colours, and said to him: 'Man of Córdoba, behold my condition on your account; with straying feet, with deceptive countenance, with sparkling eyes and ministering hands, wearing motley and talking gibberish. Restore to me the simplicity of Herrera and Garcilaso.' As the result of which wonderful vision he speaks our language now, but they say it is late," etc.[1] We shall again have occasion, when treating of Lope's *Circe*, to discuss his relations with Góngora.

CHAPTER XII

PROTESTS AGAINST PIRATES · EL MAESTRO BURGUILLOS: LOPE AND GÓNGORA LOPE AS INQUISITOR JOINS THE CONGREGATION OF ST. PETER

On September 24, 1620, the censor approved the *Decimaquinta Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Procurador fiscal de la Camara Apostolica y Familiar del Santo Officio de la Inquisicion, dirigidas a diversas personas. Año* 1621. *Con Privilegio. En Madrid, por la viuda de Alonso Martin. A costa de Alonso Perez, mercader de libros.* 4°. Another edition appeared at Madrid, in the same year *por Fernando Correa de Montenegro. A costa de Miguel de Siles*, etc. This volume also contains a prologue, entitled *El Teatro á los Lectores.* In part, it is

[1] *Revista Española* (Madrid, 1901), Vol. I. p. 292. In a letter to the Duke of Sessa, written, apparently about 1630, Lope says: "Sepa de paso V. Exa. que me he vuelto culto; porende lea este soneto," etc. It begins ·

Pululando de culto, Claudio amigo, etc.

This sonnet was afterwards inserted in the *Dorotea*, and is another proof, if any were needed, that that work was retouched by its author shortly before it was printed, in 1632.

as follows: "The author of these comedias is fulfilling the promise he made by publishing those which come into his hands, or to his feet, begging for correction. He does what he can for them, but he can do little, as his occupation with other things does not give him the opportunity to correct them as he would wish, for to reduce them to their original form is impossible; but he holds it for a less evil that they should issue from his house than from those of others, so that he may not see them as he did the first ones, in such plight, either with *loas* and *entremeses* which he never imagined in all his life, or written with other verses, and by authors who are unknown not only of the Muses, but even of the places wherein they were born. These are his, in the language which the poets of this year call ancient: strange thing! for many only consider good that which they do not understand. I believe that they are right; for distrusting their own senses they consider a thing of little wit if their own can easily grasp it. . . The poet who has written these comedias does not wish especially to signalize them, nor to deprive those who now write them of what they deserve. . . He does not ask for thanks for having brought them to their present state, nor did it make him vain-glorious; for having wit and learning for the books of his that are current in Italy and France, he considers the comedias as flowers of the field of his Vega, which are born without cultivation," etc. . . . "Let then the dispassionate reader read this book, he who does not wish with a single comedia to obscure nine hundred and twenty seven which this author has written, counting those which are called *autos*; pardoning their errors, which, for having gone through so many hands are unavoidable," etc. In the prologue to the *Onzena Parte* the poet had told us that he had then (1618) written eight hundred plays, so that between February, 1618, and September, 1620, that is, thirty-one months, Lope had written one hundred and twenty-seven plays, or more than one a week. In the same year (1621) two other parts of Lope's comedias were issued from the press, the *Decimasexta* and *Decima-*

septima Parte, and of the three parts issued in this year the latter seems actually to have reached the public first. La Barrera calls attention to this fact, and gives this chronological table:

Parte Decimaseptima. Fe de Erratas: 25 *Enero* 1621. *Tasa:* 27 *idem.*

Parte Decimasexta. Tasa: 27 *Septiembre* 1621. *Erratas:* 15 *Diciembre idem.*

Parte Decimaquinta. Tasa: 17 *Diciembre* 1621. *Erratas: sin fecha.*

Accepting these dates as correct—and an examination of the volumes corroborates their accuracy—they show that the parts were issued in the above order; Part Seventeen appearing, in all probability, in February, 1621, while Parts Sixteen and Fifteen were not distributed till December of that year. Volume Sixteen is as follows:

Decimasexta Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Procurador fiscal de la Camara Apostolica. Quibusdam enim canibus sic innatum est, ut non pro feritate sed pro consuetudine latrent. Seneca de Rem. Fort. Año 1621. *Con Privilegio. En Madrid. Por la viuda de Alonso Martin. A costa de Alonso Perez, mercader de libros.* 4°. There is another edition—Madrid, 1622.

Prefixed to this volume is a *Prólogo Dialogístico*, a dialogue between the theatre and a stranger. It is, in part, as follows:

Theatre: Is it possible that you do not see that I am hurt; my legs and arms broken; full of holes and with a thousand trap-doors and nails?

Stranger: Who has brought you to this miserable plight?

Theatre: The carpenters, by order of the theatrical managers.

Stranger: It is not their fault but the fault of the poets, who are for you as physicians and barbers, for some command and the others bleed.

Theatre: I have come to great misfortune and I presume that it is due to one of three causes: either because there are no good actors, or because the poets are

bad or because the auditors lack understanding; for the managers avail themselves of machinery, the poets of the carpenters and the auditors of their eyes.

Stranger: I am a stranger as you see by my costume; I did not think that there were in Spain any other comedias save such as are produced by lowly persons, although the rules of art are not observed in Spain.

Theatre: The art of the comedias and of poetry is the invention of the princely poets; for the great wits are not subject to precepts, and in the matter of pleasing the eyes, I wish to convince you by an example. When there is a bull-fight, do they come to see the bulls or to hear them?

Stranger: I have never heard that a bull could speak, or sing, or dance.

Theatre: Sight, then, being such an important sense, the cause is not small by which the common people are moved. . . . It is some time ago since I was born in Greece, where all the arts were born. I knew Euripides, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Aristophanes. But to return to the common people, I say that they are justly moved by this machinery to delight the eyes, but not by that of the Spanish comedia, where the figures rise and descend so crudely, and animals and birds appear in like manner, which the ignorance of the women and the rude mechanics among men come to see.

Stranger: But are there no wits who come?

Theatre: Few.

Stranger: That is not true.

Theatre: Sometimes they come to the comedia; but no one with even moderate understanding will ever be persuaded that the greater part of the women enclosed in that large cage, and the ignorant who sit on the benches, understand the verses or the figures of rhetoric, the periods and the examples, and the grave or common style.

Stranger: But doubtless there will also be some scholars or courtiers who reward the efforts of the poets, differentiating between the good and those who are not,

between the laymen and the learned; for they know very well that there are poets, and some poets after a fashion, who are saved from the common herd by mistrust, just as others are lost by satisfying them. For reputation sometimes makes great things smaller, and the lack of it makes small things great.

What book is that which you are looking at?

Theatre: The Sixteenth Part of the comedias of Lope, the printing of which was not finished because of his absence, and so it appears after the Seventeenth.

Stranger: Are these comedias good?

Theatre: *Mirad á quien alabais*, *El Perseo*, *El Laberinto* and *Los Prados*, *El Adonis* and *Felisarda*, are written in such a manner that it is evident he considered them maturely.

Stranger: You must be on good terms with the poet of these plays.

Theatre: I have now been under obligations to him for many years.

Stranger: I have observed that in his books he speaks well of other poets, an indication that he acknowledges them as better.

Theatre: All speak ill of him, and he speaks well of all. I do not know who tells the truth. . . . The stranger bewails the death of so many celebrated actors, saying: Since the death of actors like Navarro, Loyola, Rios, Solano, Ramirez, Tapia, Leon, Rocha, Salvador and Cristobal, what are the managers to do, except, being turned into rope-dancers, leave the comedias to the stage machinery? etc.

Theatre: I should bear my injuries with patience, although each day should put upon me new plasters, if only the mob whistled at me; but the full-fledged ignorance of many who wear silk has reached such a point that with insolent disgrace to themselves they join the rabble in whistling.

It seems to follow from this that a play, or perhaps a number of plays, had been received by the public about this time with whistling, hissing, or other signs of disapproval,

not only by the groundlings, but even by the better class of theatre goers, and a letter of Lope apparently substantiates this.[1] Was the *caenum plebeium* deserting its old favourite?

In 1621, as mentioned above, the following volume of plays also appeared: *Decimaseptima Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Procurador Fiscal de la Camara Apostolica, y Familiar del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion. Dirigida a diversas Personas. Año* 1621. *Con Privilegio. En Madrid. Por la viuda de Alonso Martin. A costa de Miguel de Siles, mercader de libros Vendese en su casa en la Calle de las Descalsas.* 4°.[2] The *Suma de Privilegio* is dated October 31, 1620 · the *Aprobacion* October 20, 1621. This volume also is provided with a 'Prologue to the Reader,' which contains remarks of much interest · "The Theatre is in the habit of making these Prologues, and weary of the complaints of the managers of companies who say that *their comedias are printed to the injury of their property*, the author of this Part refers to one of the Academicians of this court, so that, instead of an introduction, he may, for the poets, satisfy their pretensions and unjust petitions. Twice legal proceedings were instituted against the booksellers, that they should not sell them on account of the offence it gave to their owners (writers) to see so many imperfect verses, so many strange *coplas* and so many absurdities concerning the ill understood plots and histories. They (the booksellers) gained their case, proving that *having once paid the wits for the labour of their studies, they* (the wits) *no longer had any authority over them* (*i.e.* over the comedias). And it was therefore resolved to petition the booksellers that the poets might be allowed to correct them, and that, having to imprint them again, they should not do so without advising them. This has been done and the comedias now appear more

[1] See letter No. 64, published in La Barrera, *Nueva Biografia*, p. 627.

[2] My copy is. "Año 1621. En Madrid. Por Fernando Correa de Montenegro. A costa de Miguel de Siles," etc. Two other editions of this volume appeared at Madrid in 1622

correct, as experience shows. As to the complaints of the theatrical managers, the answer is given that they steal the plays from one another, or sell them to the towns which want them for their festivals, or destroy them themselves, or get others to compose in verse the inventions [stories, plots], that are well received ;[1] or they steal them or buy them from the dealers, or from the confidants of the actors, who sell them without hesitation. The least harm is to print them, for then the poet does not have to continue keeping them with him, *and especially he who gives to the managers his own original version, which he has never copied.* Besides, the most of them are comedias which were written many years ago, and the managers of the companies that represented them have either ceased to be managers because of age, or the comedy of life has ended in the tragedy of death. And because of some comedias that they themselves sold or depreciated, it is not just that they should complain or prevent the others from being printed, nor that he who finds pleasure in reading them should lose it on their account ; for he who feels himself most aggrieved at their impression has already destroyed many managers, offering to them those comedias which others had acquired at the expense of much money and effort, either in foreign kingdoms or in Andalusia or Castilla, and since, with the wretched *coplas* which they make, they endeavour to deprive true poets of their reputation, stealing what they do not know, let them not make vain contentions of unjust complaints, but let them esteem and take care of their papers, *for manuscripts are sold in public shops*, either because of the little esteem in

[1] Hartzenbusch says this accounts for the many apparent plagiarisms in the old Spanish drama. An actor owning a play which had been well received by the public would not care to part with the original ; but, for a money consideration, he would permit another play to be written, making use of the same plot and situations. And this proceeding, so Hartzenbusch says, was lawful in Spain. Frequently when a favourite play became too well known upon the boards, its owner would have it worked over again. Calderon thus worked over a number of older plays, and Moreto especially frequently occupied himself in this business. *Comedias escogidas de Lope de Vega* (*Bib. de Autores Esp.*), Vol. IV. p. xxiii, note.

which they are held, or because they[1] sell them. For the poets do not print what can injure them, but rather that which would be lost, mutilated and full of defects because of them" (*i.e.* the managers).

This prologue, which certainly reveals a strange condition of the literary "market" in the Golden Age of Spanish letters, has drawn the following comments from Hartzenbusch. "Suppose each one of the masterpieces of the Spanish stage had fallen into the hands of an actor employed to make ridiculous *sainetes* of those marvellous works of genius; suppose, moreover, that he had the meanness to prevent the original manuscripts from being printed, because, after all, they were *his property*, what reputation would Lope or Calderon or Tirso have to-day? What would our ancient Theatre be worth to-day? Who would even know it? It is absurd to presume, from the fact of an author selling a work of genius, that he thereby consents to its being disfigured and to his being injured by it. This would be to sell one's literary, religious and political reputation. From such injuries as these some, even now-a-days, are sufferers. We have now in Spain a law of literary ownership, but the proper legal means for its efficient application are wanting."[2]

In the dedication of the comedia *Los Muertos vivos*, in this same volume, to the dramatic poet Salucio del Poyo, Lope expresses himself in a similar strain concerning the dishonest practices of theatrical managers. After alluding in very flattering phrases to the fame acquired by del Poyo, he says that this is, in another sense, a misfortune for the dramatist "since, because of the good reputation which you have in this capital, the

[1] 'They' must refer to the pseudo-poets or plagiarists, for Lope has said before that the managers buy the manuscripts of the dealers. But this prologue is written in such a loose and disjointed style that it is hard to follow. I have adhered closely to the text, though, as the English version is necessarily awkward, the temptation to depart from it is considerable.

[2] *Ibid.* p. xxiii.

theatrical managers, when they have any comedia whatever, with the author of which they are not satisfied, adorn their placards with your name, and since most of these comedias, being written by some ignorant fellow, are so detestable, you would lose much reputation among those who know, if the injury to you did not reach those who esteem you at the same time as its discovery." He adds that "a poor comedia, after it has run the gauntlet of villages, servants, and men who live by stealing them and adding to them, is so disfigured as to be scarcely recognizable."

On March 31, 1621, Philip III. died, and all representations of comedias were suspended,—the play-houses being closed until July 28 of the same year, when theatrical performances were again resumed, the first comedia given being Lope's *Dios hizo los Reyes, y los Hombres las Leyes*.[1]

Among the extant autographs of Lope belonging to this year is the comedia *Amor, Pleito y Desafio*, now in the National Library, and bearing the date: "En Madrid, a 23 de Noviembre de 1621," and a license to represent it, signed on January 14, 1622, by Pedro de Vargas Machuca. This play has been published,[2] and is entirely different from one of the same name in Part XXII. of the comedias of Lope, Madrid, 1635, or in Part XXIV., Zaragoza, 1633, which, I may note, differ slightly from each other. The play in these two

[1] Pellicer, *Origen y Progresos*, etc Vol. I. p. 161. I know of no play by Lope bearing this title. *Dios hase Reyes*, which is printed in Part XXIII., published at Madrid in 1638, is doubtless the same play. At the end of Act II. we read.

Enrique . . . Bien dizes,
Dios haze Reyes, qué temo?
Las leyes que hazen los hombres
A su voluntad sujetos. fol. 273.

[2] In *Comedias Inéditas de Frey Lope de Vega Carpio*. Tomo Primero Edited by the Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle and José Sancho Rayon. Madrid, 1873. According to Sánchez-Arjona, *Anales del Teatro en Sevilla*, p. 146, the autograph shows that the character of Sancho, *criado*, was taken by Pedro de Valdés.

volumes is, of course, Alarcon's *Ganar Amigos*, from which, as printed in the latter's works, however, the two versions ascribed to Lope differ very materially, as is shown by a comparison of the three texts which I have before me.

In the following year, 1622, by a decree of Pope Gregory XV., the canonization of Saint Isidore, the ploughman and Patron of Madrid, was celebrated in the latter city, as his beatification had been two years previously. A *justa poética* was also a part of this festival, and in addition Lope wrote two comedias at the request of the *Ayuntamiento* of the city: *La Niñez de San Isidro* and *La Juventud de San Isidro*, with their respective *loas*.[1] They were represented before the King in the square of the Palace, with rich stage settings;—the first comedia by the company of Vallejo, the second by that of Avendaño.[2] The *certamen* was held on June 28, 1622, and as was to be expected, Lope was the soul of the contest over which he presided. For the two comedias which he composed, and for his other services, he received on April 4, 1623, the sum of thirty-three hundred reals = three hundred ducats, the same amount as he had received two years before, at the festival of the Saint's

[1] Acuerdo de 13 de Abril de 1622.—Que para la fiesta de Sr. San Isidro componga Lope de Vega dos comedias del Santo, que estas representen en carros dos autores que son los que tienen las fiestas del Santisimo Sacramento o los que mejor pareciere, etc. *Datos desconocidos*, p. 294.

[2] The company of Vallejo on this occasion comprised. Manuel de Vallejo and Francisca Maria, his wife; Juan de Morales Medrano and Josepha Vaca, his wife; Mariana de Morales, daughter of the latter; Diego de Ortega, Ana Maria de Peralta, his wife; Juan de San Martin; Damian Arias; Juan Beçon; Juan de Montoya; Juan de Arze; Jusepe del Peral; Pedro Ortiz de Urbina and Pedro de Guzman. The company of Avendaño was composed of. Cristóbal de Avendaño; Maria de Candau [*s.e.* Candado, showing that this was then, as it would be now, the popular pronunciation of the name]; Antonia Catalan, Isabel Ana; Bartolomé Calvo de Arze. Bernarda Villaroel; Francisco Treviño; Francisco de Castro; Bernabé Tafalla; Leonardo de Ruques; Francisco de Robles; Luis Candau; Baltasar de Santa Cruz; Gabriel de Velasco; Juan Cabello and Bartolomé Romero. *Ibid.* p. 297.

beatification.[1] The volume in which these verses are collected is dedicated to the city of Madrid, in these words: "I have always desired to serve the grace and favour of your generous hands, but on this occasion my own interest is so great, that I ask for no other acknowledgment of my services than that they be graciously received," etc.

Lope composed and read the introductory poem, and then declaimed the various prize compositions, he himself (under the name of *El Maestro Burguillos*) again contributing to each of the *combates* a humorous poem, in the measure of the *combate*, just as he had done in the contest two years previously; and he brought the festival to a close with his ballad *Premios de la Fiesta*, in praise of the competing poets and the awards of the tribunal. It is worthy of remark that one of the judges was Don Diego de Urbina, Rey de Armas and Regidor of Madrid, and father of Doña Isabel de Urbina, Lope's first wife. Besides rendering the above-mentioned services, Lope published an account of this poetical festival;[2] the number of poets taking part was very great, no less than one hundred and thirty-two contending in the first subject or contest—the *canciones*, in which Lope gained the first prize, a silver-gilt statuette worth fifty ducats. He also wrote for the fifth contest, under the name of his little daughter Doña Antonia de Nevares, then five years old, receiving the third prize of the value of ten ducats. Among the famous poets who competed in this *certamen* may be mentioned D. Guillen

[1] "Acuerdo de 4 de Abril de 1623.—A Lope de Vega Carpio 3300 reales por el trabajo y ocupacion que tuvo en el certamen de poesia que se hizo para la fiesta de la canonizacion de Sr. San Isidro, y por haber dirigido á esta Villa el libro que hizo de las dichas fiestas, que es la misma cantidad que se le dio en el certamen y libro de la beatificacion," etc. *Datos desconocidos*, p. 295.

[2] *Relacion de las Fiestas que la insigne villa de Madrid hizo en la canonizacion de su bienaventurado Hijo y Patron San Isidro, con las Comedias que se representaron y las versos que en la Justa poetica se escrivieron. Dirigida a la misma insigne Villa. En Madrid. Por la viuda de Alonso Martin. Año de* 1622. 4°. Reprinted in *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XII.

de Castro, who received the first prize for the *octavas*, (D. Juan Perez de Montalban obtaining the third prize); Mira de Mescua obtained the first prize for the *décimas*; Francisco de Quintana, first prize for the sonnet; D. Diego de Villegas and Sebastian Francisco de Medrano, prizes for the *romance*; D. Juan de Jauregui, prize for the *glosa*; D. Francisco de Urbina,[1] prize for *hieroglyphicos*. The second prize in the *canciones* was carried

[1] This D. Francisco de Urbina—the same who wrote the "insipid epitaph" prefixed to the *Persiles y Sigismunda* of Cervantes—was Lope's brother-in-law, according to Navarrete, *Vida de Cervantes*, p. 481. Cf. Pérez Pastor, *Datos*, pp. 239 and 248, and *Documentos Cervantinos*, I. pp. 319-320. It has been suggested that there was some relation between Lope's mother-in-law, Doña Magdalena de Cortinas (of Barrajas), and *Cervantes's mother, Doña Leonor de Cortinas (also alleged to be of* Barrajas), and that thus the two great writers were connected. Upon this point my friend Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly writes to me as follows: "The theory that Cervantes and Lope de Vega were kinsmen would be interesting, if true But is it true? So far as I know, this theory is based solely on a surmise thrown out by Juan Antonio Pellicer in his biography of Cervantes (*Don Quixote*, Madrid, 1797-1798, vol. I. p. cxci). Manifestly the mere fact that Doña Magdalena and Doña Leonor bore the same surname would prove nothing, if it stood alone; were it established, however, that the namesakes both came from the same village, there would be less difficulty in believing that they were relatives. In this instance, Pellicer's surmise has met with the good fortune which attended many of his intrepid conjectures. His vague guess has been raised to the dignity of historical fact. The Francisco de Urbina who wrote the prefatory *décima* to *Persiles* has been skilfully metamorphosed from Lope's brother-in-law to Cervantes's nephew by Sr. Máinez in his *Vida de Cervantes* (Cádiz, 1877, p 235). Many other writers on Cervantes (myself included) have so far fallen into the trap as to reproduce the current statement that Doña Leonor de Cortinas was a native of Barrajas. Upon this the whole question turns, and, frankly, we have as yet no proof, and even no evidence, that she was anything of the kind. Nor (to be just) does Pellicer assert it. All that he puts forward, in a passage highly characteristic of him, is this—that *if* Doña Magdalena de Cortinas (who certainly came from Barrajas) was related to Doña Leonor de Cortinas (who came from nobody knows where), then one might not only say that *perhaps* the latter was a native of Barrajas (a village four leagues distant from Alcalá de Henares, where Cervantes's father resided at one time), but that the author of *Don Quixote* was in some degree connected with the Urbinas, and consequently with Lope's first wife. This may be so, or it may not. As matters stand, Pellicer's gratuitous conjecture is evidently not a sufficient basis for a theory of any kind. Far from it."

off by D. Francisco Lopez de Zárate, and the third by D. Pedro Calderon, then twenty-two years old. It is interesting to know that Gabriel Tellez (Tirso de Molina) competed unsuccessfully in two of the contests. Few festivals of this character have ever been honoured by such a brilliant list of poets.[1]

There is a letter of Lope's extant, written about this time, which lends support to the assertion that the sudden death of the Conde de Lemos on October 19, 1622, was instigated by Philip IV. just as the death of the Conde de Villamediana had been undoubtedly brought about by the King on August 21 preceding. Thus, says La Barrera, "the reign of Philip IV., the Poet, was inaugurated between the scaffold, the dagger, poison and the canonization of four Saints."[2]

To this year belongs the comedia *La nueva Victoria de Don Gonzalo de Córdoba*,[3] the autograph of which

[1] On the subject of these poetical tournaments there is a very amusing account in *Don Quixote* (Part II Chap. XVIII.), where Don Quixote's advice to the poet is. "If your verses are for a poetical tournament, contrive to carry off the second prize, for the first always goes by favour or personal standing, the second by simple justice; and so the third comes to be the second, and the first, reckoning in this way, will be the third, in the same way as licentiate degrees are conferred at the universities; but, for all that, the title of first is a great distinction." It should be remembered that Cervantes himself had won a first prize at Saragossa in 1595

In the same chapter of *Don Quixote* there is an excellent parody upon the *glosas* then so much in vogue. It begins

"Could 'was' become an 'is' for me,
I'd ask no other boon than this,
Or could I change the hour that is
In barter for the 'is to be.'"

Ormsby's Trans. ed. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Vol. III. p. 117.

See also Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, Vol. II. p. 211, note.

[2] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 373

[3] The cast of this comedia when originally performed, as given in Lope's autograph, is as follows: Lisarda, dama = *La Sr. Manuela*; Fulgencia, criada = *la Sr. Ana*; D. Juan Ramirez = *Fadrique*; Bernabe, lacayo = *Coronel*; El Capitan Medrano = *Cosme*; Estevan, criado = *Juepe*; El Bastardo de Mansfel = *Juan Geronimo*; El Obispo de

(formerly in the Osuna Library) is signed at Madrid, October 8, 1622, with a license by Pedro de Vargas Machuca, October 21, 1622. This play, which is concerned with the exploits of the Duke of Sessa's brother, and has nothing to do with the 'Great Captain,' is printed in the *Vega del Parnaso* (1637) and in the *Veintiquatro Parte* (Zaragoza, 1641).[1]

In the following year there appeared the *Decimaoctava Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Procurador fiscal de la Camara Apostolica y Familiar del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion. Dirigida á diversas Personas. Año* 1623. *Con Privilegio. En Madrid. Por Juan Gonzalez. A costa de Alonso Perez, mercader de libros. Vendense en sus casas en la Calle de Santiago.* 4°. The *Aprobacion* is dated June 22, 1622; the *Suma de Privilegio* June 25, 1622. No other edition of this part seems to be known.

Of the plays in this volume, there is one, *La Pobreza estimada*, to which Lope has prefixed a dedication to Don Francisco de Borja, Prince of Esquilache; and here he again sets out his views upon the "new poetry."

Holstad = *Vargas*, El Duque de Bullon = *Jusepe*; D. Gonzalo = *Juan Bautista*; D. Francisco de Carros = *Manuel*; El Baron de Tili = *Narbaez*. Schack, *Nachtrage*, p. 47.

The Juan Bautista here mentioned, is generally known as Juan Bautista Valenciano, his wife was Doña Manuela Enriquez (La Sr. Manuela). Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p 195, and Sánchez Arjona, *Anales*, pp. 188, 202, 204, *et passim* Juan de Vargas of Plasencia, was a well-known actor at this time (*Ibid.* p 204), while Agustin Coronel "of Oropesa, in the kingdom of Toledo," was in the company of Riquelme as early as 1602 and in that of Ortiz in 1619. *Ibid* and *Nuevos Datos*, pp 68 and 93, he was still acting in 1644. Sánchez-Arjona, *Anales*, p 372. The Cosme is Cosme Pérez, better known as *Juan Rana*, the greatest *gracioso* of his time, and a man of exemplary life. He died in 1673. *Ibid.*, p. 330 Juan Jerónimo, a Valencian, and hence called also Valenciano, was in the company of Ortiz in 1619 Sánchez-Arjona, p. 204, *et passim*. His wife was the actress Ana Maria de Caceres. *Nuevos Datos*, p. 324.

[1] This play is said to have been printed under the title of *La Mayor Victoria de Alemania. D. Gonzalo de Córdoba* in the *Quinta Parte* (Madrid, 1634). This *Quinta Parte* is mentioned by Fajardo: we have no other guarantee of its existence

and its chief, Góngora. He says in substance: "After you had departed for those kingdoms (Peru), suddenly there came over Parnassus such a stupendous change that, like a violent tempest, it threatened to carry away the consecrated temples, the ancient laurels and the very gardens and baths of Euterpe and Clio. Amidst these wretched events I remembered your authority and greatness—you, the true refuge of our language; and not finding the branches sufficiently strong to which I could cling, I allowed myself to be carried away by the current of the mob, whose idol is novelty." . . . And, after dealing with the poets of the time of King Don John, he comes to "those who now apply themselves to these studies with more arrogance than skill, especially since they have been divided into bands, like the Guelphs and Ghibellines, for some they call *Culteranos*, from the word *culto*, and the others *Llanos*, the echo of Castellanos, whose true simplicity they imitate. You, who have not seen it, cannot discuss this new art, but I assure you, so may the Muses be favourable to me, that their whole dictionary does not contain fourteen words, with some figures, impossible to Rhetoric—which they deny to be the foundation of poetry, I mean in the locutions, for in the remaining matters I know that Philosophy is.

"Finally, this new poetry is so obscure that it bears at its door for a symbol, the Cabala, and for a device *plus ultra*. . . . Meanwhile, I say it is a thing worthy of consideration, that some study, and not a few years of reading in this matter, and so many verses written, do not avail me to understand one stanza of one of these poets, for often I should have wished either to question them upon the construction of their grammar, or that those who say they understand them would explain it to me; although the latter I never have believed, for to avoid confessing that they cannot penetrate the whole of it, there are men who praise them outwardly and within themselves are angry to see that they neither know it, nor can attain it, nor have any hope of understanding it, and so they consider it better to praise what does not deserve it than

to confess that there is anything in the world which they do not know." [1]

In the same year (1623) appeared: *Parte decinueve y la meior Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Procurador fiscal de la Camara Apostolica, y su Notario, descrito en el Archivo Romano. Dirigidas a diversas personas, etc. Año* 1623. *Con Privilegio. En Madrid. Por Juan Gonzalez. A costa de Alonso Perez, mercader de libros. Vendese en sus casas en la Calle de Santiago.* 4°.[2]

This volume also opens with a *Prólogo Dialogístico*, a dialogue between the Theatre and a poet, from which it appears that the price of admission to the comedia had been increased. The poet complains of this and suggests that it should be lowered to the old price of one real, half of which went to the *autor*, and half towards the pious purposes to which these revenues were devoted. "For a real is enough to pay, and many can give that, and the number of people would be increased every day, while to-day nobody can or will give so much money [as is now demanded], nor can the actor live on the small share that now falls to him." Under the new arrangement three-tenths went to the manager and seven-tenths to the hospitals. Besides, the expenses for costumes, decorations, and so forth were constantly increasing. That more attention was paid at this time

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> *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. I. p 318.

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to stage machinery and effects, is further shown by the colloquy:

"*Theatre*: Have you any new comedias?

Poet: Since they use *Apariencias*, which they call *tramoyas*, I do not dare to publish my comedias."[1]

The second comedia in this volume is entitled *Amor secreto hasta Zelos*, and is dedicated to the poet, Don Luis de Góngora. After Lope's jibes at the *Culteranos* in his previous volume of plays, we should scarcely have expected such a tribute to the prince of them all; but Lope never ceased in his attempts to conciliate his old enemy. The dedication runs: "Dorikleos, an Athenian painter, desired that the famous Apelles should receive a Venus from his hand, whereupon one of Alexander's captains asked him why he offered that figure to the Prince of painters. Dorikleos answered that the mere fact of Apelles keeping it amongst his own pictures, sufficed to give it eternal fame. Following his example, I offer to you (O Prince of wits!) this poorly painted picture, in order that those who see it amongst your excellent works may say that Apollo Apelles did not despise them; adding to this desire my favourable disposition to your

[1] In *Don Quixote* (Part I Chap. XLVIII.), where the canon turns aside from his criticism of books of chivalry to express his opinion on the drama, dragging in the subject by the hair, as Clemencin remarks (*traje por los cabellos la materia de las comedias*), he says "Y aun en las [comedias] humanas se atreven á hacer milagros, sin mas respecto ni consideracion que parecerles que allí estará bien el tal milagro y *apariencia* como ellos llaman, para que gente ignorante se admire y venga á la comedia," etc.

Commenting on this passage the editor says. "*Apariencia* es tramoya ó máquina teatral para representar trasformaciones ó acontecimientos prodigiosos." Ed. Clemencin, Madrid, 1833, Vol. III. p. 409. The term 'Appearances' was also used on the English stage. When Cartwright's *Royal Slave* was presented before the King and Queen at Oxford, in August 1636, the changes of scene then produced by Inigo Jones were called 'appearances'; they were eight in number, but whether they were effected by sliding frames covered with canvas, or by falling curtains, now technically called 'drops,' is not stated. Collier, *Hist. of English Dram. Poetry*. London, 1831, Vol. III. p 372. Lope uses the word *apariencia* in a stage-direction in Part VII. (1617), fol. 63, showing that their introduction was not recent in 1623.

learning and virtues, so worthy of admirable veneration and respect in the severest judgments,"[1] etc. (fol. 24).

Two manuscripts of Lope's plays belonging to the years 1623-4 are given by La Barrera as being formerly in the Osuna Library. These are the autograph of *El Poder en el Discreto*,[2] dated May 8, 1623, with an *Aprobacion* of Vargas Machuca, dated January 8, 1624, and *El Aldeguela*, ms. signed by the copyist Luis C. on November 9, 1622. Of these two comedias the first is inedited. The second, *El Aldegüela*, exists as a *suelta*; and, under the title of *El Hijo de la Molinera*, it is found attributed to D. Francisco de Villegas, in Part XLII. of the

[1] In the *Epistola a Don Francisco de Herrera Maldonado* mentioned above, Lope attributes the invention of the term *culteranismo* to Bartolomé Ximenez Paton, the tutor of the Count of Villamediana, in these words.

"Alli nos acusó de barbarismo
Gente ciega vulgar, y que profana
Lo que llamó Paton *culteranismo*"

Ibid p. 318.

[2] The autograph of *El Poder en el Discreto* gives the cast as below;—the names on the right being in Lope's own hand, those on the left are apparently in a different handwriting

Ma. Calderon	Serafina, dama - - -	*Jusepa.*
Doña Isabel -	Rosela, criada - - -	. .
Cascan -	Teodosio, rey de Sicilia -	*Vacamonte.*
Morales -	Celio, de su camara - -	*Arias.*
Castro -	Alejo, criado de Celio - -	*Trivino.*
Suarez -	El Conde de Augusta - -	*Morales.*
. . . -	Perseo, criado del Conde -	. . .
Mariana -	Flora, dama - - -	*Mariana.*
. . . . .	Leoncio, Tancredo } criados del Rey -	. . .

Schack, *Nachtrage*, p. 47.

The company on the right is that of Juan de Morales Medrano; the Jusepa is his wife, Jusepa Vaca, and Mariana is their daughter, who, sometime after 1624, married Antonio de Prado, also a theatrical manager, who died in 1651, and whom she survived. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 331. The Arias is the famous Damian Arias. Francisco Triviño was later (1631) a member of the company of Figueroa. Cotarelo, *Tirso de Molina*, p 206 Cristóbal Suarez was in the company of Balbin in 1609-10 (*Nuevos Datos*, p 117), while Francisco de Castro was in the company of Vallejo in September of this year (1623). *Ibid.* p. 201. Sánchez-Arjona, *Anales*, p. 390.

Comedias escogidas de los mejores Ingenios de España, Madrid, 1676.[1]

Before August of the year 1623 Lope had prepared for the press his volume entitled *La Circe con otras Rimas y Prosas*.[2] Both the *censuras* are signed by famous poets; the one on August 13, 1623, by the celebrated dramatist Fray Alonso Remon, and the other by Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, the famous lyric and dramatic poet, on September 4, 1623. *La Circe* consists of more than three thousand lines, written in octaves and divided into three cantos. It relates the arrival of Ulysses on Circe's island; gives the recital by Ulysses of his wanderings and adventures, the account of the loves of Polyphemus and Galatea; and finally describes the departure of Ulysses from the island and his descent into hell with Palamedes, where Tiresias narrates to him what is to befall him before he again reaches home.

Ticknor calls the *Circe* an "unfortunate amplification of the well-known story found in the Odyssey." Besides this poem, the volume contains: "The Morning of Saint John," a poem in one hundred and twelve octaves, descriptive of this "pilgrimage and forgotten festival in the groves of the Manzanares, Casa de Campo," etc. There are also a mythological fable in one hundred and nine octaves, entitled "The White Rose," and three short novels: *La Desdicha por la Honra*, *La prudente Venganza*,

[1] La Barrera (*Nueva Biografía*, p. 377) states that there is in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid a manuscript of *Arminda celosa*, copied from an autograph dated 1622. But there would seem to be some mistake as regards the year. *Arminda celosa* is in the second list of the *Peregrino*; the authentic autograph cannot therefore have been written later than 1618, and may have been considerably earlier: unless, of course, we are to suppose that Lope made more than one copy of his plays. The comedia *Arminda celosa* exists as a *suelta* ascribed to Mira de Mescua.

[2] *La Circe con otras Rimas y Prosas al Exmo. Señor D. Gaspar de Guzman Conde de Olivares—De Lope de Vega Carpio. En casa de la biuda de Alonso Martin a costa de Alonso perez*, 1624. As in the case of the *Filomena* of 1621, the title is engraved by Schorquens. The poetical portion of this volume is reprinted in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. III., the rest in Vols. I. and VIII.

and *Guzman el Bravo*. They are dedicated, each separately, to *la Señora Marcia Leonarda, i.e.* Doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo (*Amarilis*). In addition, the volume contains seven *epístolas*, six in tercets, and the last in prose.[1] They are addressed to Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza; D. Fr. Plácido de Tosantos; Juan Pablo Bonet; D. Francisco de Herrera Maldonado; Dr. Matías de Porras; D. Lorenzo Van der Hamen de Leon, and "to a Gentleman of these Kingdoms." This last epistle is on the poetic art and on *culteranismo*, and forms a pendant to the epistle inserted in the *Filomena*. It is in fact a retort to an answer which Diego de Colmenares had written to Lope's letter in the *Filomena*. In this *epístola* Lope bestows the highest praise upon the verse of the Prince of Esquilache, praising his "Eclogue to the Infanta Doña Maria" as a model of beautiful diction, and clear, simple and lofty style. He then speaks of the piling of metaphor upon metaphor, and the excessive affectation which have ruined most of the wits of Spain: freaks "due to the sad example of a famous poet who, while writing with his natural gifts and in his own language, won general applause, which, afterwards, since he passed over to *culteranismo*, he entirely lost."[2] This, of course, was aimed directly at Góngora. He was the *poeta insigne*, and yet in this very same volume of Lope's is the well-known sonnet in praise of this same poet, beginning: "Noble swan of the Betis, who, sonorous and grave, didst ennoble the sweetest instrument that music ever inspired, bathing in pure amber the bow of gold," etc.; and at the close of the novels in this volume, he adds some *espinelas*, in which Góngora is lauded to the skies. And this after the Cordovan had written his

[1] There are, in fact, nine *epístolas*, the seventh being followed by an eclogue by the Prince of Esquilache (fol. 195), then two sonnets and the eighth *epístola* "Al R. P. F. Leonardo del Carpio." This consists wholly of translations of the *Psalms*. About forty sonnets now follow, among them several to *Amarilis*, the work concluding with the ninth *epístola* to Don Francisco Lopez de Aguilar, written in prose.

[2] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. I., p. 351.

sonnet beginning. *Patos del agua-chirle castellana*, which I cannot resist giving in Churton's translation:[1]

To the admirers of Lope de Vega.

Dear geese, whose haunt is where weak waters flow
From rude Castillian well-head, cheap supply,
That keeps your flowery Vega never dry,
True Vega, smooth, but somewhat flat and low:
Go, dabble, play, and cackle as ye go
Down that old stream of gray antiquity;
And blame the waves of nobler harmony,
Where birds, whose gentle grace you cannot know
Are sailing. Attic wit and Roman skill
Are theirs; no swans that die in feeble song,
But nursed to life by Heliconian rill,
Where Wisdom breathes in Music. Cease your wrong,
Flock of the troubled pool: your vain endeavour
Will doom you else to duck and dive forever.

The *epístolas* in the *Circe* like those in the *Filomena*, are, as we have said, of much biographical interest, and we have used some of them freely in the course of the preceding pages. Scattered through them are lines perhaps as fine as any in all the prodigious mass of Lope's

[1] *Gongora, an Historical and Critical Essay*, etc., by Edward Churton, London, 1862, Vol. II., p. 19. In the original the sonnet reads:

Patos del agua-chirle castellana,
Que de su rudo origen fácil riega,
Y tal vez dulce inunda vuestra Vega,
Con razon Vega, por lo siempre llana;
Pisad graznando la corriente cana
Del antiguo idioma; y turba lega,
Las ondas acusad quantas os niega
Attico estilo, erudicion romana.
Los cisnes venerad cultos, no aquellos
Que esperan su canoro fin los rios;
Aquellos sí, que de su docta espuma
Vistió Aganipe. ¿Huis? ¿No quereis vellos,
Palustres aves? Vuestra vulgar pluma
No borre, no, mas charcos. Zabullios.

Nueva Biografía, p. 313.

verse. For example these, so full of resignation, I take from the *epístola* to D. F. Plácido de Tosantos, Bishop of Oviedo:

My little garden will give me ideas
Drawn from the freshness of the fruits and flowers,
Soothing results and sweet of contemplation.
Now is the time at hand for doubt and fearing,
Not, sooth, of favours human, for 'tis tardy,
Nor were vouchsafed to me e'er fortune's favours.
Now the years bid me pause, and all the glamour
Of thoughts so many wholly disillusioned
Halts timidly, the coming end beholding.
The high estate and prosperous of greatness
Is not the greatest boon, and if there be such,
Let the less occupied go and enjoy it.
Because of wealth I have seen no man happy,
But pardon me this much too long digression.[1]

So, too, the lines descriptive of his domestic happiness are as supremely beautiful as are the tender verses (already quoted)[2] on the premature death of his little son Carlos. Of the novels in this volume, all written before September, 1623, the third, *Guzman el Bravo*, shows that as early as this time at least, Lope had been contemplating—perhaps he had even begun to write—his

[1] "Mi huertecillo me dará concetos
Sacados de las frutas y las flores,
De la contemplacion dulces efetos.
Ya es tiempo de rezelos y temores,
No de humanos favores, que ya es tarde,
Ni tengo yo fortuna de favores.
Hacen alto los años; y el alarde
De tantos pensamientos engañados
A la vista del fin paró covarde.
Las grandezas de prosperos estados
No son el mayor bien, y si hay alguno,
Gozaranle los menos ocupados.
No he visto alegre de su bien ninguno;
Mas perdonad tan largos digressiones," etc.
Obras Sueltas, Vol. I. p. 297.

[2] See pp. 207-208.

Laurel de Apolo; for at the close of the tale he speaks of "*El Pastor de Galatea*, a novel in which you will find all the achievements of Love, king of human passions, etc. . . . however, it will not be in this book, but in the one which will appear afterwards, called the *Laurel de Apolo*."

In the second novel *El Desdichado por la Honra*, Lope tells the following story. . . . "It was a mistake for me to confess that I am writing a story of the present time, for they say that it is a dangerous thing; since, should there be any one who happened to know anything about the subject-matter, the author is sure to be censured, however good his intention may be, for there is no one who would not wish to be considered a Goth by birth, a Plato in understanding, and a Count Fernan Gonzales in valour; so that I having written *El Asalto de Mastrique*, the manager of the company which represented this piece gave the role of an Ensign to an actor of mean appearance, and I, going one day to see the play, a gentleman drew me aside, and, quite pale, said to me that it had not been a good choice to give that part to a man of such bad features and who seemed to be a coward, his brother being very valiant and a gentleman, and that the rôle should be changed, or else he would await me in the upper part of the Prado, between two o'clock in the afternoon and nine at night. I, who bore no relationship to the sons of Arias Gonzalo, consoled the Don Diego Ordoñez just mentioned, and gave the part to another, telling the latter that he should make great demonstrations of bravery, whereupon the gentleman who was so much of a bravo sent me a present."[1]

In this novel Lope once more expresses his opinion concerning the Comedias, saying: "novels follow the same precepts as the Comedia, the aim of which is to give pleasure and satisfaction to the public, though art be hanged; and this, although said carelessly, was the opinion of Aristotle."[2]

[1] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. VIII. p. 72.

[2] "Demas que yo he pensado que tienen las Novelas los mismos preceptos que las Comedias, cuyo fin es haver dado su autor contento y

In the course of this year we find Lope for the first time taking an active part in the work of the Inquisition, of which he had for some years been a familiar, or, if he did not take an active part in the proceedings, he at least implied approval of them by being present. The occasion is described by Antonio de Leon Pinelo in his *Anales de Madrid*, and also by Pellicer, but the best account is copied in the note below. In brief, it is as follows: On January 21, 1624, the tribunal of the Inquisition sentenced to death a Franciscan monk,

gusto al pueblo, aunque se ahorque el arte; y esto, aunque va dicho al descuido, fue opinion de Aristotele." *Ibid.* p. 70.

The account of this *Auto de Fe*, taken from the *Archivo General de Simancas*, is, in part, as follows: "Por auer sido tan publico y atroz el delito que cometió aquel sacrilego ombre llamado Benito Ferrer, natural de Chatalunña, y hauer sucedido en esta Corte, pareció necessario que el castigo fuese en ella y con solennidad, porque en todas partes se supiese: en cumplimiento desto se trujo de las carzeles secretas de la Inquisicion de Toledo este sacrilego, auiendo estado en ellas dos años y quatro meses, que todo este tiempo fue necesario para sustanciar el proceso y comprouar auer sido finxida la locura que empezó á móstrar desde el mesmo punto que cometió el delito, penssando librasse del castigo por este medio. Hecha esta diligencia, fue condenado á relaxar para ser quemado y que se executase, como se executó el domingo passado 21 deste, con solennidad de auto de fee, que es en la forma siguiente. . . ." The Inquisitor General was Gonzalo Chacon, Inquisitor of Toledo. After a sermon by P. fray Xptobal de Torres, "religioso de Santo Domingo, acauado el sermon, se leieron los meritos del proçeso que contenian que el dicho reo, por parte de madre era de casta de hebreos y que auia sido frayle descalzo de la Orden de San Francisco, nouizio por tiempo de ocho meses en la ciudad de Barçelona y otro seis meses descalzo carmelita en la mesma ciudad, i que de ambas religiones lo habian echado sin saber él la ocasion, y que auia doze años que no se hauia confesado ni oido misa, lo qual dezia auia hecho por no auer topado con quien confessar; que auia andado vageando mucho tiempo por Franzia, Flandes, Yrlanda, Napoles, y siempre pidiendo limosna, y en la misma forma auia uenido á esta corte, donde le auian preso el vicario, por que dezia que era clerigo sin serlo, y que estando preso en la carzel de la corona, oyó desde su aposento la campanilla que tañian a alzar la ostia en una misa que se dezia en la capilla de dicha carzel, y hauia tomado al sacerdote la dicha ostia consagrada, al tiempo de ponerla en los corporales, y la auia pisado, ultrajado y hecho pedazos con muchas palabras de oprouio y blasfemas. . . . Fui notable el numero de jente que concurrió á estos autos, no solo de la Corte sino de fuera," etc. *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, Vol. I. p. 170.

Benito Ferrer, a native of Catalonia, who had been expelled from two religious houses of which he had been a member, and who, besides being a Lutheran and Calvinist, had a Jewish mother. The wretched man's mind became unhinged as a consequence of his treatment, and, being present one day in a church where a priest was saying mass, "agitated by a diabolical fury," he snatched the consecrated host from the hands of the celebrant and destroyed it. Persevering in his recalcitrancy, he was handed over to the secular arm for punishment. The licentiates Justino de Chaves and D. Juan de Quiñones, lieutenants of the *Corregidor* of Madrid, sentenced him to be burned alive, and the sentence was executed outside the gate of Alcalá, at Madrid. "Great was the excitement in the capital and extraordinary the concourse of people. There was a great procession of the religious orders and brotherhoods and other bodies; and the famous Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio governed or presided over the body or brotherhood of *Familiares* and *comisarios* of the holy Inquisition."[1]

It would perhaps be unreasonable as well as unhistoric to expect that any seventeenth-century man should hold our modern view of religious toleration; but one might have hoped that Lope would refer to the burning of a fellow-creature in a spirit of becoming gravity. Yet he alludes to the matter almost as a jest. In an undated letter to the Duke of Sessa he says . . . "but such is the *vulgo* that I want to tell your Excellency for a joke (*por donayre*) what happened here a short time ago. They burned a man," etc. . . . and he tells his story, concluding with: "but he was a low person, for that is the kind they burn."[2]

A poem consisting of four cantos in octaves, entitled *El Orfeo en Lengua Castellana*, which appeared at Madrid in 1624, under the name of Juan Perez de Montalvan, has frequently been considered to be Lope's work. This

[1] See also Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, Vol. II. p. 219.

[2] *Nueva Biografia*, p. 643.

is La Barrera's opinion, and it had been expressed long before by Nicolas Antonio who, though not born till 1617, and silent as to the reasons which led him to that conclusion, was in a position to hear all the literary gossip current in the capital of Spain, and doubtless had some ground for his assertion.[1]

The manuscripts assigned to this period are: *El Marques de las Navas*, autograph, formerly in the possession of Lord Holland, dated April 22, 1624, and afterwards printed in *Parte XXII. de Lope y otros Autores* (Zaragoza, 1630); *Lo que ha de ser*, dated Madrid, September 2, 1624, now in the British Museum;[2] *Quien bien ama tarde olvida*, formerly in the Osuna library. It is not an autograph, nor is the manuscript of the *auto* entitled *La santa Inquisicion*, which belongs to this year. *Quien bien ama* was also printed in the above *Parte XXII.*

Towards the close of January, 1625, there appeared: *Parte veinte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Procurador fiscal de la Camara Apostolica. Dividida en dos partes. Qui ducis vultus & nos legis ista libenter,—Omnibus inuideas, Liuide, nemo tibi. Año* 1625. *Con Privilegio. Por Juan Gonzalez. A costa de Alonso Perez, Librero del Rey N.S. Vendense en sus casas en la Calle de Santiago.* 4°. One of the *Aprobaciones* is signed by Juan Perez de Montalvan on September 29, 1624, and the

[1] The *Orfeo* was published. "En Madrid. Por la viuda de Alonso Martin. A costa de Alonso Pérez, mercader de libros." The latter was the father of the poet, Juan Pérez de Montalvan. La Barrera states (p. 384), that his opinion as to the *Orfeo* being the work of Lope de Vega was strengthened by finding in a copy of the first edition of the poem, formerly belonging to D. Bartolomé José Gallardo, these words, in a contemporary handwriting: "This *Orfeo* was written by Lope de Vega, and he did it in four days."

[2] This is said by La Barrera to be an autograph, and it is so described in the Catalogue of the British Museum. However, Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly points out that, as a matter of fact, the manuscript is merely a copy. On the first page are the words—*Parece original*—in a handwriting of comparatively recent date.

It may be worth noting that the sonnet in the First Act of *Lo que ha de ser*—beginning *Cándida y no pintada mariposa*—is reproduced at the end of the *Laurel de Apolo*.

other by Dr. Mira de Mescua, on October 5, 1624. There was another issue of this Part in 1625, "En Madrid, por la viuda de Alonso Martin (colophon: Juan Gonçalez, 1625); and one in 1626, from the same press.[1] Other editions of this volume appeared in Madrid in 1627 and 1629, by the same printer, and at Barcelona, Esteban Liberos, 1630. I have a copy of this last edition. The two *Aprobaciones*, being by famous poets, are of considerable interest. The first, by Montalvan, reads: ". . . I have seen these twelve Comedias, the author of which is Lope de Vega Carpio, and besides containing nothing against the faith and good morals, he who may read them will find moral and political doctrine, with a variety of thoughts, witty sayings and sentences. The Athenians, seeing in this poetry, as in a looking-glass, the reflection of their customs, knew the utility of it, and to-day in Spain it has greater perfection and accomplishment. For this reason, and because their author is the Master of all those who profess it (*velit nolit invidia*), the license which he asks should be granted; for if of some writings it can be said that they are given to the press for the singular honour of our country and to the amazement of others, these alone deserve this sort of praise, since Italy is waiting for them, and also the other nations, in order to print them in their language, a kindness which they do not show towards all." The *Aprobacion* by Mira de Mescua runs: ". . . this volume of comedias by Lope de Vega Carpio deserves to be printed, not only in order to teach moral and political virtues, which is the object of the comedia, but also for the honor of Spain and the admiration of other nations, for if Suidas and Quintilian marvelled that Menander should have written eighty comedias, what wonder should be due to him of whom to-day more works are read in three kinds of poetry, than all the Greek, Latin, and vernacular poets [together] since Musaeus and Orpheus invented the writing of philosophical teachings in verse."

[1] See Salvá, *Catálogo*, Vol. I. p. 545; Restori, *Una Collezione*, etc., p. 8.

The Prologue to the volume, which in this case is merely an enumeration of the comedias and some brief remarks concerning the persons to whom they are dedicated, concludes thus: "Let the reader entertain himself with these comedias as best he may, until Part Twenty-one appears, unless it be turned aside by those who see the world upon the map, and so judge it small, for I know very well that candid wits desire that, inasmuch as I have lived long enough to write a thousand and seventy comedias, I may live long enough to print them." In spite of what Lope here says, this volume of plays was the last that issued from the press in his lifetime, for ten years elapsed till Parts Twenty-one and Twenty-two appeared: and these, although in the hands of the printer shortly before Lope's death, were not published until after that event.[1]

On June 29, 1625, Lope was received into the Congregation of Saint Peter (composed of priests, natives of Madrid), which was founded at that time, in the Church of Saint Peter, and still survives. "Every day he visited, for the purposes of prayer and supplication, the sanctuary of Atocha, and frequently exercised his sacred ministry in the hospitals, consoling and serving the sick with pious and charitable zeal."[2] Surely Lope is of paradox compact. Menéndez y Pelayo's description of him hits off the man to a nicety: "*ferviente creyente, aunque gran pecador.*"

[1] The *Aprobacion* to Part XXII. was signed on May 12, 1635, and the *Privilegio* was granted to Lope on June 21. The volume contains a dedication to the Marquesa de Cañete by the poet's son-in-law Luis de Usátegui, whose competence as an editor may be judged from the fact that he inserted Alarcon's comedia *Ganar amigos* instead of Lope's *Amor, Pleito, y Desafio.*

[2] *Nueva Biografia*, p. 389.

CHAPTER XIII

LOPE COURTS OLIVARES: DECORATED BY THE POPE: COLDNESS OF SESSA: LOPE'S POVERTY: THE *LAUREL OF APOLLO*

Lope now made another attempt to gain the favour of the omnipotent Count Duke of Olivares, and dedicated to the Countess his *Triunfos divinos con otras Rimas*,[1] which appeared in September, 1625. Among the preliminary verses are three sonnets written by Lope in the names of his three children: D. Lope Felix, Doña Feliciana, and Doña Antonia de Nevares Santoyo. The son was then eighteen years old; Feliciana, who was born on August 4, 1613, was just twelve, while Antonia Clara was eight. The *Triunfos* is a poem in five cantos, modelled on the *Trionfi* of Petrarch, and written in the same measure—the tercet of eleven syllables. The first Triumph is that of "The Divine Pan"; the second that of "Natural and Written Law"; the third "The Triumph of the Law of Grace"; the fourth "The Triumph of Religion"; and the fifth "The Triumph of the most holy Cross," the whole consisting of about eighteen hundred lines. The poem was not successful, for it invited direct comparison with the superb verses of the great Italian. Nor could the poet Juan de Jauregui, who signed one of the *Apro-*

[1] *Triunfos divinos con otras Rimas sacras. A la Excelentissima Señora Doña Ines de Zuñiga, Condesa de Olivares. Por Lope de Vega Carpio, etc. Año* 1625. *En Madrid, por la viuda de Alonso Martin.* The *Suma de Privilegio* is dated August 19, 1625. The *Triunfos* were reprinted in Vol. XIII. of the *Obras Sueltas*. Salvá, *Catálogo*, No. 3529 mentions: *Triunfo glorioso de tres Martires Españoles. Discurresse sobre el martirio de los Padres Fray Nicolas Melo y Fray Guillelmo de San Agustin. Por Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio*, 4°., manuscript of the end of the xvii., or beginning of the xviii. century. This work has apparently never been printed, and is nowhere mentioned in Lope's works, to my knowledge.

baciones when it was issued, confer any great praise upon it. He says: "The 'Triumphs,' being more divine than those of Petrarch, contain also a greater display of sacred and moral histories, and in these and in the other Rimes we always see pious subjects treated with a great variety of ideas and great elegance and skill in versification, and if the author needed any eulogy, I should with much pleasure delay me to give him praise," etc. A number of sonnets in the devout style (*a lo divino*) are followed by twelve sonnets on the Rose, which once more display Lope's inexhaustible fertility. Of the rest of his *Rimas sacras*, many are instinct with devotion, and charming in their tenderness and simplicity—one of the loveliest is the *cancion* on the death of Carlos Felix, to which we have already alluded, wherein the poet expresses his overwhelming grief at the loss of his favourite son, with a Christian resignation that makes it all the more touching. The volume concludes with a poem in three cantos, written in octavas, entitled *La Virgen de la Almudena*; it is a description of the ceremony of laying the corner stone, on November 15, 1623, of the church dedicated to "Nuestra Señora de la Almudena."[1]

With the dedication of the *Triunfos divinos* to the Countess of Olivares, as we have said, Lope had made a third attempt to win favour with her husband, the Count Duke. In the *Decimasexta Parte* of his Comedias he had inscribed to Olivares the play *El Premio de la Hermosura*; this was in 1621. Three years afterwards he dedicated his *Circe* to Olivares; but in vain. The King's favourite seems to have done absolutely nothing for the great poet, unless it be that the pension of two hundred and fifty ducats, granted by the crown, according to Montalvan, was due to his influence. It was naturally in the hope of receiving some return that poets dedicated their works to powerful or wealthy nobles. Lope had expressed his own disappointment in this respect, and Cervantes had done so quite as freely a few years before. In *Don Quixote* (Part II. Chap. xxiv.), the

[1] Printed in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XV.

cousin of the fencing licentiate, whose skill with the foil drove Corchuelo to desperation, had spoken of writing a number of books, and the Ingenious Gentleman asks to whom he means to dedicate them. "'There are lords and grandees in Spain to whom they can be dedicated,' said the cousin. 'Not many,' said Don Quixote; 'not that they are unworthy of it, but because they do not care to accept books and incur the obligation of making the return that is due to the author's labor and courtesy.'"

To this year (1625) La Barrera rather hesitatingly assigns the publication by Lope of a collection of forty-two mystical *romances*, already printed in the *Rimas sacras*, to which were now added "Some Meditations on the Way of the Cross," etc. It was printed under the title *Romancero Espiritual*. The earliest edition of this work that Salvá had seen is dated Pamplona, 1624.[1] The *Aprobacion* of this volume shows, as Salvá remarks, that there was an edition at Pamplona, in 1619. La Barrera, who had only seen the edition of 1720, was inclined to doubt the authorship of the *Romancero Espiritual*; firstly because it is not mentioned by Montalvan in his *Fama póstuma*, nor by Lope in his *Epístola* to Claudio Conde, and, secondly, because of the vague and unsatisfactory nature of the matter in the preliminary leaves of the volume.[2]

[1] *Romancero Espiritual, para recrearse el Alma con Dios. Y Redempcion del Genero humano. Con las Estaciones de la Via Crucis. Compuesto por Lope de Vega Carpio. Hanse añadido en esta impression tres Estaciones y en cada una de las quinze, quatro Consideraciones muy devotas. Pamplona, Juan de Oteyza*, 1624, 16°. Other editions mentioned by Salvá are Zaragoza, 1621; Madrid, 1625; one about 1680, a sixth of uncertain date, and Madrid 1720 and 1724; lastly an undated edition by Andrés Garcia.

[2] The fact that the *Aprobacion* prefixed to the Madrid edition of 1625 —which is the one reproduced in the *Obra Sueltas*—is exactly the same, with the exception of two or three lines omitted, as the *Aprobacion* of the *Triunfos*, is certainly sufficient to arouse suspicion concerning the genuineness of the *Romancero Espiritual*. On the other hand the *censura* is signed by F. Hortensio Felix Paravicino, "Predicador de S. M.," who says: "I have seen the book entitled *Romancero Espiritual, y Estaciones de la Via Crucis*, which Lope de Vega wrote," etc. Frey Hortensio was an intimate friend of Lope's, and not likely to be imposed upon in a matter of this kind. The *Romancero Espiritual*, however, is a work of

In October, 1625, there was celebrated at Madrid a great festival and octave by the "Third Order of our Father Saint Francis," in honour of "the glorious Saint Isabel, Queen of Portugal, *profesa* of the same Order." A part of this function was, as usual, a poetical tournament; this was held on October 7, at the Gate of Guadalajara, and was to have been under the direction of Lope de Vega, a tertiary of the order, as the document shows.[1] On October 27, however, the *certamen* was read by the poet Don Sebastian Francisco de Medrano, a novice of the order, in the presence of many Bishops and other members of the clergy and a vast concourse of people. Why Lope failed to officiate at this festival after he had been chosen, is not known, nor does his name recur in connection with the Franciscans after this date.

The dramatic manuscripts of Lope belonging to this year are three in number. *La Niñez del Padre Rojas* (*El beato Simon de Rojas*), autograph, dated Madrid, January 4, 1625, and formerly in the library of the Duke of Osuna. It was printed in the *Comedias escogidas de los mejores Ingenios de España*, Vol. XVIII., Madrid, 1662. *Ay Verdades, que en Amor*[2] . . . autograph, now in the British Museum,

very little poetical merit, and any one of the multitude of *ingenios* in Madrid at the time, might have written it.

[1] "Acuerdos de la V. O. T. de S. Francisco de Madrid sobre el certamen que habia de hazer Lope de Vega para la fiesta de Sª Isabel Reina de Portugal.

Madrid, 1625 :— . . . 20 de Septiembre de 1625.—Dispusicion de la Otava en la fiesta que se ha de hazer á Santa Isabel, Reyna de Portugal, de la Orden Tercera de nuestro Padre San Francisco. . . . Certamen que ha de hazer el Licenciado Lope de Vega Carpio, profeso de la Orden. . . .

Lunes 27 [de Octubre]:—Este dia por la tarde leyó el certamen Don Sebastian Francisco de Medrano, novicio de la Orden Tercera," etc.

Pérez Pastor, *Datos desconocidos*, p. 298.

[2] This title is the opening verse of one of Lope's ballads :

Ay verdades! que en amor
Siempre fuistes desdichadas,
Buen exemplo son las mias,
Pues con mentiras se pagan!

Obras Sueltas, Vol. VIII. p. 24.

dated Madrid, November 12, 1625, with a license to represent, signed by Vargas Machuca, February 4, 1626. It is found in Part XXI. of the Comedias of Lope, Madrid, 1635. *El Brasil restituido*, written by Lope to celebrate the restitution of Brazil to Spain, in 1625. The autograph was in the possession of some private person (Mr. Charles Rich?) in London, in 1840, according to Gayangos (Ticknor, *Span. tr.*, Vol. II. p. 551). A copy of it, dated October 23, 1625, proceeding from Duran's collection, is now in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.[1]

Calderon introduces these first four verses in his play *El Conde Lucanor*, ed. Keil, Vol. II. p. 492, also the verses:

En vano llama á la puerta
Quien no ha llamado en el alma.

These lines are also quoted in Calderon's *Dar Tiempo al Tiempo*, Act I.

Valentin Schmidt, *Die Schauspiele Calderons*, Elberfeld, 1857, quotes these verses as part of a *Volksgesang*. Duran gives the ballad in his *Romancero General*, No. 1557, as anonymous, taking it from the *Primavera y Flor de los mejores Romances*, of which the earliest edition that he quotes (Vol. II. p. 678), is dated 1621, Madrid, Alonso Martin. As the volume containing Lope's *Filomena* and the novel *Las Fortunas de Diana*, in which this ballad occurs, appeared at Madrid in the same year (1621), and was printed by the same printer (Viuda de Alonso Martin), there can scarcely be any doubt that the ballad was written by Lope.

[1] The comedia *La Competencia en los Nobles* is mentioned by La Barrera among the plays of this year. This is a mistake. The oldest manuscript of it is in the British Museum, where I copied it together with all the autographs of Lope, several years ago. The license to perform is dated at Pamplona, November 16, 1628, and is signed by Juan de Velasco. The copy of this comedia in the Museum is said to have been revised by Lope, but the corrections are certainly not in his hand. It was evidently an actor's copy, and the passages struck out have invariably been supplied by the corrector in the margin, frequently, of course, correcting the faulty reading of the MS. The corrections may have been made by Lope's authority. On the last leaf of the Second Act is written: "Con las noticias que tengo de las comedias de Vmd., é venido á buscar esta porque me an dicho que es muy buena; estamos en duda si es conforme Vmd. la iço, y ansi le suplico Vmd. la aga de passar los hojos por ella esta noche que yo le serviré; y mañana a las nueve seré aqui a besar a Vmd. las manos." The signature is indistinct: it may be read Juan Alonso de Monastir or Juan Alonso de Morestin.

I also have a copy of a *suelta* of this play, and would have published it long ago did I not know that Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo intends printing it shortly in his large edition of Lope. The cast given in the manuscript

In July, 1626, there issued from the press the *Soliloquios amorosos* by Grauiel Padecopeo.[1] This name is the anagram of Lope de Vega Carpio. In his 'Eclogue to Claudio' our poet says: "And in sovereign nectar bathed, under an anagram I disguised the *Soliloquios* of my ardent flame."[2] It is a slight work, the verses of which, especially, are most harmonious and tender.

On July 18, 1626, Lope finished at Madrid, his comedia *Sin Secreto no ay Amor*,[3] the autograph of which is now in the British Museum. The MS. contains a license to perform dated August 2, 1626, signed by Pedro de

is as follows: Don Juan = *Antonio*; Don Pedro = *Simon*; Hernando = *Autor*; Guzman = *Canobas*; El Rey = *Navarrete*; Don Luis = *Damian*; Don Diego = *Luis de Salaçar*; Beltran = *Saçedo*; Doña Juana = *Ana de Moya*; Doña Maria = *Catalina*; Leonor = *su muger de Navarrete*. Scarcely anything has been ascertained concerning these players. Manuel Simon was in the company of Ortiz in 1613 and in that of Heredia in 1614. *Nuevos Datos*, p. 143. Sánchez-Arjona, *Anales*, p. 256. Luis Antonio was in the company of Prado in 1632. Cotarelo, p. 216. Alonso Diaz de Navarrete and his wife, Antonia de Victoria, were members of Avendaño's company in 1632. *Ibid.* p. 263. Canobas is a name not mentioned in any of the lists published. It may be a mistake for Cañadas, who was in Prado's company in 1632. *Ibid.* p. 216.

[1] In all probability at Madrid, *por la viuda de Luis Sanchez*. The title is: *Soliloquios amorosos de un Alma a Dios. Escritos en Lengua Latina por el muy R. P. Grauiel Padecopeo, y en la Castellana por Lope de Vega Carpio.*" 16° The earliest edition described by Salvá is that of Barcelona, Sebastian de Cormellas, 1626 (*Catálogo*, No. 1042); there are also others at Lisbon, 1644; Roan, 1646; Madrid, 1647 and 1656; Madrid, 1701 and 1756; the edition of the Conde de Saceda (1744-47?); the edition of Sancha in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XVII., and finally at Madrid, 1863.

[2] "Y en nectar soberano
Bañado, disfrazé con anagrama
Los Soliloquios de mi ardiente llama."
Obras Sueltas, Vol. IX. p. 364.

[3] This comedia was published by me some years ago: *Lope de Vega's Comedia Sin Secreto no ay Amor, edited from the autograph manuscript.* Baltimore, 1894. I may add that in the cast of characters the names of two actors only are given in Lope's hand: *Tapia* taking the part of Celio, and *Jeronimo* the part of Fabricio.

Juan de Tapia was later (1631) a member of the company of Vallejo. Cotarelo, *Tirso de Molina*, p, 220. Miguel Jerónimo was in the company of Roque de Figueroa during the same year. *Ibid.* p. 206.

Vargas Machuca. In the following month, on August 17, Lope signed the manuscript of the Tragi-comedy *El piadoso Aragonés*; the license to act is dated September 11. The original was in the Osuna library. It is printed in Part XXI. of the Comedias (1635), and in the Academy's edition of Lope, Vol. X. *Amor con Vista*,[1] another autograph comedia, also belongs to this year; it is dated at Madrid, December 10, 1626, and was formerly in the Osuna collection.

Towards the close of September, 1627, Lope's *Corona trágica*,[2] a religious epic on the tragic fate of Mary, Queen of Scots, appeared at Madrid. Upon the title-page of this work Lope,—for the first time, to my knowledge,—styles himself "Chaplain of Saint Segundo in the cathedral of Ávila," a chaplaincy, it will be remembered, that was instituted by Lope's early patron, Don Jerónimo Manrique, Bishop of Ávila, in honour of St. Segundus, the first Bishop of that See. This chaplaincy the poet obtained, towards the close of 1614, as being the oldest among the *criados* of the Bishop, who had attained the priesthood.

[1] *Amor con Vista* was published in: *Comedias inéditas de Frey Lope de Vega Carpio*, Tomo 1, Madrid, 1873. The editors are the Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle and José Sancho Rayon. The MS. contains licenses to play dated Madrid, December 11, 1626; Zaragoza, February 13, 1627, and Lisboa, December 12, 1630. The torn title-page notes the cast of the first Act as follows: El Conde Otabio = *Autor*; Tome, criado suyo = *Bobadilla*; Celia = *Maria Victoria*; Lisena = *Autora*; Fenis = *Maria Ca*[*lderon*]. Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 46. Of the names here given, Maria de Victoria was the wife of Luis Bernardo de Bovadilla, and both were members of the company of Antonio de Prado, two years before (1624). They are both mentioned as still acting in 1637. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, pp. 206, 265. For Maria Calderon see p. 352, *n.*

[2] *Corona tragica. Vida y Muerte de la Serenissima Reyna de Escocia Maria Estuarda. A nuestro Sᵐᵒ. Padre Urbano VIII. P.M. Por Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, Procurador fiscal de la Camara Apostolica y Capellan de San Segundo en la Iglesia de Avila.* "VERSA EST IN LUCTUM CITHARA MEA." *Con Privilegio. En Madrid, por la viuda de Luis Sanchez, Impressora del Reyno. Año MDCXXVII. A costa de Alonso Perez, mercader de libros.* 4°. The *Aprobacion*, by Hortensio Felix Paravicino, is dated August 2, 1627.

In the prologue to the *Corona trágica* Lope states the sources of his poem to have been the Latin life of Mary Stuart by the Scottish knight "D. Jorge Coneo, Canónigo Lateranense, y Conde Palatino de la Santidad de Urbano VIII." And he continues: "I was so much pleased with the elegance and erudition of the work, as well as with the true narrative of this tragedy, that I resolved to write it in verse, now relating the story as I found it, now adorning it with such things as the precepts of poetry permit in a true history of our times. In the year eighty-seven (a most unhappy date), Isabel of England, daughter of Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII. caused the decapitation of this innocent lady, a unique example of constancy in the faith, of obedience to the sovereign head of the church, of patience in adversity, and of modesty under insults,—and insults from the woman whom she would succeed on the throne; through unjust fear of which she took her life, for on the day of her death she came forth bedecked with rich jewels and brilliant garments in her Court at London,—an infamous triumph which deserves to be called a theatre of cruelty by Catholic writers. An admirable theme, extensive material and a heroic subject for the wits that flourish in Spain to-day, to whom I should wish to commend it," etc. . . . "I only wish to warn those who are conversant with the languages, although of this complexion there are few in Spain, for the lack of memory, which other nations have,—that, if by chance there should come into their hands any insolent books in the Latin, Saxon or ancient British [tongue], concerning this most illustrious lady and blameless Queen, that they should not credit them, knowing the danger of false histories, which have done as much harm to Kings and Kingdoms as the good ones have benefitted them, written [as it were] by authors who took up the pen with a mind fairer than the paper upon which they wrote: for peers are like verges, since, where truth is not adhered to as a main object, fear warps them, love conquers them, interest deceives them and hate blinds and overthrows them. The books I mean were written by heretics, who

married though being priests; by satirists, impostors, and men expelled from the church, whom wine and gaming stupefied, and as they were nimble of fingers for stealing, they were [ready] to give false-testimony. So, what credit do they deserve? Finally, whoever writes against his King and natural lord, be it in prose or verse, is perfidious, a traitor and unworthy of civil or military honours. And with whatever secrecy he may act, he is infamous to his very self, and especially if he should be paid for it, as was George Buchanan, by Isabel of England."[1]

The "Tragic Crown" is divided into five books, and consists of about five thousand lines written in octaves.[2] After reading the above prologue the reader may easily imagine that the 'Virgin Queen' did not fare well at the hands of the irate poet. The Spaniard in fact replies by anticipation to the arrogant challenge thrown down in the *Envoy* of Mr. Austin Dobson's famous Ballad :—

> GLORIANA! the Don may attack us
> Whenever his stomach be fain.

Lope lays about him with a vengeance in the true spirit of a party swash-buckler, and, in consequence, the merit of his poem has been diversely estimated by thorough-going honest partisans on both sides. The editor of Sancha's edition says: "In truth 'The Tragic Crown,' it cannot be

[1] The reference is to the biography by Georgius Conæus entitled *Vita Mariæ Stuartæ Scotiæ reginæ, Angliæ, et Hiberniæ heredis* (Romæ, 1624): this duodecimo was also published at Wurzburg in 1624, and was reprinted over a century later by Samuel Jebb in *De vita et rebus gestis Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ* (London, 1725) The Dominican, George Conn, was secretary to Urban VIII's nephew, Cardinal Barberini, whom he accompanied on a mission to Madrid, where Lope made his acquaintance. Conn himself was sent to England on a diplomatic mission which lasted from 1636 to 1639, when his health broke down. The Scotch legate seems to have obtained considerable influence over Charles I.'s wife, Henrietta Maria, and to have gone too far (or at least too quickly) for Laud: Conn died on January 10, 1640. See an informing article on him by the late Professor Samuel Rawson Gardiner in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1887), XII. pp. 20-21.

[2] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. IV., where the *Corona trágica* is reprinted.

denied, is one of the best poems that ever came from the skilful hand of our author," etc. Ticknor,[1] on the contrary, holds that it is "merely a specimen of intolerant controversy," that it is a dull poem, and that it "savors throughout of its author's sympathy with the religious spirit of his age and country;—a spirit, it should be remembered, which made the Inquisition possible." The latter statement is undoubtedly true, but what else could the reader expect? Lope was a priest, and was eminently of his age and country. And this remark applies equally to the great Cervantes, except, of course, that the latter never joined the priesthood. We should not look for toleration in either of them. In controversial matters both must be measured by the standard of their time and race, and in this respect Cervantes perhaps showed himself no more liberal than Lope, as every reader of *Don Quixote* and *El Coloquio de los Perros* knows. Lope's religious poetry, and especially his *autos* and *comedias de Santos*, must be judged from the orthodox Catholic point of view, and as I am unable to do this, I prefer to state the opinions of others in regard to these works, or merely note them without comment.[2] On the other hand, it would certainly be asking too much of human nature to expect praise or flattery of Elizabeth from a veteran of the Armada. As Fitzmaurice-Kelly says,[3] Lope had an old score to settle, for—Where are the galleons of Spain? was then a matter about which sturdy southern patriots had long been troubled. However, the *Corona trágica* achieved for Lope at least one

[1] *History of Spanish Literature*, Vol. II. p. 220.

[2] Ticknor has been more than once reproved by Spanish writers for his criticism of their religious drama, yet it is doubtful, after all, whether he is much more severe than the greatest of Spanish critics. Speaking of one of Lope's *autos*, even so orthodox a Catholic as D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo is compelled to note: "Sólo para espectadores de tan robusta fe pudo dejar de ser irreverencia y escándolo." Academy's ed. of Lope de Vega, Vol. II. p. xxxiii. And again, speaking of the *auto* entitled *La Araucana*, he observes. "Muy robusta debia de ser la fe del pueblo que toleró farsa tan irreverente y brutal." Vol. III. p. xvi.

[3] *History of Spanish Literature*, p. 251. American ed.

of the objects for which it was, in all probability, intended. He received from Pope Urban VIII., to whom it was dedicated, a complimentary letter, the title of Doctor of Theology in the Collegium Sapientiae, and the Cross of the Order of Saint John.[1] And hence the decorative *Frey* prefixed to the poet's name.

On October 20, 1627, Lope signed at Madrid the autograph of his comedia *Del Monte sale quien el Monte quema*, formerly in the Osuna collection and now in the National Library at Madrid. It bears an *Aprobacion* dated May 17, 1628, and licenses for its representation at Valencia in 1628 and at Granada in 1636.[2]

[1] Lope thus refers to the matter in a letter to the Duke of Sessa: "Yesterday his Holiness sent me a brief in which he bestows upon me the habit of Saint John. I have already dispatched it to Malta to have the Grand Master confirm it. What does your Excellency think of these things? The folly is progressing (*anda bien la locura*). It is said that either he will command some religious person here to give it to me or that he will command me to go to Malta for it. if this is to be so, may God preserve me until I can go to Malta." *Nueva Biografía*, p 639. He adds: "I have some fine letters from Monseñor, the nephew of his Holiness. Some day I shall send your Excellency copies of them I should not care now to weary the eyes of your Excellency with my nonsense."

[2] The cast of this play as given in the autograph is. El Conde Henrique = *Juan Arias*, Feliciano = *Jusepe*; Narciza, labradora = *Maria de Heredia*; Tirso, villano = *Heredia*; Juana, labradora = *Da. Catalina*; Celia, dama = Ana Maria; El Rey de Francia = *Salas*; Mauricio, Gobernador = *Montemayor*; El Marques Roselo = *Rueda*; and these actors whose parts are not given: *Valdés, Marcos, Alvarez, Mencos*, and *Francisca*. Schack, *Nachtrage*, p. 46. La Barrera, *Nueva Biografía*, p. 442.

The manager of this company was apparently Heredia, whose wife was Maria de Heredia. Of these players Da. Catalina is Catalina de Acosta, wife of Antonio de Rueda, the actor here taking the part of 'El Marques Roselo.' Rueda had a company of his own in 1639, of which Maria de Heredia was a member. He died in 1662. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, pp. 319, 332. A Juan de Montemayor and his wife *Ana Maria* de Ulloa were members of the company of Cristóbal de Avendaño in 1632, as was also Francisco de Salas. Montemayor was still upon the stage in 1645. Sánchez-Arjona, *Anales*, p. 375.

The Mencos is undoubtedly Diego Mencos who, with his wife *Ana Maria*, was a member of the same company in 1632. Cotarelo, *Tirso de Molina*, p. 203; but in 1638 we find Diego Mencos and his wife

There are a considerable number of letters extant written by Lope during the years 1627 and 1628. As already noted La Barrera had finished the manuscript of his biography of Lope de Vega in 1864, but it was not published till 1890, years after the author's death. Before it went to press, the Marqués de Pidal generously placed at the disposition of the editors of La Barrera's work a collection of Lope's autograph letters to his patron. They are contained in a volume lettered: *Cartas y Villetes de Belardo á Lucilo sobre diversas materias.* This collection contains one hundred and forty seven letters; they had never been examined by La Barrera, and the essential portions of them are printed among the 'Additions' to his work. We have already availed ourselves of some of these letters in the foregoing pages. Most of them are undated; but, from 1626 onwards, a number bear the date on which they were written. In one of them, dated Madrid, March 4, 1626, Lope complains of being slighted by his patron: "I know, most excellent sir, I do not deserve that my good fortune should endure, for, being less deserved by me, my fate is not aggrieved thereat; but, however much I may have feared it, how can I help feeling the memories of those days when your Excellency did not even travel to Alcalá without Lope? That I may no longer be agreeable for this,—let that pass, and let the Duke of Sessa go to Cataluña; but to go without saying that he is going, is a cruel condition of abhorrence, of disregard for so many favours and pity for so many years."[1]

Writing on September 20, 1627, the poet says:[2] "Señor Meridoy, my good neighbor, died and I do not know what God will do with me. I did not want to

Francisca Paula in the company of Romero and in the following year in that of Vallejo, and again with Romero in 1640, Francisca playing third parts and Mencos that of the *vexete*. *Nuevos Datos*, pp. 319, 332. There was still a third *Ana María*, viz. Ana María de Peralta, wife of the well-known actor Juan Bezon. Francisco de Salas belonged to the company of Vallejo in 1631. Cotarelo, p. 221.

[1] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 632. [2] *Ibid.* p. 633.

leave any entanglements to this poor child, since I have no other property except this little house and my books. I have paid three hundred and fifty ducats since Marcela became a nun, and the nuns want their money in order to build." Lope de Vega was one of the executors of the will of the licentiate Pedro de Meridoy, a priest, as appears from a petition made by Lope on March 16, 1630, requesting that the goods and chattels of the deceased be handed over to him, he being the surviving executor, the estate having been administered by the licentiate Cristóbal de España, who had just died.[1]

In a letter of December 6, 1627, the poet apologizes to the Duke for having offended him "Be not angry, for absolute necessity was the cause, and do not kill me with poison so cruel as disdain, for I have not been disloyal to your Excellency. Would that I had served my God as well. May He keep the Duke, my lord, for many years, as I, though an unworthy priest, desire and pray every day in my sacrifices." He also speaks of going to Baena, the prebend conferred on him by the Duke, which his weak health had prevented him from visiting.[2]

Lope's family seems to have been dependent on the Duke for absolutely everything. Under date of January 8, 1628, we read that Antonia and Feliciana, having been promised some oil from Andalusia, which did not arrive, one of them changed the *letra* of Góngora: "Ay que muero de zelos de aquel Andaluz: haganme si muriere la mortaja azul," in this wise:

"Ay que al Duque le pido
aceyte andaluz,
pues que no me le embia
cenaré sin luz,"

on which the fond father proudly comments: "See, your Excellency whether Antoñica cannot already challenge the Muses."[3] The circumstances of the family are in a bad plight. "Here, Sir, all is in a worse state

[1] Pérez Pastor, *Datos desconocidos*, p. 301.
[2] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 634. [3] *Ibid.* p. 636.

than usual, for if there were some bright rays in the sky, they have withdrawn behind the clouds of so many vicissitudes. There is neither food, nor clothing, nor money."[1] Again, in another letter, Lope says: "Necessity is like rhymes to a poet, which make him do what he had no thought of doing."[2]

Lope had been seriously ill in the latter part of March and the beginning of April, 1628, as we learn from the following letter, dated April 18: "Now your Excellency has Lope de Vega, thanks to God, for until to-day you have not had him, so doubtful were they of my life." He dragged himself about for twenty days, he tells us, when he was finally compelled to take to his bed. "At last I went to bed, eighteen days ago to-day, with an inflammation so painful, that I was burning with terrible fever, which caused me so much suffering, that both the foreign and domestic Muses were weeping for me. God be praised, His most holy Mother and Saint Isidore, that I am getting well, for in April, with not a few years on my head, I had much to fear."[3]

The old complaint of poverty is again repeated in a letter of May 30, 1628: "Here the uneasiness about money-matters has ceased; not that our condition is improved, however, for there are the same complaints of the lack of everything; in fact it has gone so far that there is even scarcely any news, a thing which it might seem could not possibly run short in this place."[4]

[1] *Nueva Biografía*, p 636. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Ya tiene V Exa., gracias á Dios, a Lope de Vega, que hasta hoy no le tenia; assi se dudó de mi vida. Truxe en pie este negro mal, que negro debe de ser, pues V.Exa. me receta negras, mas de beynte dias con grande trabaxo y pena, tanto, que entendé que me hauia buelto D. Juan de Alarcon; y al fin cay en la cama oy haze deciocho dias de una inchazon tan dolorosa que me encendia en terribles calenturas, y me causó tantos males, que ya me llorauan las musas domesticas y estrañas. Sea Dios alabado, Su Santissima Madre y S. Isidro, que estoy en puerto de claridad, que en Abril, y no pocos años, mucho hauia que temer. *Ibid.* p. 640.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 642.

This quaint announcement is made in one of the letters: "The Count of Pistol (sic) has killed Boquingan (Buckingham), Admiral of England, a man of excellent parts, had they not been stained by heresy. Doubtless by this time he is undeceived. This is the latest news, and also that the Devil has left Madrid, for fear of so many crosses."[1]

The following important letter, though it bears no date, seems to belong to the year 1630:[2] "For some time now I have desired to cease writing for the Theatre, both on account of my age—which demands more serious things,—as also on account of the weariness and anguish of mind in which it puts me. This I had resolved during my illness, should I again recover from it; but, as happens to everyone, on kissing land I no longer remembered the water. Now, most excellent Sir, inasmuch as the public has been displeased with two well written stories that I gave it,—well written, but ill received,—I recognize the fact that either youth is what is wanted, or that Heaven does not wish death to find a priest writing light comedies. And hence I have resolved to abandon them wholly, so that I may not be like beautiful women, who in their old age are laughed at by all. I therefore beg your Excellency to receive publicly into your service a servant who has been yours in secret more than five and twenty years; for without your favour I shall not be able to free myself of this anxiety, settling upon me some moderate salary which, with the pension I now have, may help me to live the little of life that may yet be left me. The office of Chaplain is very fitting. Every day I shall say mass for your Excellency, and assist likewise in whatever you may command me to write or do concerning your service and pleasure. There is no difficulty, for by my passing from 'Grace' to 'you,' and by writing me down in the books, the matter is arranged. Those [favours] that your Excellency has done me all these years are greater than you can determine for me, so that it will be an

[1] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 647. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 650.

advantage to reduce the matter to a fixed amount, and so that it may be known—should any be ignorant of the fact—that your Excellency is my master, and that the house of Sessa had another white Juan Latino, more of a slave than the black one. A chaplain would not increase the expenses of your Excellency's household nor bring about any change in its present state; and I, with all my time at my disposal, shall better be able to employ it in serving you, without the need of servants constantly coming and going, for I shall always be in your sight. This resolution, as I have said, is not new, and before my pen has written it, it has been maturely considered. But if, for any reason this thought should not be realized—as I fear from my fortune—I shall have gained the honour of making this offer, and shall owe to my necessity more than to my obligation, asking your Excellency's pardon for this boldness, which never forgets the esteem it owes, even though it does not obtain what it has sought." Lope's letters contain all manner of requests made to the Duke, for silks, gowns for his children, and household articles of different kinds. And there is one amusing letter in which he says that Lorenza Sanchez, his housekeeper, bids him write and ask the Duke to send some pastry, as she cannot make it, being busy with other domestic duties.[1]

To 1628 we may provisionally assign the comedia entitled *La Competencia en los nobles* which, as we have already mentioned,[2] exists in manuscript in the British Museum with a license signed by Juan de Velasco al Pamplona on November 16, 1628. The play, which was no doubt actually written at least several months before this date, may well rank as one of Lope's most effective pieces and, as Chorley notes, is remarkable not only for its rich invention but for the strikingly dramatic scene

[1] "Lorenza me dice escriva a V.Exa. que porque mañana jueves, tiene un cuidado, sea servido de mandar que le enbien una empanada, que no halla de que hazerla, con la ocupacion de otras cosas comunes." *Ibid.* p. 650.

[2] See p. 318, note 1.

between Doña Juana and Don Fernando in the last Act. It has been said, and with some reason, that Lope often hurries his finale. In *La Competencia en los nobles* the closing scenes are singularly concentrated and powerful.

On July 4, 1628, Lope was chosen principal chaplain of the Congregation of Saint Peter, which he had joined three years previously. He alludes to his election in a letter to the Duke: "I send your Excellency this *cancion* which I made to our Congregation, of which I am this year the chief chaplain . . . Amarilis kisses the hand of your Excellency, and to-day, as she is very devout and has professed in the Third Order of Saint Francis, she says that with her two children, she will always pray for your Excellency," etc.[1] A letter to Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, the poet, which is undated, but which must have been written in August or September, 1628, speaks of the comedias of Juan Ruiz de Alarcon as follows: "The comedias of Alarcon have appeared in print, only there is no license by me; he complains of the mob, and calls it a wild beast. They say the mob has turned upon him with a sonnet; if I get it, you shall see it." Another letter, written to the same poet, in this same year, discloses an interesting detail. Lope says:[2] "It has lately been decreed in the tribunal of actors that a comedia is to be written by Luis Velez, Don Pedro Calderon, and Doctor Mescua, and another one, in competition, by Doctor Montalvan, Doctor Godínez, and the licentiate Lope de Vega, and

[1] *Nueva Biografía*, p. 644 Over a hundred years before this, in Italy, Lucrezia Borgia, who also became very pious in her later years, joined the same order—the *Frati e Suore della Penitenza*, commonly called the *Terzo Ordine de San Francesco*. "Madona Lucretia, duchessa di Ferrara, da Frate Lodovico della Torre, vicario generale, fu del' habito del 3° Ordine vestita, la quale l'anno del signore 1518 passata della presente vita, nel loco nostro di Ferrara con decto habito fu sepolta." But Lucrezia died on June 24, 1519.

"Cosi anche Lucrezia Borgia da "magna peccatrix" era diventata, e nel piu stretto senso della parola, "una poenitentium"

Archivo Storico Italiano, Vol. XXVIII. p. 314.

Lope had joined this order in 1611. See above, p. 198.

[2] *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, June, 1899.

that a silver goblet should be offered as a prize. To this I answered that I was this year the principal chaplain of the congregation, and accepted the challenge for the following year. Great novelty, solemn nonsense, a degrading thing, and choice dish for the mob."

Lope's mention, in the letter preceding this last one, of Alarcon's complaint of the mob, which he calls wild beasts, refers to the dedication *Al Vulgo* of the first volume of Alarcon's comedias, which appeared in 1628. Lope seems to have cherished a deep animosity towards "the glorious Mexican hunchback," as the latter's learned biographer, Fernandez-Guerra, has pointed out. We have seen that Lope even stooped to mockery of Alarcon's physical defects, and meanwhile Alarcon had become a serious rival of the great wizard by writing those comedias which the world has admired ever since—an encroachment on his domain which the elder man resented.

Lope makes constant complaint, expressed almost from the very beginning of his career, and repeated unceasingly to the end of his days, of the envious manner in which his fellow poets regard him. Envy—*envidia*, —is the burden of his lament during the whole of a long and successful life. Fernandez-Guerra says:[1] "And as there was neither book nor opportunity in which the *Fenix* of the wits did not complain of being the cruel and perpetual target of envy, when, without cessation, he was gathering so many laurels and praises, such as no other ever attained or deserved; and when all the good work of other writers displeased him, and the praise of others angered him, Alarcon furiously abuses him:

> "Blame him, who always complaining
> Is that he by all is envied,
> Being the envier of all
> The applause that comes to others."[2]

[1] *Juan Ruiz de Alarcon*, p. 337.

[2] "Culpa al que siempre se queja
De que es envidiado, siendo
Envidioso universal
De los aplausos ajenos."

"Lope, in the 'Thirteenth Part' of his comedias,[1] had seen fit to make sport of the fact that nature had marked Ruiz de Alarcon with her finger, giving an ill breath to his mouth and making him a frog in voice and figure. Unfortunately it was not in the power of the cripple to change any of these things, but, on the contrary, it was in the power of the prodigy of nature (whose duty it was to offer a good example), to repress his violent passions. Thus the Indian apostrophizes him and answers all who have jeered at his hunchback:

"Blame that one who of his soul
The defects wholly forgetting,
Finds a jest in ridiculing
Those which mar another's body.

. . . . . .

God to one not all hath given,
For He, merciful and righteous,
In His providence divine
Hath disposed a just division.
To him on whom He bestowed
An ill body, gave He patience,
That with prudence he might bear
Taunts and insults of the foolish.
Him, to whom he gave a body
Large, He gave small understanding;
Made the fortunate detested,
Made the rich man dull and doltish.
Nature, in her providence,
In the wind the cloud congealeth,
And its rain justly dividing,
Even the smallest tree doth water."[2]

[1] See above, pp. 273-274.

[2] I will not ask the reader to judge these beautiful lines by my translation, so I append the original.

Culpa á aquel que, de su alma
Olvidando los defectos,
Graceja con apodar

For some *octavas* that Alarcon wrote, or pretended to have written, in honour of Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales, in 1623, he was cruelly satirized by a number of poets, 'good and bad,' as Hartzenbusch says. Among these was Lope de Vega, whose verses begin: "Do you ask me my opinion of such a narrative? It is needless, for to me everything is pleasing, except Don Juan de Alarcon."[1]

Towards the beginning of 1629 was founded the Imperial College of the Company of Jesus, and on this occasion Lope composed, "and probably read or recited at the solemn act of the opening," a poem in *silvas*

Los que otro tiene en el cuerpo.
. . . . . .
Dios no lo da todo á uno;
Que piadoso y justiciero,
Con divina providencia
Dispone el repartimiento.
Al que le plugo de dar
Mal cuerpo, dió sufrimiento
Para llevar cuerdamente
Los apodos de los necios;
Al que le dió cuerpo grande,
Le dió corto entendimiento;
Hace malquisto al dichoso,
Hace al rico majadero.
Próvida naturaleza
Nubes congela en el viento,
Y repartiendo sus lluvias,
Riega el árbol mas pequeño."

Alarcon, *Los Pechos privilegiados*, Act III. Sc. iii. ed. Hartzenbusch, p. 427.

Alarcon, certainly one of the greatest dramatic poets that Spain has produced, was born in Mexico, and afterwards went to Spain, where he died, at Madrid, on August 4, 1639. Hence the term *Indiano* applied to him by his biographer.

[1] The cruelty of the verses written by some of these *ingenios* seems almost incredible. Lope's are among the most respectable of them all. They are printed in the *Comedias de Juan Ruiz de Alarcon*, ed. Hartzenbusch, p. xxxiii., and in the *Comedias escogidas de Lope de Vega*, ed. Hartzenbusch, Vol. IV. p. 587; both publications are included in the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. See also Fernandez-Guerra, *Alarcon*, p. 394.

consisting of seven hundred and five verses, entitled *Isagoge á los reales Estudios de la Compañia de Jesus.*[1]

Of manuscripts belonging to this period there are extant the following. *El Pastor ingrato*, an *auto* dated 1628, not an autograph.[2] The *Auto Sacramental de la Santa Inquisicion*, according to a manuscript formerly in the Osuna library, was written by Lope in 1629. There is some doubt about this, however, as in another manuscript, which ascribes the work to Mira de Mescua, this *auto* is said to have been performed at Madrid in 1624, and this agrees with a third MS. of the piece, with an *aprobacion* dated at Valladolid, May 10, 1625. In this latter version it is anonymous. It has been published, together with the *Auto del Principe de la Paz y Trasformaciones de Celia*, also of 1629, about the authorship of which there likewise seems to be some uncertainty, as it also is assigned to Mira de Mescua.[3]

The laudatory poem on which, as we have seen, Lope had been occupied for some time,[4] was finally completed in the autumn of 1629, and appeared in the following year. It is entitled "The Laurel of Apollo."[5] Lope's prologue to the poem is of some interest. He says, in part: "I am

[1] *Isagoge a los reales Estudios de la Compañia de Jesus. Dedicada al Ilustrissimo y Reuerendissimo señor Don Rodrigo de Acuña Arçobispo y señor de Braga. Por Lope de Vega Carpio. s. l. n. a.* (Madrid, 1629) 8°. It is reprinted in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. X. p 308.

[2] Published in the Academy's edition of Lope, Vol. II

[3] Published in the Academy's edition, Vol. III.

Of the comedia *Los Novios de Hornachuelos* there is a manuscript copy in the Biblioteca Nacional, dated April 12, 1629, with a license to represent it in Valladolid on October 15, 1629. It also has been published by Menéndez y Pelayo, in the above edition of Lope's dramatic works, Vol. X

[4] As early at least as September, 1623 See above, p. 308.

[5] *Laurel de Apolo, con otras Rimas. Al Excelmo Señor Don Juan Alfonso Enriquez de Cabrera, Almirante de Castilla. Por Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, del Abito de San Juan. Año* 1630. *Con Privilegio. En Madrid, Por Juan Gonçalez.* The *Aprobacion* is signed by El Maestro Joseph de Valdivieso, on October 14, 1629, and the *Tasa* is dated Feb. 4, 1630.

struck with wonder [at seeing] how greatly increased and how flourishing is the art of writing verse in Spain . . . and I have always had a desire to show this admiration in a longer discourse, celebrating the wits—so many and so illustrious—that Spain produces, and more especially at a time when this faculty is so much favoured by the two greatest crowns, human and divine [Philip IV. and Urban VIII.]; but, embarrassed by my ignorance, and because of its seeming a difficult province, I have delayed it. Finally, listening rather to my own desire than to my friends (as those who write books always say), I wrote in briefer form this 'Laurel of Apollo,' which I had promised the Muses of my country.[1] Its discourse will tell the spirit of it; it is in praise of all, and no greater one of mine than to have praised them. It would be a pity if, because of some one whom I did not know or who had passed from my memory, amongst those of my native country (for of other countries I only celebrated a few, not to cause weariness), I should happen to gain enemies where ignorance is not wont to be malice nor the defect of memory a grave fault."

The latter phrase is doubtless intended as a justification of the omission of a number of distinguished names from the long list of the *Laurel*, and the inclusion of a vast number of 'wits' who but for Lope's indulgent praise would long since have been forgotten. For in Lope's generous enumeration are contained the names of two hundred and eighty Spanish and Portuguese poets; thirty-six foreigners (French and Italians), and twenty-four

[1] The Spanish of this passage is somewhat inadequately worded, and by a hasty reader might be taken to mean the very opposite of what Lope intends. I have endeavoured to express in English his bantering reference to the everlasting excuse of authors who aver that they have published their works much against their own will, and solely in consequence of their friends' importunities. But I am by no means sure that I have succeeded in rendering the original, which, for the sake of reference, I append: "Persuadido, finalmente, como dicen siempre los que escriben libros, mas de mi propio deseo que de mis amigos, en mas breve tratado escribí este Laurel de Apolo, que tenia prometido á las musas de la patria."

ingenios of antiquity, besides nine Spanish painters. To forgetfulness rather than to ignorance we may attribute the absence of such names as: Gaspar Gil Polo, Alonso de Acevedo, Baltasar de Alcázar, Luis de Belmonte Bermudez, Felipe Godínez, Lopez Maldonado, D. Carlos Boil, Pedro Malon de Chaide, San Juan de la Cruz and Santa Teresa de Jesus. Some poets who are missing—such as Damian Salucio del Poyo, Gabriel Lobo Laso de la Vega and Belmonte—Lope had praised elsewhere. In other instances the omission was doubtless intentional: as in the case of Julian de Almendariz, of Juan de la Cueva (who had carefully abstained from mentioning Lope in his *Egemplar poético*), and of Cristóbal Suarez de Figueroa; and Lope cannot reasonably be blamed, when we consider the hostile attitude assumed by at least two of these writers towards the great poet. The 'Laurel of Apollo,' says Lope in the dedication to the Almirante of Castilla, is a description of a festival celebrated by Apollo on Mount Helicon, on April 29, 1628. The poem is divided into ten *Silvas*, and consists of nearly seven thousand lines. It is a review for the most part of poets who were practically his contemporaries, or nearly so, but it is too full of indiscriminate eulogy to have much critical value. In this direction the 'Laurel of Apollo' had been preceded many years by the *Viaje del Parnaso* (1614) of Cervantes, who there attempted in verse, excellent though it is, what he would have done infinitely better in prose. It is perfectly true, as La Barrera observes, that these laudatory poems do not offer any wide field for invention, either in plan or in variety of episode. Still, I quite agree with him in thinking that the 'Laurel of Apollo' is very far from being merely a kind of rhymed catalogue, as has so often been said. However, it evidently met with no success, and after its first appearance in 1630, was not again reprinted, so far as I know, till Sancha issued it in 1776, in Vol. I. of the *Obras Sueltas*.

The *Laurel de Apolo* is followed in the same volume, by the pastoral eclogue *La Selva sin Amor*, which had been

produced before the King and Court upon a scale of great magnificence: so we learn from Lope's description of the machinery and stage settings, contrived by the Florentine engineer Cosme Lotti, "for whom his Majesty sent to Italy, that he might assist in the construction of the gardens, fountains, and other things, in which he had a rare and excellent wit." It is a graceful trifle, consisting of a prologue and seven scenes written in *Silvas*,—such verse, I fancy, as Lope could compose as quickly and easily as he could write it down on paper.

CHAPTER XIV

THE *EGLOGA Á CLAUDIO* · THE *DOROTEA*: FAREWELL TO THE STAGE. DEATH OF LOPE FELIX: ELOPEMENT OF ANTONIA CLARA

On St. John's Eve, June 24, 1631, the royal favourite, the Count Duke of Olivares, gave a magnificent entertainment to the King and the Royal Family in the gardens of the palace of the Conde de Monterey. A part of this festival was to consist of two new comedias "which had not yet been written nor imagined," and "Lope de Vega was commanded to write the one, which he did in three days, and Don Francisco de Quevedo and Don Antonio de Mendoza were to write the other, which they finished in a single day, and which were then handed over for the purpose of studying them, to the companies of Avendaño and Vallejo, then the best in Madrid."[1] The architectural constructions and decorations were under the care of the Marquis Juan Bautista, brother of Cardinal Crecencio.

[1] See the "Relacion de la Fiesta que hizo á sus Magestades y Altezas el Conde-Duque la noche de San Juan de este año de 1631," in Pellicer, *Tratado Historico*, etc., Vol. II. p. 167.

The King and Queen and royal family viewed the comedias from specially constructed bowers, provided with seats, and close by were other arbours similarly arranged for the Ladies of Honour. In front was built a theatre adorned with a multitude of lights and flowers. Openings were made into the two adjoining gardens of the Duke of Maqueda and D. Luis Mendez Carrion, which were decorated in like manner.

The entertainment began at nine o'clock in the evening with the comedia written by Quevedo and Mendoza, entitled *Quien mas miente medra mas*, performed by the company of Vallejo, to which belonged the famous Maria de Riquelme.[1] This play lasted two hours and a half, and after an interval for refreshments, Lope's comedia *La Noche de San Juan* was produced by the company of Cristóbal de Avendaño. "In this comedia were pictured all the gaiety, license, and wantonness of that night, rendered with all the grace, charm and brilliancy that this marvellous wit has shown in the many he has written, in which no one in the world has equalled him and from whom those who now flourish have learned this art."[2] Ticknor makes a remark concerning Lope's comedia "The Saint John's Eve" which is significant in view of what the poet had said in his "New Art of Making

[1] The players composing the company of Manuel Alvarez y Vallejo in April, 1631, are noted by Cotarelo, *Tirso de Molina*, Madrid, 1893, p. 220. They include, besides Maria de Riquelme (the wife of Vallejo), and one of the most respected actresses on the Madrid stage, because of her virtuous and exemplary life, the famous Damian Arias de Peñafiel and his wife Luisa de Reinoso, and the scarcely less celebrated *gracioso* Pedro Garcia Salinas, and his wife Jerónima de Valcázar; Juan de Tapia and others. Maria de Riquelme must have been the second wife of Vallejo, for in Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 192, we read under date of March 17, 1623: "Obligacion de Manuel Vallejo, autor de comedias, y Francisca Maria, *su muger*," etc. I have not found the company of Avendaño, as constituted in 1631, anywhere. In the following year it embraced, among others: Maria Candado (his wife); the celebrated *gracioso* Juan Bezon and his wife, Ana Maria de Peralta (*la Bezona*), etc. Cotarelo, *Tirso de Molina*, p. 202. The composition of these two companies in 1622 is given above, on p. 295, note 2.

[2] Pellicer, *Tratado Historico*, Vol. II. p. 183.

Plays," and had afterwards so frequently repeated: "It shows that his manner was the same, whether he was to be judged by the unruly crowds gathered in one of the courtyards of the capital, or by a few persons selected from whatever was most exclusive and elevated in the kingdom."[1] Still, in this play the rules of art, which Lope himself so often confesses to having broken, are strictly observed, at all events so far as the unity of time and place are concerned, and the poet calls special attention to the fact at the close of the play, saying: "Here ends the comedia of 'St. John's Eve,' and if the rules of art allow the poet to extend his action to twenty-four hours, it passes here in less than ten." *La Noche de San Juan* was not printed till four years afterwards, in the *Veintiuna Parte* (1635), a volume prepared for the press by the author, but not issued till some time during the month following his death in August, 1635.

On August 1, 1631, Lope finished at Madrid the tragedy *El Castigo sin Venganza*, one of the very best of his numberless plays. The autograph manuscript of this tragedy, signed by Lope on the above date, is now in the Ticknor Library at Boston. It was first published as a *suelta* at Barcelona in 1634, and next year was included in the *Veintiuna Parte* at Madrid.[2] The Barcelona edition of the play is dedicated to the Duke of Sessa in these terms: "As he who cultivates flowers is wont to send some to the owner of the garden as an acknowledgment that those which remain are his also, so I take the liberty to send these to your Excellency;—a sign that the others recognize you to be the owner of all, as well as of him who cultivates them. Amongst friends, gifts are love; between lovers, solicitude; in office-seekers, bribery; gratitude in those who are under obligations; favours in

[1] Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, Vol. II. p. 249, and foll., where a good account of this festival and of Lope's comedia are to be found.

[2] Fol. 91. (ed. Madrid, 1635). See my article. "Ueber Lope de Vega's *El Castigo sin Venganza*," in the *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, Vol. XXV. (1901) pp. 411-423.

lords, and service in servants. This one is not to solicit favours, but to recognize obligations for the many I have received from your generous hands during the many years that I have lived as one of the servants of your house." In the Prologue, Lope says that "this tragedy was represented only a single time at Madrid, for causes which are of little import to the reader." This remark has awakened no slight curiosity among writers on the Spanish drama as to the reason why this tragedy was withdrawn after the first representation. Schack, Gayangos, Lista and Hartzenbusch had conjectured that it was because of some fancied resemblance of the plot to the death of Don Carlos, son of Philip II. I do not think that this is probable, nor do I think that the play was ever prohibited. As I have said, in the article referred to, a prohibition to represent the play would have been tantamount to a prohibition to print it, and in all probability the withdrawal of the play was due to any one of a number of causes likely to arise in the daily life of the theatre: matters "of little import to the reader," as Lope very truly says. The autograph contains the names of the players who took the different parts on the occasion of this first and only representation. It was given by Vallejo's company.[1]

[1] The cast is as follows: El Duque de Ferrara = *Autor*, i.e. *Vallejo*; El Conde Federico = *Arias*; Albano, Rutilio, Floro, Luzindo (not assigned); El Marques Gonzaga = *Salas*, Casandra = *Autora*, i.e. *Maria de Riquelme*; Aurora = *Bernarda*; Lucrezia = *Gerónima* [de Valcázar]; Batin = [*Pedro Garcia*] *Salinas*, Cintia = *Maria de Ceballos*; Febo y Ricardo (not assigned).

It is probable that the Arias here named is Damian Arias de Peñafiel, one of the greatest actors of his time in the role of the *galan*, and a member of Manuel Vallejo's company in 1631. Like many other famous actors, he became an *autor* in his later years and had a company of his own at least as early as 1637. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 278. This same company of Vallejo, in 1631, counted amongst its members Pedro Garcia Salinas, a celebrated *gracioso* and his wife Jerónima de Valcazar, as well as Maria de Ceballos and Francisco de Salas. The Bernarda we are unable to identify; there was a Bernarda Teloy, and also a Bernarda Gamarra, her daughter, in the same company. Cotarelo, *Tirso de Molina*, p. 220.

El Castigo sin Venganza has an additional interest because it treats the same story as Byron's *Parisina*. The tragical incident upon which it is founded took place at Ferrara, on May 21, 1425, and forms the subject of the tale in Bandello, which was undoubtedly Lope's source.[1]

During the course of the year 1631, perhaps even earlier,—at all events before 1632, as Lope alludes to his *Dorotea* as still unpublished,—our poet wrote to Claudio Conde, the friend of his early years, the beautiful verses entitled the *Egloga á Claudio*, but which were better called an *Epístola*. We have frequently referred to this delightful poem, which is, moreover, of the greatest interest for the light it throws upon Lope's life.[2] I confess that it has always seemed to me one of the most exquisite of all Lope's compositions. The retrospective air, the shade of melancholy with which it is tinged, the resignation which it breathes, the disillusionment after a long life that seemed outwardly to have achieved the highest success,—all these lend a rare charm to the poem, and draw us perceptibly nearer to this wonderful, mysterious man of whom we are told so much and yet know so little. Of himself he says in this eclogue:

"Nor of my hapless fate do I complain,
Nor of my ignorance ask a greater grace
Than doth of time contain
'Twixt life and death the space;
For the reward, though one must needs desire it,
'Tis better to deserve than to acquire it."

[1] *La Prima Parte dele Novelle del Bandello. In Lucca, per Vincenzio Busdrago*, 1554, *e di nuovo in Londra, per S. Harding. MDCCXL.* p. 280: "Il Marchese Nicolò Terzo da Este trouato il figliuolo con la Matrigna in adulterio, à tutti dui in un medesimo giorno fa tagliar il capo in Ferrara." *Novella XLIV.*

Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly confirms Chorley's statement that the play was reprinted under the strange rubric, *Quando Lope quiere, quiere.* It appears with this sub-title as the third of the *Doze Comedias las mas grandiosas que hasta aora han salido de los mejores y mas insignes poetas. Segunda Parte.* Lisboa, 1647.

[2] It was afterwards published in the *Vega del Parnaso* (Madrid, 1637), and in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. IX.

Continuing, he observes: "I sought the applause of the base groundlings, employing my pen constantly with stories of love; so great poets through haste spoil the canvas. . . . Fate to me was so importunate that it ruled my pen in spite of myself, so that, O wonderful persistence! each day of my life brought forth five sheets. . . . *Dorotea*, the posthumous child of my Muse, and perchance my most beloved, the last of my life, still desires the public light." . . . He adds that if he were to endeavour to tell the number of plays he has written, one would think it a fiction; that he has written fifteen hundred plays, of which more than a hundred passed from the Muses to the stage in twenty-four hours. "For seeing that the wood of my poor mountain was burning for another's profit,[1] I changed to silver the poison they gave me in copper, and clothing them [*i.e.* the comedias] anew, they issued forth to the light with less stains upon them. . . . But cupidity reached such a point that my comedias were printed under the names of others, filled with a thousand errors. . . . Forgive, O Claudio, my recounting to you the great number of my works, but without self-praise I may say that what is printed, although already excessive, is but a small part of what still remains to be printed. . . . They [*i.e.* the comedias] owe to me the art of their beginning, although I deviated from the rigorous precepts of Terence, and do not deny a share in it to the three or four great wits who saw the infancy of the theatre. . . . And now the pathway is so well beaten that the matter is made easy for everyone; for the copy being written, it is necessary to sell it. . . ."

We see that Lope here asserts his claim as the originator of the Spanish drama then in vogue—of the *comedia nueva*,—in unequivocal terms. He acknowledges the part played by "three or four wits," as indeed he had done many years before, mentioning them in his "New

[1] Doubtless an allusion to the proverb: *Del monte sale con que se arde*, = One always causes one's own misfortune. Another refrain forms the title of one of Lope's comedias, mentioned above: *Del monte sale quien el monte quema* = Our injuries sometimes come from those nearest to us.

Art of Making Plays." Here also is once more repeated the complaint, equally long-standing and eminently just, that others were living upon his reputation by appropriating his works.

In 1632 Lope published his *Dorotea*,[1] a "dramatic action in prose," which was originally written in his early years, and which he was preparing for the press, as we have just seen, when he was writing his "Epistle to Claudio." It is divided into five acts and is written in a clear natural style which flows from his pen with an ease and grace that denote a consummate mastery of prose style quite equal to the brilliant skill he had always displayed in verse. Here is a work of Lope's youthful years, filed and embellished in his old age, when the great poet had at his command all the devices, all the artistry that long experience could lend to transcendent genius. Here we find that salt of the Spanish soil—its proverbs—used unsparingly in the conversation of Gerarda and Teodora, the whole seasoned with the kindly humour, the flashing wit that never leaves a wound—so characteristic of Lope in almost all his writings. We have quoted so much from the *Dorotea* in the early chapters, that it is needless to dwell upon it here. The work has rightly received enthusiastic praise. Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo, the greatest of living Spanish critics, says of it: "Of all the imitations of the *Celestina*, the *Dorotea* is that which comes nearest to its unapproachable model."[2]

Prefixed to the *Dorotea* is a sort of prologue by Lope's friend D. Francisco Lopez de Aguilar, entitled *Al Theatro*, which is of interest because of its bearing upon a

[1] *La Dorotea, Accion en Prosa. De Frey Lope de Vega Carpio, del Habito de San Juan —Al Ilmo. y Excmo. Señor D. Gaspar Alfonso Perez de Guzman el Bueno, Conde de Niebla, primogenito del Excmo. Sr. el Gran Duque de Medina-Sidonia. Ano* 1632. *(Exi de Theatro Cato: Adhibe mentem Cicero). En Madrid, en la Imprenta del Reino, a costa de Alonso Perez, librero de su Majestad.*

The *Suma de Privilegio* and *Tassa* are both dated September 14, 1632. La Barrera speaks of this edition as *sumamente rara*. It is a poorly printed book, of which I procured a copy in London some years ago.

[2] *Obras de Lope de Vega*, Vol. X. p. xciv.

bibliographical question. He says: "Lope was obliged to publish this story (*fabula*) on seeing the boldness with which the booksellers of Seville, Cadiz, and other cities in Andalusia—under the cloak that they are printed in Zaragoza and Barcelona, and putting upon them the names of those printers—are issuing divers volumes in their own cities, and including in them comedias by ignorant persons, which were never seen or imagined by him," etc.

The spurious parts of Lope, to which Lopez de Aguilar here refers are: *Parte veintidos* (Zaragoza, 1630); perhaps the *Doce Comedias nuevas de Lope de Vega y otros autores, Segunda Parte* (Barcelona, 1630); *Parte veinticuatro* (Zaragoza, 1632), and perhaps also a *Parte veintiseis* (1632-3?). Most of the comedias contained in these volumes were originally written by Lope, but often appear here in a very corrupt form; the lists show that several were written by other poets (sometimes of distinction), but issued under the name of the great *Fenix*, with the object of exploiting his popularity among the theatre-going public. These Parts, in detail, are: *Parte veynte y dos de las Comedias del Fenix de España, Lope de Vega Carpio, y las mejores que hasta aora han salido, etc. Año* 1630. *En Çaragoça, por Pedro Verges. A costa de Jusepe Ginobart, mercader de libros.* 4°. The *Aprobacion* and licences are dated 1629. It contains:

1. *Nunca mucho costó poco.*—Lope? It differs from the play of this name by Alarcon.
2. *Di Mentira sacarás Verdad.*—Matias de los Reyes. (Composed in 1622; printed at Jaen in 1629.)
3. *La Carbonera.*—Lope. (Part XXII., 1635.)
4. *La Amistad y la Obligacion.*—Lope? (Also called *Lucha de Amor y Amistad*; likewise published as a *suelta* attributed to Montalvan.)
5. *La Verdad sospechosa ó el Mentiroso.*—Alarcon.
6. *Quien bien ama, tarde olvida.*—Lope.
7. *Amar sin saber á quien.*—Lope. (Part XXII., 1635.)
8. *El Marques de las Navas.*—Lope. (See above, p. 311.)
9. *Lo que ha de Ser.*—Lope. (Part XXV., Zaragoza, 1647.)

10. *La Lealtad en el Agravio.*—Lope?

11. *En los Indicios la Culpa.*—Lope. (See p. 281.)

12. *La Intencion castigada.*—Lope?

Doze Comedias nueuas de Lope de Vega Carpio y otros Autores. Segunda Parte. En Barcelona, per Gerónimo Margarit, Año de 1630. 4°. It contains:

1. *Mas merece quien mas ama.*—Hurtado de Mendoza.

2. *Las dos Vandoleras y Fundacion de la Santa Hermandad de Toledo.*—Lope.

3. *Olvidar para vivir.*—Miguel Bermudez.

4. *El Hijo por Engaño, y toma de Toledo.*—Lope?

5. *La Locura cuerda.*—D. Juan de la Silva Correa.

6. *Los Medecis de Florencia.*—Enciso.

7. *El Burlador de Sevilla.*—Tirso de Molina. But the correctness of this current attribution has recently been called in question.

8. *Marina la Porquera.*—Andres Martin Carmona.

9. *La desdichada Estefania.*—Lope. (Part I.)

10. *El Pleito por la Honra.*—Lope. (Part II.)

11. *Deste Agua no beberé.*—Claramonte.

12. *Lucidoro, Aragonés.*—Juan Bautista de Villegas.

(La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 707.)

Parte veinte y cuatro de las Comedias del Fenix de España Lope de Vega Carpio, y las mejores que hasta aora han salido. Zaragoza, por Diego Dormer, 1632. *A costa de Jusepe Ginobart, mercader de libros.*[1] It contains the following plays, all ascribed to Lope:

1. *La Ley executada.*—Lope?

2. *Selvas y Bosques de Amor.*—Lope. (Represented in the Palace of the Queen, between February 5, 1622, and February 8, 1623.)

3. *El Examen de Maridos, y Antes que te cases mira lo que hazes.*—Alarcon. (In Part II., of his Comedias, 1634.)

4. *El que diran y Donayres de Pedro Corchuelo.*—This play, by Matias de los Reyes, is dedicated by the author

[1] This is the first edition, which La Barrera had never seen. He describes the edition of 1633, which I possess, and which has a *licencia* dated January 25, 1631.

to Lope, is dated Villanueva de la Serena, August 11, 1622, and was printed at Jaen in 1629.

5. *La Honra por la Muger.*—Lope? (Lord Holland possessed an ancient MS. ascribing it to Lope.)

6. *El Amor Bandolero.*—Lope?

7. *La mayor Desgracia de Carlos Quinto y Hechicera de Argel* or *Conquista de Argel.*—Lope? (Attributed to Jimenez de Enciso, in *Parte XXXIII. de Varios Autores*, Valencia, 1642, and in *Comedias de los mejores y mas insignes Ingenios de España*, Lisboa, 1652.)

8. *Ver y no Creer.*—Lope? (MS. in the Biblioteca Nacional, anonymous, with original *Aprobaciones*, dated 1619.)

9. *Dineros son calidad.*—Lope.

10. *De quando acá nos vino.*—Lope?

11. *Amor, Pleyto y Desafio.* (*Ganar Amigos*).—Alarcon. (Published in his Comedias, Part II., Barcelona, 1634. Lope's comedia of the same name has been mentioned above, p. 294.)

12. *La mayor Victoria.*—Lope. (Pub. in Part XXII., Madrid, 1635.)

Parte veinte y seis de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio[1] . . . *Zaragoza*, 1645. It contains the following plays, all under the name of Lope:

1. *La Ciudad sin Dios* (*El Inobediente*).—Lope. (See above p. 158 and *n.*)

2. *Despertar á quien duerme.*—Lope. (Printed in Part VIII., 1617.)

3. *Dos Agravios sin Ofensa.*—Gaspar de Alarcon. (The Osuna collection included an ancient *suelta*, in which the play is attributed—rightly, as it would appear—to this author.)

4. *Lealtad, Amor y Amistad.*—Lope?

5. *Lo que es un Coche en Madrid.* (*Los Riesgos que tiene*

[1] This Part must have been published originally between 1632, the year in which Part XXIV. appeared, and 1633, the date of Part XXVII. This is shown by the allusion to it in Lope's *El Desprecio Agradecido*, published in the *Vega del Parnaso*, in 1637. In this play Doña Ines mentions the *Parte veinteseis de Lope*, to which Don Bernardo replies: "One of the spurious books published under his name."

un Coche.)—Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza. (Printed under his name in the *Laurel de Comedias, Quarta Parte*, Madrid, 1653.)

6. *Mas vale Salto de Mata que Ruego de Buenos.*—Lope?

7. *La Merced en el Castigo.*—Lope? (With the title *El Dichoso en Zaragoza*, it was attributed to Montalvan, both *suelta* and in the *Parte Cuarenta de Escogidas*, Madrid, 1675. With the title *El Premio en la misma Pena*, it is attributed to Moreto in the *Parte Treinta*, of the same collection, Madrid, 1668.)

8. *El Nacimiento del Alba.*—Lope. (It is a recasting of his play *La Madre de la Mejor*, inserted in Part XVII., 1621, according to Chorley, who says that the first and second Acts are identical in both plays; but the third is wholly different and very well written. Restori says the first two Acts have been ruthlessly disfigured, and that the third Act has nothing to do either with *La Madre de la Mejor* or with *El Nacimiento del Alba*, but is the third Act of *Sta. Ana y el Nacimiento de Maria*. See *Zift. f. Rom. Phil.* Vol. XXII. (p. 21 of reprint).)

9. *Púsoseme el Sol, salióme la Luna.*—Claramonte. (It appears under his name in the *Doce Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio. Parte veintenueve*, Huesca, 1634.)

10. *El Prodigio de Etiopia* (*Santa Teodora*).—Lope?

11. *El que diran y Donayres de Pedro Corchuelo.*—Matias de los Reyes (see p. 346).

12. *La Ventura de la Fea.*—Lope.

So far as concerns Lopez de Aguilar's protest that booksellers of Cadiz, Seville, and other cities of Andalusia publish these volumes, which purport to have been printed at Barcelona or Zaragoza, La Barrera observes that though this is true in the case of the last collection mentioned above, and perhaps of the third one also, the other two were certainly printed at Zaragoza. They all owe their origin, doubtless, to Lope's own remissness. After the appearance of the *Parte veinte* of his Comedias, in 1625, he made no effort to continue their publication until ten years afterwards, in 1635, when he prepared two additional volumes which were issued posthumously. As Lope

neglected to supply the popular demand, it was natural, though not legitimate, that some one else should do so.

On April 7, 1632, there died in the Calle de Francos—the street in which Lope lived, and perhaps in his own house—Doña Marta de Nevares Santoyo, the once beautiful *Amarilis*, the former divinity of Lope's verses, but now old and blind. It would appear that Marta was buried, not by the care of her old lover, but by Alonso Perez, the bookseller, and at his expense![1] Had Lope, after all these years, now that her charms were faded and her beautiful eyes were sightless, abandoned his Amarilis? Did her "divine voice" no longer charm him?—that voice which he had extolled, much as Campion extolled Corinna's:

"Canta Amarilis, y su voz levanta
Mi alma desde el orbe de la Luna
A las inteligencias, que ninguna
La suya imita con dulzura tanta," etc.

Perhaps Lope had finally repented him of his unbridled life, so ill beseeming his age and his priestly habit, and had exclaimed once more[2]:

"Ma ben veggi'or si como al popol tutto
Favola fui gran tempo; onde sovente
Di me medesmo meco mi vergogno."

It is one more mystery in the life of this enigmatic genius.

[1] Partida de defuncion de Doña Marta de Nevares Madrid, 7 Abril, 1632. Doña Mª de Nevares murió en la Calle de Francos en siete de Abril de 1632 años recibió los santos Sacramentos de manos del Licenciado Juan Lucas, no testó; enterróla Alonso Perez, librero, que vive á la Platería, y pagó de fábrica ocho ducados. (*Archivo parroquial* de San Sebastian) Perez Pastor, *Datos desconocidos*, p 303.

It is perhaps an exaggeration to say that at the time of her death Doña Marta was old, though that greatest of all charms—youth—had certainly fled long ago She was married to Roque Hernandez de Ayala at the age of thirteen, and passed with him a period "of inconsolable sadness, which lasted thirteen years," to use the words of La Barrera. She then met Lope at a festival, when he succeeded in gaining her love, "*despues de largos años.*" This was in 1616. Amarilis was therefore nearly forty-five years old at the time of her death.

[2] I have said 'once more' because thirty years previously, in his comedia *Los Locos de Valencia* (written before 1603), we read:

In 1633 Vincencio Carducho published his *Diálogos de la Pintura*, etc., which contains a poem by Lope in praise of the art of painting, and this was followed in the same year by the Elegy on the death of D. Jerónimo de Villaizan.[1]

But a far more important work—Lope's eclogue *Amarilis*[2]—also appeared in 1633. Frequent reference has already been made in the preceding pages to the importance of this poem—"*tristísima confesión de sus postreros amores*,"—as regards the biography of our poet. He appears in it as the shepherd *Elisio*, while the shepherdess *Amarilis* is Doña Marta. The death of Amarilis which, as we have just seen, took place in the preceding year, is described in this eclogue in verses of exquisite tenderness and beauty.[3] The manifestly sincere grief that Lope felt on her death renders the fact that she was buried by the care and at the expense of the bookseller Alonso Perez, instead of receiving these last attentions from her ancient lover, all the more inexplicable.[4] But probably the solution may be found in the conjecture of Fitzmaurice-Kelly: that Pérez simply acted on behalf of the poet, whose profession and years would have made it unseemly for him to appear before the public as responsible for Marta's funeral expenses.

Of letters written by Lope in 1633, but one is published in the *Adiciones* to La Barrera. It is dated September 4, refers

Caballero Y este ¿ quien es ?
Pisano Belardo fue su nombre.
Escribe versos, y es del mundo fabula
Con los varios sucesos de su vida. . . . (Act III.).

[1] *Elegia a la Muerte de D. Jeronimo de Villaizan, por su amigo Frey Lope de Vega Carpio. En Madrid, por Francisco Martinez, año* 1633.

[2] *Amarilis Egloga. A la Reina Christianissima de Francia. De Frei Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, del Habito de San Juan. Con licencia, en Madrid Por Francisco Martinez. Año* 1633.

[3] See *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. X. p. 182, beginning: "Mas como el bien no dura," etc.

[4] The Eclogue *Amarilis* has been discussed above, pp. 255-256.

solely to theatrical matters, and is curious enough to deserve quotation: "Amarilis [Maria de Cordoba y de la Vega] arrived here with a passionate *loa* in her praise, wherefore she was less well received than she should have been, because the judgment of the mob resents that one should take any praise to one's self instead of leaving it to them to bestow. Vallejo received her with a comedia by Doctor Montalvan, which produced quite an uproar: the effect of humility—a most divine virtue and of much importance in all matters. The company of Vallejo is like some faces,—not a perfect feature in it, but because of the harmony with which they are united, the face is beautiful. The skill of the man in theatrical matters is unsurpassed; so great is it that for a fortnight he has kept on the boards two comedias of mine which are perhaps thirty years old But what shall we say of Maria de Riquelme, without paint or powder, respected, and without ostentatious display? Surely I am speaking here through the mouth of the mob, who already put her in the first rank with Amarilis, and so I am persuaded that novelty is more potent than reason, since I have believed it, though knowing that it is not true. She is extraordinary in depicting passion, in a way that imitates nobody, nor will you be able to find any one who can imitate her,"[1] etc.

[1] "Aqui llegó Amarilis con una loa soberbia en su alabança, con que está menos bien recibida que lo estuviere, porque el iuicio del vulgo haborrece que nadie se aplique a si la gloria, sino que se la remita a el para que disponga de ella. Recivióla Vallejo con una comedia del Doctor Montalban, que trae el lugar alborotado efectos de la humildad, virtud divinissima, y en todas materias de mucha ynportancia. Es la compañia de Vallejo como algunos rostros, que no teniendo faccion perfecta, por la armonia con que todas se juntan, hazen el rostro hermosso. El cuidado del hombre en los teatros es nunca bisto, tanto, que dos comedias mias de habrá treinta años las ha hecho durar a quince dias. Pues qué diremos de Maria de Riquelme, desasseada, no huida, ni de galas estrabagantes? Cierto que ablo en esto por la boca del vulgo que ya la pone en el primer lugar con Amarilis, y assi me persuado que la novedad puede mas que la raçon, pues yo lo he creido con saber que miente. Es singular en los afectos, por camino que no imita de nadie, ni aun se podrá

Of Maria de Riquelme, whom Lope praises here, it may be noted that she has a distinguished place in the theatrical annals of her time. Living in a dissolute age,—a member of a profession which never enjoyed a reputation for prudery,—she was celebrated not only for her great beauty and skill as an actress, but also for her absolutely spotless character. The wife of the *autor* Manuel Vallejo, "she was much persecuted on account of her beauty and because she acted so divinely, nor did any one know the slightest thing that could reflect upon her character; but on the contrary, she was most devout, frequenting the sacraments, and all considered her very saintly."[1] Hence Pellicer attributes the satirical verses that were written against Vallejo, "to the rage and despite which the invincible virtue of his wife aroused in these detractors." On retiring from the stage, Maria de Riquelme withdrew to Barcelona, where she died in 1656.[2] The other actress here mentioned by Lope, and who was much more admired by him, was Maria de Córdoba y de la Vega, wife of the *autor* Andrés de la Vega, and daughter of Antonio Martinez and Isabel de Córdova, both natives of Madrid.[3] She was generally called *Amarilis*, though she had also received the nickname *la Gran Sultana*,

hallar quien la imite. Esto es haciendo salbas a la Señor Belerma, con quien no se entiende comparacion de ausentes, que siempre fué dificil de medir con la berdad. Fuesse Avendaño a Toledo, porque en su compañia, que no deve de ser dichosa, no se acababa comedia mia ni de otra. Efectos de mal gracioso, galan gordo y dama fria. Guarde Dios a Vm. Barrera, *Nueva Biografia*, p 651.

[1] Casiano Pellicer, *Origenes*, II. p. 110.

[2] To be a manager's wife was, no doubt, in the seventeenth century, as in the twentieth, a strong security for receiving a prominent rôle. But the *mosqueteros* were no respecters of persons, and nothing but genuine talent could have enabled Maria de Riquelme to hold her own with the public against the other members of her husband's powerful company. She bore him a son, also called Manuel Vallejo, who acted under Antonio de Castro's management in 1656. Sánchez-Arjona, *Anales del Teatro en Sevilla*, 1898, p. 411, note.

[3] Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 223.

and her husband that of *el Gran Turco*, "because, it was said, she had been on terms of intimacy with D. Pedro Tellez Giron, Duke of Ossuna, who seems to have presented her, among other things, with some oriental tapestries and carpets which he had received from the Sultan of Constantinople."[1] She was one of the most popular actresses in Philip III.'s time, and at the beginning of the reign of Philip IV.[2] Her beauty was praised by Quevedo in a ballad, while the caustic, railing Villamediana called her:

"Milagron del barrio vulgo
De pico y narices larga."

On December 18, 1633, the marriage-settlement of Lope's daughter, Doña Feliciana Felix de Vega Carpio, was executed. The bridegroom was Luis de Usátegui, "oficial de la Secretaria del Real Consejo de las Indias de la Provincia del Pirú en el Oficio del Señor Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras, del Consejo de S. M. y su Secretario en el dicho Real consejo de las Indias." The emoluments of this office, when compared with its grandiloquent title, were doubtless small; but possibly Don Luis found some compensation in the consciousness that he was a part, even though an insignificant part, of the great machinery of state, and basked in the light reflected by that august councillor Contreras. Perhaps a few feeble rays of this light fell upon the modest official—a clerk in plain English—and helped to warm his benumbed body in those uncomfortably cold Madrid winters. At all events, the prospective

[1] Sánchez-Arjona, *Anales del Teatro en Sevilla*, p 234.

[2] It has already been noted (p. 137), when speaking of stage salaries, that Maria de Córdoba, in 1632, received for two representations, in one day, the sum of eight hundred reals, we may add that Maria Calderon, the mistress of Philip IV. (to whom she bore a son, D. John of Austria, on April 17, 1629), received, in the same year, for representing two comedias and two *autos*, one thousand and fifty reals, "with transportation for her husband, Tomás de Rojas, and a servant, besides lodging and eight reals per day *de racion*." Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 226. *La Calderona* afterwards became a nun, and died in the convent of la Serrania de la Alcarria. Pellicer, Vol. II. p. 92.

father-in-law, Lope, came to the rescue with this marriage-settlement, in which he promises to endow his daughter with clothing and money to the amount of five thousand ducats. This sum was to be paid out of the proceeds of the estates of Doña Feliciana s grandfather and grandmother, Don Antonio de Guardo and Doña Maria de Collantes, now both deceased, the grandmother having died some time after October 5, 1595—the date of her will—and the grandfather, Don Antonio, on June 3, 1633. It appears that although Maria de Collantes had died before her daughter's marriage to Lope, leaving a will in which this daughter, Doña Juana de Guardo (Lope's wife and Feliciana's mother) was a legatee, her husband, Antonio de Guardo, had always resisted an adjudication of his deceased wife's estate. An attempt to compel a partition seems to have been made by Doña Feliciana on January 26, 1633, when the court appointed Pedro de Velasco guardian *ad litem* of the petitioner, but with what result is not known.[1] Doubtless the suit was discontinued on account of the death of Antonio de Guardo in the following June.

On December 23, 1633, Lope finished his comedia *La Corona de Hungria ó la injusta Venganza*, the autograph of which, according to La Barrera, was formerly in the archives of the Count of Altamira. Duran made a copy of it, which is now in the Biblioteca Nacional. In this year there appeared another spurious volume of Lope, one of those generally designated *extravagantes*,[2] entitled:

[1] Pérez Pastor, *Datos desconocidos*, p. 252. Antonio de Guardo had married Sabina Nuñez after the death of his first wife.

[2] Four volumes of the *Comedias del Fenix de España Lope de Vega—Parte XXVI.* (Zaragoza, 1645), *Parte XXVII.* (Barcelona, 1633), *Parte XXVIII.* (Zaragoza, 1639), and *Parte XXIX.* (Huesca, 1634)—are said to contain works by Lope and by other authors. These four Parts are commonly called *Partes extravagantes*; Chorley lays stress upon the circumstance that all four Parts, as well as the so-called *Comedias de Sevilla* (La Barrera, *Catálogo*, 685), are only known to us by the fact that Fajardo cited them in his manuscript index of plays. Some fragments, however, appear to have survived in three made-up volumes (*tomos colecticios*) in the Osuna Library.

Comedias de Lope de Vega . . . Parte veinte y siete. Barcelona, 1633. It contains:

Allá daras Rayo.—Lope?

El Médico de su Honra.—Lope. (Calderon's play of the same title is a recast of this.)

Los Milagros del Desprecio.—Lope. (Printed in *Nuevo Teatro de Comedias de diferentes Autores. Decima Parte*, Madrid, 1658.)

Por la Puente Juana.—Lope. (Printed in Part XXI., 1635.)

El Sastre de Campillo. This is by Luis de Belmonte Bermudez. (The autograph signed by the author on August 1, 1624, formerly in the Osuna Library, is now in the Biblioteca Nacional.)

La Selva confusa.—Lope? ("Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 86, referring to a MS. in the Osuna collection, attributes this play to Calderon, and supposes erroneously that this may perhaps be the lost *Certamen de Amor y Celos*, which was not written till 1640.")[1]

Los Vargas de Castilla.—Lope.

El Infanzon de Illescas.—Lope.[2]

El Gran Cardenal de España Don Gil de Albornoz. Parts I. and II.—Antonio Enriquez Gomez.

Celos con Celos se curan.—Tirso de Molina.

Lanza por Lanza, la de Luis de Almanza.[3]—Lope. (Printed in the Academy's edition, Vol. X.)

In 1634 two additional volumes of comedias appeared, without Lope's sanction, and attributing to him a number of plays which he never wrote. The first is entitled: *Parte veinte y ocho de Comedias de varios Autores. En*

[1] See Val. Schmidt, *Die Schauspiele Calderons*, p. 452. The opening verses of *La Selva confusa* quoted by Schack are certainly not in Lope's style.

[2] Menéndez y Pelayo has published it as Lope's, or rather as a *refundicion* by Claramonte of one of Lope's comedias. The editor has prefixed a very learned and penetrating essay upon this play to Vol. X. of the Academy's ed. of Lope.

[3] This play, *El Médico de su Honra*, and *La Paloma de Toledo*, were first produced by the company of Avendaño. Sánchez-Arjona, *Anales*, p. 243.

Huesca, por Pedro Bluson, impressor de la Universidad, año de 1634. *A costa de Pedro Escuez, mercader de libros.* The plays of Lope in this volume are: *El Labrador venturoso, El Palacio confuso, La Porfia hasta el Temor*, and *El Juez en su Causa.* The following are also ascribed to him;

La despreciada Querida. (It is by Juan Bautista de Villegas); *La Industria contra el Poder.* (This is Calderon's *Amor, Honor y Poder*); *La Cruz en la Sepultura.* (This is Calderon's *La Devocion de la Cruz*)[1]

The other volume is · *Doce Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio: Parte veinte y nueve. En Huesca, Por Pedro Bluson. Año* 1634. The plays under the name of Lope are: *La Paloma de Toledo.*—Lope; *Querer mas y sufrir menos.*—Lope? *Los Martires de Madrid*—Lope? *La próspera Fortuna de Don Bernardo de Cabrera.*—Lope? *La adversa Fortuna de Don Bernardo de Cabrera.*—Lope? *Las Mocedades de Bernardo del Carpio.*[2]—Lope. (The latter play is published in the Academy's edition, Vol. III.)

Towards the close of November of this year appeared the last volume that Lope issued during his lifetime, a

[1] See the *Catalogue* of the Ticknor Spanish Library, p. 97. Another volume of comedias appeared in 1639, entitled *Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio . .* (y otros autores) *Parte veinte y ocho* Zaragoza, 1639 Contents.

La Cruz en la Sepultura Ascribed to Lope. This is by Calderon.
De un Castigo tres Venganzas Ascribed to Lope This is by Calderon.
El Palacio confuso Lope
La despreciada Querida Ascribed to Lope.
El Juez de su misma Causa Lope.
El Labrador venturoso Lope.
La Porfia hasta el Temor Lope.
El Principe Escanderberg Ascribed to Lope This is by Luis Velez (?).
El Trato muda Costumbres. Ascribed to Lope This is by Mendoza (?).
El celoso Extremeño. Ascribed to Lope. This is by Antonio Coello.
(La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p. 683.)

See also Salvá, *Catálogo*, Vol. I. p. 548

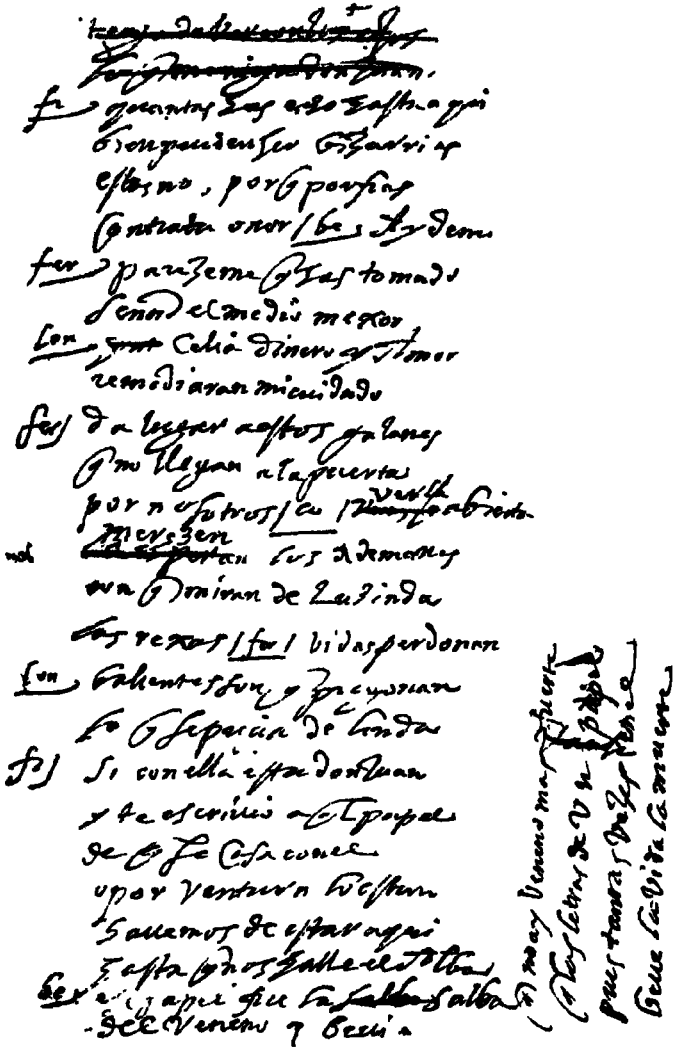
[2] Of this play I possess a *suelta* published in Madrid, "en la Imprenta de Antonio Sanz, en la Plazuela de la Calle de la Paz." The text is essentially the same as in the above ed.

For the posthumous Volumes of Lope's Comedias, see Appendix B.

book of verse, entitled *Rimas humanas y divinas*,[1] and published under the pseudonym of Tome de Burguillos. The *Aprobacion* of this volume is signed by El Maestro Joseph de Valdivieso, on August, 17, 1634, and there is an additional license to print, signed by Don Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, on August 27, 1634. The *Tassa* is dated November 22, 1634, so that the volume probably appeared shortly after this date. Lope pretends that these verses are published from the papers of Tome de Burguillos (a pseudonym he had assumed years before, at the poetical tournaments in honour of Saint Isidore's beatification and canonization); there has been some controversy as to the authenticity of these *Rimas*, but it is now established beyond question that Lope is really the author of them. Following the dedication to the Duke of Sessa and the "Notice to the Reader" there is a portrait of Lope, very poorly engraved and bearing only the remotest resemblance to other portraits I have seen. This one represents him in his clerical habit, crowned with laurel. In an oval around the portrait is the legend: *Deus nobis haec otia fecit*; and beneath it: "El Licenciado Thome de Burguillos." A glance at the name and the portrait may well have caused Lope to doubt his own identity. The volume consists, in great part, of sonnets in a playful vein, written with all the grace and wit for which he is famous beyond any other Spanish poet. These are followed by the mock-heroic poem, *La Gatomachia* ("The War of the Cats"), "a vigorous and brilliant travesty of the Italian epics, replenished with such gay wit as suffices to keep it sweet for all time."[2] It contains about twenty-eight hundred lines, divided into seven *silvas*, and is written with a

[1] *Rimas humanas y divinas del Licenciado Tome de Burguillos, no sacadas de Biblioteca ninguna (que en Castellano se llama Libreria) sino de papeles de amigos y borradores suyos. Al Excelentissimo Señor Duque de Sessa, Gran Almirante de Napoles. Por Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio del Avito de San Juan. Con Privilegio. En Madrid en la Imprenta del Reyno, Año* 1634. *A costa de Alonso Perez, Librero de su Magestad.* 4°.

[2] Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *History of Spanish Literature*, p. 252 There is an excellent translation of the *Gatomachia* in Bertuch, *Magazin der Spanischen u. Portugiesischen Literatur*, Weimar, 1780, Vol. I.



Facsimile of a page of the Autograph MS of Lope's *Las Bizarrias de Belisa*, now in the British Museum

lightness of touch and a joyous spirit that make it delightful reading: it has but one fault, that it is too long. The poet asks:

"¿Y si el diuino Homero
Cantó con plectro á nadie lisonjero
La Batrochonomachia,
Porque no cantaré la Gatomachia?"

Had he sung it in half the number of verses, however, it would have been even more enjoyable. The *Gatomachia* is dedicated to Lope's son—"Don Lope Felix del Carpio, soldado en la Armada de su Magestad"—a proof that this son was still living at this time. Ticknor records that this mock-heroic has been a favourite in Spain from its first appearance, and that it is still probably more read than any other of Lope's miscellaneous works.[1]

On May 24, 1634, Lope finished, at Madrid, the comedia *Las Bizarrias de Belisa*, a sprightly comedy, at the conclusion of which, addressing the audience, he says:

"The poet, most noble Senate,
Who erstwhile had left the Muses,
Now with the desire to serve you
Once again came to invoke them,
So that you may not forget him·
And here the comedia endeth."[2]

There is a deep note of sadness in these last words· "*so that you may not forget him.*" One sees how reluctantly "the painful warrior, famousèd for fight" contemplates surren-

[1] Another edition of the *Rimas* of Burguillos appeared in 1674, at Madrid, and again in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol XIX

[2] "Senado ilustre, el poeta
Que ya las Musas dejaba,
Con deseo de serviros
Volvio otra vez á llamarlas
Para que no le olvidéis
Y aqui la comedia acaba."

The autograph of this play is in the British Museum; it was printed in the *Vega del Parnaso* (1637) So far as I know no later autograph comedia by our poet has been preserved. See the *facsimile* at the beginning of this volume.

dering at last to the stealthy assault of time! What a mighty pang it must have cost the "Monarch of the Spanish stage," when he saw that his long and glorious reign was closing! That *vulgo*, whose favourite he had been for so many years, was deserting him in the eager search for novelty and was turning towards the lesser lights now rising in the firmament, while his own star was slowly sinking, about to vanish in the everlasting night.

The year 1634 was destined to be one of the darkest in Lope's whole career. He was in his seventy-second year, and after a strenuous and crowded life was looking forward to passing the short remainder of his existence in the peaceful companionship of his family and friends. His daughter Feliciana was married, and Marcela having long since (1622) become a nun, he had only his youngest and favourite child Antonia Clara,—Antoñica, as the father affectionately called her,—to brighten the twilight of his days. Upon this daughter of his beautiful *Amarilis*, he had lavished all the love of his declining years. To her he had written on her thirteenth birthday, August 12, 1630, the gloss upon the verses: "To-day Antonia is thirteen, and deserves to live two thousand, nor would there be more to wish for did she but remain thirteen."[1] The third

[1] "Hoy cumple trece y merece
Antonia dos mil cumplir,
Ni hubiera mas que pedir
Si se quedara en sus trece."

It is impossible to render into English the play upon words in the last line. The third stanza is:

"Ella y su madre en despojos,
Venus, y Cupido, bellos
Truecan efectos y enojos,
Pues Venus quedó sin ellos
Despues que le dió sus ojos.
Mas si con ellos herir
Venus pudiera, y mirar
Como sus gracias oir,
Ni hubiera que dessear,
Ni hubiera más que pedir."

Rimas humanas y divinas del Licenciado Tome de Burguillos. Madrid, 1634, fol. 142.

stanza of this poem contains a touching allusion to her mother's blindness.

For Antonia Clara also, Lope had, on a subsequent occasion, written the *loa* to an eclogue which seems now lost, and which Antonia probably recited at some festival in her father's house, before a distinguished assembly composed of the Duke of Sessa and others, among whom we may readily imagine that the theatrical profession was represented. It is deeply to be regretted that this eclogue has not survived; being written for such an intimate gathering, it doubtless contained many allusions to events in the life of the poet, and we have seen how invaluable Lope's eclogues are for the story of his life and loves. Indeed Antonio de Leon, a friend of the poet, in some verses published among the *Elogios panegíricos* after Lope's death, alludes to these compositions as the keys to divers secrets:

> "Sus églogas suaves
> De diversos secretos fueron llaves,
> Que Belardo tal vez con versos sabios
> Se lamentó pastor de sus agravios."[1]

In 1634 Antonia was seventeen years old; the child had become a woman, and we may well believe her father's proud assurance that she was very beautiful. The evil effects which association with the stage had had upon the father, were destined to ruin the daughter. It does not appear that Lope made any effort to shield his child from the dangers of the theatre. His letters, on the contrary, seem to show much complacency in this matter. The *loa* just mentioned, which Antonia recited "wearing a sacristan's gown," relates wholly to the comedia, to the players, and to matters connected with the theatre.

Lope was now advanced in years, and, despite his complaints, his life had been a successful one as the world goes. But, in his old age, Nemesis overtook him, and Roque Hernandez de Ayala was to be avenged.

[1] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XX. p. 304

He who had been heedless of the right, who had recklessly sown the wind, was now at last to reap the whirlwind.

Montalvan, in his *Fama póstuma*, speaking of the year of Lope's death, says: "He put no trust in his health, although it was so good, because he knew that any illness is more dangerous in very healthy persons than in the very sickly. Besides this, he had suffered during the last year *two misfortunes* (as if one were not sufficient for a single life), which had rendered him subject to frequent fits of melancholy, now newly called hypochondria." What these two misfortunes were has been a puzzle for more than two centuries and a half; at last the cloud of mystery has lifted, and we know what Montalvan meant but would not say. The first is, in all probability, the death of the poet's son, Lope Felix del Carpio y Luxan; the second, as we shall see, concerns the conduct of his daughter Antonia Clara.

The last poem prepared for press by Lope before his death is an eclogue entitled *Filis*.[1] Its veiled allusions had long mystified admirers of the great inventor, who were naturally led astray by the name Filis given to the heroine. This Filis was not the divinity of his early ballads: as the sequel will show, it is now certain that under this name Lope disguises his own daughter Antonia Clara. She is the *Filis* of the eclogue, while the father figures therein as the shepherd *Elisо*. This, I believe, was first pointed out by Sr. D. Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, in his *Ultimos Amores de Lope de Vega Carpio*.[2] With this key the lock of the eclogue *Filis* opens. In this poem Lope relates,—discreetly bedecking, and in part obscuring, his narrative under cover of poetic garlands,—the elopement of his daughter Antonia Clara with a Court gallant. Corroborative evidence of this is found in the eclogue of another of Lope's

[1] *Filis, Egloga, a la dezima Musa, Doña Bernarda Ferreira de la Cerda, señora portuguesa. Madrid*, 1635. I have never seen this edition. The poem was republished in 1637, in the *Vega del Parnaso*, which I possess, and in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. X.

[2] Madrid, 1876, p. 112.

friends, Dr. Juan Antonio de la Peña.[1] In the prologue to his poem this writer, after giving a brief outline of Lope's life, says: "He was ordained a priest and in this office his conduct was exemplary. He was most charitable towards the poor, setting them a rare example; pardoning insults, and very devout in celebrating the mass. He was taken ill as the result of a serious and unforeseen occurrence, on St. Bartholomew's Day, while present at a public discussion of some medical questions, held at the Scots Hospital."[2] In this eclogue the allusion to this fact and to the elopement of the poet's daughter are unmistakable: "Seventy-three journeys the sun had made—if a year be a journey—from Aries to Pisces, when Belardo compassed his destiny: Death assaulted him at a festival given by the head shepherd Felino to Galen."[3]

[1] *Egloga elegiaca á la Fama inmortal de Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, panegirico funebre de este grande Ingenio Imprimióse en Madrid*, 1635. 8°. It has been reprinted in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XIX. p. 495, and foll.

[2] "Enfermó de un grave accidente que le dió dia de San Bartholomé, assistiendo á unas conclusiones de Medicina, que se tuvieron en el Hospital de los Escosseses" *Ibid* p. 499.

[3] "Setenta y tres caminos hizo en veces
El rojo Sol (si un año es un camino)
Del termino del Aries á los Peces,
Quando acabó Belardo su destino.
Assaltóle la muerte en una fiesta
Que hizo á Galeno el mayoral Felino.
Estaba la materia bien dispuesta,
Y assi en las conclusiones de aquel dia
Halló su vida conclusion honesta.
. . . . . .
¡Oh quanto ingratitud es fementida,
Y más quando el honor se confiaba
De tigre que de oveja está vestida.
. . . . . .
Mas vuelvo á aquellas luces eclipsadas
De nuestro buen *Belardo* que en sus penas,
Aunque fueron por él tan bien lloradas,
No hallar satisfaccion le heló las venas.
. . . . . .
Florus.
Como esas sinrazones causa el oro,
Y el ciego amor, pues por robar á Europa
Júpiter imitó forma de toro." *Ibid.* p. 509.

The words of the prologue above fully explain this "festival to Galen."[1] Felino is the poetical name by which Philip IV. was designated.[2]

Let us turn now to Lope's eclogue *Filis*, the last of his works, as we have said, to be sent to press during his lifetime. I shall merely give such excerpts from the poem as are important for the present purpose. Lope tells us that Filis "was left to him," by "the highlander Rosardo" [Roque Hernandez de Ayala], "husband of Marbelia" [Doña Marta], and that when entrusted to him she was but three days old. He indulged her every wish; all the wealth of all the world would he have given her, had it been his to give:

> "Quanto del Sur al polo de Calisto
> Es plata, es perla, es oro, le ofreciera,
> Si fuera rico yo como bienquisto."

"Her pleasure only was mine"; she was carefully guarded against evil influences. "Filis grew up and my love increased." She was seventeen years old, "when it was my misfortune and her fate that Tirsi should hear her singing at a festival; Tirsi, a swain of the head shepherd Felino·

> Era su gusto solamente el mio,
> Para que más su ingratitud te asombre,
> Y en tanta obligacion tanto desvio.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Crecia Filis, y mi amor crecia.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> ¿Qué cosa no aprendió? Si bien dispuesto
> Su entendimiento á toda ciencia y arte,
> De planetas benévolos compuesto;

[1] Cf. also the account of this public discussion, and of Lope's death, which he says was as mysterious as his life, given by Dr. Fernando Cardoso, who was one of the participants in these ceremonies, which lasted four days. *Oracion Funebre en la Muerte de Lope Felix de Vega Carpio. Obras Sueltas*, Vol XIX. p 487.

[2] The Queen, Doña Isabel, was called *Belisa*. Quiñones de Benavente, *Entremeses*, ed. Rosell, Madrid, 1872, Vol. I. p. 457.

Ninguna supe generosa parte
De quantas constituyen aquel brio
Que con la honestidad términos parte,
Que Filis no aprendiese en daño mio,
Pues tantas gracias fueron el escollo
En cuyas peñas se rompió el navio.

. . . . . .

Habia visto decisiete vezes
Filis, y el sol por su inmortal camino
La distancia del Aries á los Peces,
Quando por mi desdicha y su destino,
Tirsi la oyó cantar en una fiesta,
Tirsi, zagal del mayoral *Felino*."

Here is the irrefragable proof that this calamity befel our poet in 1634, for on August 12 of that year Antonia was seventeen years old. The blame, the poet continues, did not rest so much with Filis. Her old nurse had been bribed by Tirsi's gold. so great was the woman's greed of gold that she had no regard for either danger or honour:

"¡Oh quanto puede en una vieja avara
La codicia del oro, que atrevida
Ni en el peligro ni el honor repara!"

The father observed a change in his daughter; no suitor that he proposed for her, pleased her; he noticed how carefully she dressed her hair and adorned herself, although there was no festival or special occasion for it. She grew capricious and variable as the moon, now meek, and now importunate; the father became troubled and watchful, but so complete was her dissimulation that it even grieved him to have been suspicious:

"Pues como viese yo tanta mudanza
En Filis de la vida que solia
Pasar con menos ceño y mas templanza,
Y que quando casalla proponia,
Ningun pastor del Tajo le agradaba,
Porque ocupado el corazon tenia:

Que cuidadosa del cabello andaba,
Y que sin fiesta ni ocasion alguna
De las secretas galas se adornaba;
Y que con mas mudanzas que la luna
Por las lineas de plata de los cielos,
Ya se mostraba fácil, ya importuna,
Abrí los ojos á tener desvelos,
Porque fué su traicion con tanto engaño,
Que me pesaba de que fuesen celos." . . .

Finally, the shepherd Eliso (Lope), returning home one evening and inquiring for Filis, received no answer to his words. Filis had fled with her maid, taking even the dog, "watchful guardian of the flock," with them:

"El mastin del ganado vigilante,
Tambien á la crianza desatento
Se fué con ellas;" . . .

"Thus," the poet says, "was my cherished treasure torn from me":

"Asi fué el rapto de mi prenda cara"

One can imagine what a blow this was to the aged father. It broke his heart, for his Filis was "the soul of his eyes."

"Filis, que el alma de mis ojos era."

To see his deep, tender love so ill requited, was what afflicted him; to see that "for him Filis had a soul of marble and a heart of ice":

"El mal pagado amor, Silvio, me mueve,
Y el ver que Filis para mí tenía
Alma de mármol, corazon de nieve."

"And do not think that daylight ever dawned until the lovely Filis said to me: Eliso, write, for now I bring the day. And many times, O inauspicious stars! she used to write what I dictated to her, for even my soul desired to speak through her. And yet again it

seemed as though I drew my inspiration from her lovely eyes, and they were not the least rare of my thoughts :—

"No pienses que la aurora amanecia
Hasta que me decia Filis bella :
'Escribe, Eliso, que ya traigo el dia.'
Y muchas vezes ¡ay, contraria estrella!
Ella escribia lo que yo dictaba,
Que hasta el alma queria hablar por ella.
Otras vezes parece que tomaba
De sus ojos la luz de mis concetos,
Y no era lo que menos acertaba.
Juzgaba yo sus ojos tan discretos
Que pensaba que versos producian
Como suele la causa los efetos."

It is the ingratitude of his daughter which crushes the wretched father; all else may be forgotten, but not ingratitude :

"La vida se perdona al homicida,
Y aun el honor, con ser de tanto precio,
Pero la ingratitud jamas se olvida."

For him henceforth there is no repose on earth. "The night descends, and all that Phoebus guilds rests upon land and sea, save I alone; I cannot rest either at night or dawn :

"Baja la noche, y quanto ilustra y dora
Febo, descansa en tierra y mar; yo solo
Ni descanso á la noche ni á la aurora."

These few quotations will give the reader some slight conception of the exceeding beauty of Lope's poem—its caressing melancholy, its enchantingly musical verse. It is in truth a perfect masterpiece of impassioned and convincing art.

This, thus briefly told, is the story of the last and most crushing sorrow of the great master's life. Worn out in his struggle against the malice and envy of his foes and rivals, he had need now of all his resignation and fortitude.

But in the bitterness of his heart he cannot refrain from bursting forth against all womankind: "Oh how much, Silvio, the most prudent errs, in trusting to a woman, for the firmest doth savour more of the rib than of the earth:

"¡Oh quanto, Silvio, el mas discreto yerra
En fiar de mujer; que la mas firme
Mas sabe á la costilla que á la tierra!"

Silvio asks: "Who would have thought that Filis e'er could be to thee, Eliso, so cruel and ungrateful?" "He who considers her as lover," is Eliso's answer. Again Silvio says that "some have held Filis to be of your own blood," to which Eliso makes the evasive reply: "Between bringing up and begetting there's no difference." And, when asked why he has not complained of the offence, the poet answers: "Because the tongue's a miserable means. God is a King eternally wise, and a heart that weepeth can do more than all the sages ever can persuade"; and "when justice silent is, then he's a fool who asks for it; to silence I constrain me."

"Porque es la lengua baja diligencia.
Dios es un rey eternamente sabio,
Y puede más un corazon que llora
Que quanto puede persuadir el sabio.
. . . . . .
Quando enmudece la justicia, es necio
El que la pide; yo á callar me obligo."

Finally the poet resigns himself to his lot, acknowledging the divine justice of his punishment in the mournful, pregnant phrase, "As is the tree, so shall the fruit be":

"Qual es el árbol, tal produce el fruto."

Who was this *Tirsi*,—this gallant of the Court of Philip IV.? Evidently he must have been some powerful noble, close to the King or to his favourite, the Count Duke Olivares. Señor Asenjo Barbieri conjectures that *Tirsi* was D. Ramiro Nuñez Felipez de Guzman, Marques

de Toral and Duke of Medina de las Torres, who became the Count Duke's son-in-law. He calls attention to the names "*Tirsi* (genitive of *Thyrsus*, a stalk or stem)," and *Rami-ro*; also to the notorious enmity between Lope and the dramatic poet Alarcon, whose special friend and protector Medina de las Torres was. D. Ramiro had, through the favour of the Count Duke Olivares been advanced successively, and rapidly, to a number of very high offices. He was made Grand Chancellor of the Indies, and President of its Council; Treasurer General of the Crown of Aragon, and finally President of the Council of Italy.[1] He was therefore a person of great power and belonged, we are told, to the raffish set of young noblemen in Madrid. Now, it is possible that *Tirsi* may be Don Ramiro Nuñez Felipez de Guzman, Duque de Medina de las Torres; but, in that case, it would be rather difficult to explain why, if he had done Lope so grievous a wrong, the latter should, afterwards, dedicate the *Egloga Panegyrica al Epigrama del Serenissimo Infante Carlos*, to the Duke of Medina de las Torres.[2]

[1] *Ultimos Amores de Lope de Vega*, p 115

[2] Lope's daughter Antonia Clara was still living on June 5, 1657, when her sister, Doña Feliciana de Vega y Carpio, then the widow of Luis de Usátegui, executed her last Will and Testament. Herein Doña Feliciana says "It is my will that a fifth part of the value of my goods and possessions be given to my sister Antonia de Vega, etc . . . *Item.* I appoint the said Da. Antonia guardian and executrix of the person and goods (*bienes*) of Don Luis de Usátegui y Vega, my legitimate son . . *Item.* I declare that all the furniture now in the house in which I am living [in the Calle de Francos], belongs to Da. Antonia de Vega, my sister, with the use of which she has favoured me for a long time," etc She names Doña Antonia her executrix *in solidum.* The residue of the estate is given to the above mentioned son, D. Luis de Usátegui y Vega, "who is at present in Barcelona, in the service of the Marques de Mortara." Doña Feliciana also had a daughter, Doña Agustina de Usátegui, a Nun in the Convent of the Incarnation at Arévalo.

In 1657 Antonia Clara was 40 years old.

On July 13, 1674, this grandson of our poet, D. Luis Antonio Usátegui y Vega Carpio, then a Captain of Infantry in Milan, sold the paternal house in the Calle de Francos to Mariana Romero, an actress (*comedianta*), and the wife of Luis Ortiz from whom she was legally

There can be no question as to the identity of persons, for Lope addresses him: "O Ramiro Filipe, glorioso de Guzman origen claro," and again calls him "generoso Ramiro." This eclogue, in which a shepherd *Tirsi* also figures, is contained in the *Vega del Parnaso*, a volume for which the *Aprobacion* was written by Lope's friend Joseph de Valdivieso, the day after Lope's death.[1] This would show that the poet had arranged the volume for the press, and this circumstance seems to me to tell greatly against the hypothesis of Sr. Asenjo Barbieri.

separated (*Nueva Biografia*, p. 527) D Luis de Usátegui was 38 years old in 1674, and apparently left no descendants With him the family of the great poet became extinct Lope's house, in this last notice we have of it, is again associated with the Madrid stage This is not strange, however, as all this part of Madrid,—including the Calle de Francos, the Calle de Cantarranas, Calle de las Huertas, Calle de Santa Maria, between the Calle de Leon and Mentidero and the Calle de Josephe, including the Calle del Amor de Dios,—was a quarter much favoured by the theatrical profession at this time Bartolomé Romero in 1638 owned a house in the Calle de Francos at the corner of the Calle del Niño, and another in the Calle del Amor de Dios, where one of his neighbours was Pinedo, and Sanchez de Vargas lived in the Calle de las Huertas See *Nuevos Datos*, pp 160, 212, 262, *et passim*

[1] Valdivieso would appear to have been actually writing his *Aprobacion* when he received the news of Lope's death "Permitaseme este parentesis para dezir que estando escriuiendo esta aprobacion, nos le arrebatò el Cielo" The *Aprobacion* is actually dated "26 *de Agosto*," the day previous to Lope's death Possibly the date—"28 *de Agosto*"—was appended the day after the text of the *Aprobacion* was written, and in that case the substitution of 6 for 8 would be a simple misprint.

Lope died soon after five in the afternoon of August 27: we may take it as certain that the news was all over Madrid within an hour, and Valdivieso would naturally be among the very first to hear it. Moreover, Montalvan mentions Valdivieso by name as one of those who prayed by Lope's bedside during the last agony which makes the phrase in the *Aprobacion* all the stranger.

CHAPTER XV

LOPE'S LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH: SUMMARY OF HIS ACHIEVEMENT

LOPE's life was now drawing rapidly to a close, and for an account of his last illness and death we must have recourse once more to the intimate friend of the poet's later years —*su alumno y servidor*, as he calls himself—Juan Perez de Montalvan. Untrustworthy and misleading as we have found him for the earlier period of our poet's life, he now becomes our principal authority. After mentioning that Lope was apprehensive of the end, in spite of the good health he enjoyed, and that he had met with two great misfortunes within the last year (see p. 360) the biographer continues:[1] "Alonso Perez de Montalvan [the bookseller, and father of the poet and biographer], seeing his friend (Lope) so sad one day, invited him to dine with him on the feast of the Transfiguration, which was the sixth of August, and after having dined, all three were discussing various matters, when Lope said his anguish was so great that his heart was almost breaking, and he prayed to our Lord to shorten his life; to which I replied: 'Do not think of such things; for I trust in God and in the good constitution that you have, that this humour will cease and that we shall see you in good health in twenty years from now.' With a tender voice he replied: 'Ah, Doctor, would to God that we may be safely delivered from this!' No, he was not mistaken, for these were all premonitions of his heart, which is never false to its master, and which on such occasions does what gentlemen do when they travel,—they send their servants ahead to prepare a lodging for them.

[1] In the text I have condensed Montalvan's somewhat verbose account of Lope's last days.

"Lope was to die very soon; his prophetic heart divined it, and its premonitory sighs armed him against illusions.[1] On Friday, August 24,[2] Saint Bartholomew's day, Lope arose very early, read his Office, said mass in his oratory, watered the flowers in his garden, and then shut himself up in his study. At mid-day he felt chilled, whether on account of the exercise of watering the flowers, or whether—as those of his family assert—because of a discipline which he administered to himself (as was his custom every Friday, in memory of the passion of Christ our Lord), and which was proved by the walls of the room whereto he retired, which were flecked with blood, and also by the discipline, which was stained with fresh blood. . . . Feeling indisposed and having permission to eat meat, on account of an affection of the eyes [yet he refused, and] ate some fish, for he was such a strict Catholic that he scrupulously observed all the commands of the church, even though his ailments should rebel thereat. In the evening he was invited to the discussion of some medical and philosophical theses, which were defended during three days by Doctor Fernando Cardoso, a great philosopher and one well versed in letters, at the Scots Seminary. While there he suddenly fainted and had to be conveyed to the room of the well-known poet, Dr. Don Sebastian Francisco de Medrano, an intimate friend who lodged in the Seminary, where he rested a while and was then carried to his home in a chair. He was put to bed and physicians were summoned, who administered a purgative, and also bled him, as he was feverish. On Sunday, August 26, Doctor Juan de Negrete, the King's physician, passing through the Calle de Francos by chance,

[1] Lope continued his literary labours until the day before his death; on that day he wrote the *Silva moral*, as he styled the poem, entitled "The Golden Age," consisting of 246 verses, and also a sonnet on the death of a Portuguese gentleman. In the *Advertencia* prefixed, we read: "Let the Reader observe that this sonnet was the last verse Lope wrote" Both the *Silva moral* and the sonnet were printed in the *Vega del Parnaso*, and afterwards in the *Obras Sueltas*, Vol IX.

[2] Montalvan says August 18. This may be an indication of the accuracy of his narrative.

came in to see him, not as a physician—for he had not been called—but as a friend who was concerned for his health. He felt his pulse, noticed his distressed breathing, recognised the quality of the blood [that had been taken from the patient], and foretold the result, saying very calmly that the last sacrament should be administered to him, for it would bring relief to one who had to die, and improvement to one who is to recover. 'If you say so,' (replied Lope, quite willing), 'then it must be necessary'; and he turned over on the other side, to reflect on what awaited him. The doctor took his leave, and warned those present to watch him well, for his end was approaching.[1] That night the Viaticum was administered to him, which he received with reverence and with tears of joy. . . . For two hours he remained calm and composed; then the impending danger was instantly recognized, and they gave him the last remedy,—Extreme Unction. He received it, called his daughter, gave her his blessing and bade farewell to his friends, like one who is about to depart on a long journey. To the Duke of Sessa he confided the care of his daughter, Doña Feliciana de la Vega. To me he said that true fame consisted in being good, and that he would exchange all the applause he had ever received, for one more virtuous deed done in this life. That night the poet was very restless, and when the next day—Monday, August 27, 1635—dawned, he was so weak and his respiration so troubled that he was unable to speak, though his mental faculties were unimpaired." Many friends were present in the room, including the Duke of Sessa; his life-long friend Juan de Piña, and the poets Don Francisco de Aguilar, Juan Perez de Montalvan, Joseph de Valdivieso, and others. Praying fervently, holding a crucifix to his lips, at quarter past five o'clock in the afternoon, "he breathed forth his soul to the echo of the most sweet

[1] It was on this day, August 26, that Lope signed his last Will and Testament, the notary Francisco de Morales y Barrionuevo having been summoned for that purpose. The text of this Testament is given in the Appendix.

names of Jesus and of Mary, which all were repeating together." This is the narrative of the mighty poet's passing as given by his friend, Juan Perez de Montalvan.[1]

The funeral rites, arranged by his patron and testamentary executor, the Duke of Sessa, were of the most elaborate and impressive character. The ceremony lasted nine days, many of the nobility and other high dignitaries appearing as mourners. All Madrid seemed to share in the grief, and so great was the concourse of people that the streets were impassable. A pathetic incident of this solemn ceremony was the request of Lope's daughter, Sor Marcela, that the procession which followed her illustrious father to his grave, might be allowed to pass before the Convent of the Barefoot Trinitarians, in which she was a nun.[2]

The body of Lope de Vega was laid in the church of San Sebastian, Calle de Atocha. His ashes were not, however, permitted to rest here, but were removed in the early part of the nineteenth century or at the close of the preceding one. "During one of the famous cleanings (*mondas*) or removals of dead bodies, which took place periodically, the precious remains of the great Lope de Vega were extracted, carelessly confused and jumbled, from one of the vaults in the second niche of the third row, in which they were buried.[3] This lamentable care-

[1] Doctor Fernando Cardoso, in his *Oracion Funebre en la Muerte de Lope de Vega*, *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. XIX. p. 487, merely says that Lope suddenly fell ill on St. Bartholomew's day, was carried home, and died on the third day following

[2] This convent, founded by Doña Francisca Romero, daughter of Captain Juan Romero, was situated at the north-west corner of the Calle de las Huertas and the Calle de San Josephe The funeral procession therefore passed east on the Calle de Francos to the Calle San Josephe, thence south to the Calle de las Huertas, and thence west to the church of S Sebastian Montalvan cautiously alludes to Lope's daughter as "a relative of the poet to whom he was much attached" As Ormsby drily observes · "For all Montalvan's readers know, she might have been his aunt."

[3] According to Leon Pinelo, *Anales* (in Amador de los Rios, *Historia de la Villa y Corte de Madrid*, Vol. III. p 334), the remains were placed in the third niche in the vault beneath the altar.

lessness, this criminal profanation, which now prevents us from showing to strangers the sepulchre of the *Fenix de los Ingenios*, was committed in the view of a cultured and illustrious court, and without protest from the literary men of the time."[1] Thus the present resting-place of the remains of the great poet is unknown.

Lope's death was the occasion of many panegyrics in verse, which were collected and published by Montalvan.[2] No less than one hundred and fifty-three authors are represented. Yet in this long list of names many of Lope's most eminent contemporaries, especially the dramatists, are conspicuous by their absence.[3] This is a signal instance of ingratitude, for the dead poet, though he often grumbled at their spiteful envy, had nevertheless shown his habitual generosity in praising all of them, and some far beyond their deserts, in his *Laurel de Apolo* only five years before. Doubtless at heart they did not grieve when the "prodigy of nature" passed from this world. The old lion was dead, and the jackals could sleep in peace at last. Their great rival gone, the whole impecunious band

[1] Mesonero Romanos, *El antiguo Madrid*, etc., Madrid, 1861, p. 149.

[2] In the work from which we have often quoted, entitled *Fama póstuma de la Vida y Muerte del Doctor Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio y Elogios panegiricos*, etc. Madrid, 1636. A similar collection was published at Venice, to which Italian poets contributed, under the title: *Essequie poetiche, ovvero Lamento delle Muse Italiane in Morte del Signor Lope de Vega*. Venezia, 1636. It contains 104 compositions in prose and verse. among them a sonnet by Marino, who died in 1625.

[3] La Barrera calls attention to the large number of distinguished names absent from the list of contributors to this memorial volume. The number of dramatists is remarkable. The names include: D. Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, D. Pedro Calderon de la Barca, Fr. Gabriel Tellez, D. Juan Ruiz de Alarcon, D. Antonio Mira de Amescua, D. Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, D. Esteban Manuel de Villegas, Luis Quiñones de Benavente, D. Juan de Matos Fragoso, D. Jerónimo de Villayzan Garcés, D. Antonio Coello, D. Juan Bautista Diamante, D. Cristóbal de Monroy y Silva, D. Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses, Pedro Soto de Rojas, D. Pedro Rosete Niño, Salvador Jacinto Polo de Medina, Vicente Mariner, D. Alvaro Cubillo de Aragon, Matias de los Reyes, Jacinto Cordero. In fact the only dramatists who contributed to the *Elogios panegiricos*, were: Luis Velez de Guevara, D. Francisco de Rojas, Solis, Godinez, Belmonte Bermudez and Montalvan.

of dramatists saw their opportunities suddenly increased. These singers *de pane lucrando* had a very substantial grievance—*Brodneid*, as the Germans aptly call it—and now, in the general scramble for the favour of the groundlings their chance of recognition was vastly improved. It must be frankly admitted that Lope was jealous of his own supremacy, that he eyed with suspicion any serious attempt to encroach on it, that he had his foibles and prejudices, his personal likes and dislikes. In such matters, this very human genius resembles the rest of the world. Having won for himself an unique position, Lope seems to have stood constantly on his dignity. Apparently he thought that he had a right to exact from the younger generation a measure of deference, and when this was forthcoming—as in the case of Montalvan—he bore himself with paternal kindness and a lavish generosity. In print he praised most of his fellow-poets and dramatists with an extravagance which must have tried those modest men very severely. Glance through his pages, and you perceive with astonishment that never in the history of mankind was there such an assemblage of genius and nobility as existed in Spain during the early seventeenth century. Lope forces the note of panegyric, and his gazettes are filled with promotions on a scale as enormous as that celebrated by Don Alhambra:

> "On every side Field-Marshals gleamed, . . .
> With Admirals the ocean teemed
> All round his wide dominions."

It is clearly excessive. But these eulogies were not intended solely for purposes of publication—to throw dust in the general eye. Lope has survived the searching test of having his private correspondence brought to light. In this long series of confidential letters extending over a period of thirty years, the expansive man unbosoms himself unreservedly: with the exception of a few testy phrases, let fall under circumstances of great provocation, his candid criticisms of his contemporaries are more just and charitable than those recorded of any other literary

dictator. No doubt he should have shown more self-control by refusing to wrangle with Cervantes and Alarcon. No doubt, also, it would have been better had Cervantes and Alarcon not recriminated on their side. Just so, in a later and humaner age, it would have redounded more to the credit of Byron, Victor Hugo, Tennyson, and Browning had they respectively refrained from gibbeting Southey, Nisard, Lytton, and FitzGerald. Unluckily, paragons of virtue do not greatly abound in literary history. In the case of the greatest writers we must fain be content with somewhat less than sublime moral perfection. Whatever Lope's enemies may have said, and whatever colour he may have lent to their version by his egotistical impatience of open rivalry and his petulant restlessness under taunts or insults, it cannot be denied that he almost invariably treated his fellow-poets with uncommon *magnanimity*. "That *most* divine *sentence*: 'thou shalt honour thy father and thy mother'—doth extend to every member of the human race. Not to the good was e'er my pen ungrateful,—hyperboles did the superior merit, and well I treat e'en those who served me ill. I praise a thousand most unworthy writers, who, seeing themselves thus praised, with arrogance usurp a lordship o'er their fellow men."[1] And this claim is amply justified.

That Lope was extremely popular and enjoyed an immense reputation during his life, is beyond question. Montalvan says, amongst other things, that many came from foreign countries merely to convince themselves that the poet was a being of flesh and blood. The same biographer alleges that Lope de Vega was the most favoured

[1] "Aquella divinissima sentencia
De 'honrarás á tus padres,' se dilata
Para toda la humana descendencia.
Nunca a los buenos fue mi pluma ingrata,
Hyperboles merecen superiores,
Y aun suelo tratar bien quien mal me trata.
Alabo mil indignos escritores,
Que viendose alabar, con arrogancia
De minimos se suben a mayores."
Obras Sueltas, Vol. I. p. 332.

and most courted man that ever lived. "There was no legate of his Holiness, Prince of Italy, Cardinal of Rome, Grandee of Spain, etc., who did not seek his society and at whose table our poet would not have been a favoured guest. Their Catholic Majesties, whenever they met him, would stop and gaze at him, as at some superior being," etc. It is safe to say that these fantastic stories as to Lope's association with influential courtiers, and the like, are greatly exaggerated.

Lope's popularity seems to have been confined chiefly to the play-going masses. As we have already observed, he failed to acquire the friendship or protection of the ruling sovereign or of the powerful nobles who might have helped him by merely raising a finger. It is significant that during the three days of the great poet's agony, Philip IV. did not even send one of the court physicians to inquire after him, or to soothe his last moments. The only royal favour he ever received was a pension in Galicia, of two hundred and fifty ducats annually.[1] Moreover, as the last will of Lope de Vega shows, Philip IV. had promised the poet "in recognition of the great affection and good will with which he had served him," to confer an office or employment upon whomsoever should marry Lope's daughter Feliciana. This promise was unfulfilled. Fortunately when Lope failed to obtain favour from others, he could safely count on his old patron, the Duke of Sessa, and, whatever the Duke's weaknesses or shortcomings, it will always redound to his honour that he stood by his illustrious friend.

At this point it will be convenient to survey Lope's achievement in the course of his long and arduous life.

[1] This pension I mention solely upon the authority of Montalvan. Proof of the truth of his statement is found, however, in a Power of Attorney made by Lope de Vega on March 24, 1631, in favour of the Licentiate Martin de Damanso, authorizing the latter to collect from

No poet before or since has ever been endowed with such universal gifts as he. As we have seen, he left no class of poetical composition unattempted. And, naturally, his success varies. As a whole his epics, in spite of frequent brilliant passages, are failures; his *epístolas*, written in tercets, are almost without exception beautiful. To me his sonnets are far better than some fastidious critics would have us believe; many, indeed, are remarkably fine, and vibrate with concentrated emotion. But it is only when Lope abandons the Italian metres and returns to the old measures redolent of the very soil of Spain—the *romances*, *letrillas*, and *glosas* that he shines at his best.[1] Here he continually reveals himself as a wonderful master of technique, inspired by the romantic rapture of life and nature. His lays and madrigals may be read again and again with a constant, increasing delight in their delicate but penetrating music which expresses inimitably the stately gallantry of a bygone age.

"Yet beautiful and spacious
The wise, old world appears,
Yet frank and fair and gracious
Outlaugh the jocund years.
Our arguments disputing
The universal Pan
Still wanders—fluting—fluting—
Fluting to maid and man."

And Lope, in his pastoral ballads, proves with what matchless skill he can echo back Pan's melodies. In these

Cardinal Espinola, Archbishop of Santiago, the balance of a pension of two hundred and fifty ducats, payable out of the income of the said Archbishopric. *Nueva Biografía*, p. 675

[1] Lope, speaking in the prologue to his *Rimas* (1605) of the ballads (*romances*), says they are attempted by the ignorant because of their apparent facility: "Some say that they are the primer (*cartilla*) of poets; I do not think so; rather do I find them capable, not only of expressing any idea whatever with easy grace, but they are also suitable for sustained poems in the graver style. I am so true a Spaniard that because this kind of verse is native to our idiom, I cannot persuade myself that it is not worthy of all esteem," etc. *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. IV. p. 176.

native numbers he has never been surpassed, if indeed he has ever been equalled. Ticknor has very aptly observed of Lope: "It is only in his *glosas*, his *letrillas*, his ballads, and his light songs and roundelays,—that he has the richness and grace which should always have accompanied him. We feel at once, therefore, whenever we meet him in these paths, that he is on ground he should never have deserted, because it is ground on which, with his extraordinary gifts, he could easily have erected permanent monuments to his own fame. But he himself determined otherwise. Not that he entirely approved the innovations of Boscan and Garcilasso; for he tells us distinctly, in his 'Philomena,' that their imitations of the Italian had unhappily supplanted the grace and the glory that belonged peculiarly to the old Spanish genius. The theories and fashions of his time, therefore, misled, though they did not delude, a spirit that should have been above them. . . . In order to account for his permanent success, as well as marvellous popularity, we must, then, turn to another, and wholly distinct department,—that of the drama—in which he gave himself up to the leading of the national spirit as completely as if he had not elsewhere seemed sedulously to avoid it; and thus obtained a kind and degree of fame he could never otherwise have reached."[1]

In the drama alone was Lope's success commensurate with his unmatched endowment; here only did he find the true sphere for which his genius was pre-eminently adapted. It has been said that "Lope's unique renown is based

[1] *History of Spanish Literature*, Vol. II. p. 228. Students of the English drama will be not a little surprised to learn that so distinguished a scholar as M. Morel-Fatio, denies the existence of an English national theatre. He says: "Les Anglais ne passeraient-ils pas à juste titre pour posseder un théâtre? A vrai dire, je ne le crois pas. Il manque au théâtre anglais, si ce nom même peut être employé, s'il signifie quelque chose, cette régularité et cette continuité . . . qui caractérise si nettement notre théâtre et celui des Espagnols. Ici un seul nom résume tout, il n'y a qu'un seul point lumineux vers lequel tout converge: Shakspeare, et qui dit théâtre anglais, dit théâtre de Shakspeare, ou ne se fait pas entendre." *La Comedia Espagnole du XVII^e Siècle.* Paris, 1885, p. 7.

upon the fact that he created a national theatre, that he did for Spain what Shakespeare did for England."[1] This is essentially true. But it has also been said that Lope's dramatic muse sprang fully developed from his head, "like Minerva from the head of Jupiter,"[2] and this is not true. The drama, or rather, the comedia, was much more gradually developed in Spain than some writers would imply. At the outset of his career Lope himself did not seem to attach great importance to the improvements he introduced into the theatre of his day: he claimed no special credit as the inventor of the *comedia nueva*. We have seen that, as early as 1603, in "The Pilgrim in his Own Country," he says that he merely continued the comedia in the state in which he had found it, and this he practically repeats in the dedication of *La mal Casada de Valencia* (see above, p. 184). In the prologue to Lope's Part XIV. (1620), the Theatre, speaking, says "This is the Fourteenth Part of the comedias which have been represented (although at various times) upon my stage, written by the author to whom I owe, if not my beginnings, my progress in the Spanish tongue, paving the way for the rest of the rare wits who honour me with their compositions, and who have followed him. Greater things may be hoped from them, for it is now so easy to write a comedia, which does not observe the rules of art, such as are now in vogue, that managers are unable to free themselves from the importunities of poets. (See p. 275.) And in the prologue to Part XV., in the following year, the Theatre again speaking, says: "The poet who has written these comedias does not wish especially to signalize them, nor to deprive those who now write them of what they deserve. . . . He does not ask for thanks for having brought them to their present state," etc. (See p. 287.)

To judge by his dicta, Lope's ideas concerning the beginnings of the comedia in Spain are rather confused,

[1] Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *History of Spanish Literature*, p. 254.

[2] Schaeffer, *Geschichte des Spanischen Nationaldramas*, Leipzig, 1890. Bd. I. p. 2.

or, to speak more bluntly, are quite erroneous. If he had any accurate knowledge of those dramatists who preceded him, he certainly does not reveal it in his works. In the prologue to Part XIII. of his Comedias (1620), Lope says: "They [comedias] are no older than Rueda, whom many still living have heard."[1] And in the dedication of the comedia *Virtud, Pobreza y Muger*, to the Neapolitan poet Marino (1624), we read: "In Spain the rules of art are disregarded; not through ignorance,—for the first inventors [of the comedia], Rueda and Nauarro, who have scarcely been dead eighty years, observed them,—but through following the bad style introduced by those who succeeded them.[2] These are not the only instances in which our poet alludes to Lope de Rueda as one to whom the comedia was much indebted, and among the early dramatists he also mentions Cristóbal de Virués. Again, in the *Laurel de Apolo* he acknowledges among his forerunners a dramatic poet who has generally been reckoned among Lope's own followers: I mean Miguel Sanchez, *el Divino*, who, says the Phœnix, "was one of the first masters that the Muses of Terence had in Spain." And in "The New Art of Making Plays now-a-days,"[3] in addition to Lope de Rueda, he again mentions Miguel Sanchez, ascribing to him the invention of the device or practice of "deceiving with the truth" (*engañar con la verdad*, see p. 183). It should be remembered in this connection that one of the chief aims of Spanish dramatic writers was to keep the *dénouement*

[1] See p. 189.

[2] See p. 185, and *n.*, see also Menéndez y Pelayo's essay in the reprint of the *Propalladia* which is included in the collection entitled *Libros de Antaño* (Madrid, 1900).

[3] Lope had apparently written another dissertation upon the comedia, for in Montalvan's *Para Todos*, at the end of the list of "those who write comedias in Castile only," we read. "I do not mention those who are dead . . . because Frey Lope de Vega Carpio, with the great fame he has in this matter, has written copiously and scientifically a treatise solely in approbation of this most illustrious art and practice, to which work, which shall very soon appear, I refer," etc. Edition of 1645, fol. 279 b. These words were written at the beginning of 1632.

concealed from the spectator until the very end of the play. To this practice the Madrid play-goer was accustomed, and by "speaking the truth," the audience was deceived and kept in doubt until the close of the piece. Lope says that Miguel Sanchez used this device in all his comedias, though it is not apparent in the only two which have come down to us, *La Isla bárbara* and *La Guarda cuidadosa*. The latter is much the better play of the two, and is quite in Lope's manner.

It should further be borne in mind that, about the time when Lope began to write for the stage, the religious drama had also attained a development and a form very similar to the development and form observable in Lope's work.

It is true that at a somewhat later period Lope began to assert his claim as the originator of the *comedia nueva* in more positive terms. "I drew them [the comedias] from their mean beginnings, engendering more poets in Spain than there are atoms in the sun-beam."[1] And towards the close of his life, in his "Eclogue to Claudio," when he had witnessed the immense popularity of the comedia, and had doubtless a certain presentiment that herein, after all, lay one of his greatest claims to the remembrance of posterity, he says, as he looks back on a career of unparalleled activity: "They [*i.e.* the comedias] owe to me the art of their beginning, although I deviated from the rigorous precepts of Terence, and do not deny a share in it to the three or four great wits who saw the infancy of the theatre."[2] Here Lope's claim as the inventor of the *comedia nueva* is asserted in words so plain that they are unmistakable. It would be interesting to know precisely of whom Lope was thinking when he wrote these lines. In all probability he did not include in this number any dramatist earlier than Lope de Rueda, for he has said that "comedias in Spain are no older than Rueda," wholly disregarding such dramatic poets as Juan de la Encina and Lucas Fernandez, to name but two of

[1] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol. I. p. 285. See p. 139. [2] See p. 342

the earliest. That Lope did not mention among his predecessors Juan de la Cueva, a poet whose influence upon the early drama was most marked, is doubtless due to the fact that Cueva studiously avoided all mention of Lope in his *Egemplar poetico*.[1] To me the statements made by Lope at various times, concerning the slight importance that he attached to his comedias,—that he wrote them for bread,[2] and so forth—ring true. One obvious reason for the small esteem in which he held his own comedias is that they were produced without any effort; they flowed from the pen of this fertile genius as fast as his hand could write them. They were, as he himself said, the wild-flowers of his garden, which grew without any cultivation. And, furthermore, he never intended that his comedias should be printed and coldly analyzed in the scholar's study. His object, as Fitzmaurice-Kelly says, was "to hold an audience," "to interest, to surprise, to move. He could not thump a pulpit in an empty hall."[3] His plays were destined to be represented on the stage and to be applauded by the *vulgo*: written for the purposes of the hour—for the *panem quotidianum*, without a thought of to-morrow. The mere fact that he had written no less than one hundred and thirty-two of them before a single one was printed, is sufficient proof of his sincerity. Lope at first imagined his name would live in history through his epics and his other poetical works, would be glorious "in his well-turned and true-filed lines"; but towards the close of his life, when he realized that his chief title to fame was his theatre, his opinions underwent a change, and he declared his claim to the invention or creation of the comedia as then in vogue: a claim which none could dispute, and which has since been universally acknowledged. The fact which Lope

[1] Printed in Sedano, *Parnaso Español*, Vol. VIII.

[2] In 1604 Lope said, in a letter which has been quoted above (p. 153, note 2): "If any think that I write my comedias for fame (*opinion*), undeceive them, and tell them I write them for money."

[3] *History of Spanish Literature*, p. 258.

handsomely admits—that others had preceded him in this path—in nowise diminishes his great achievement. He introduced many innovations into the Spanish drama,—innovations which afterwards became an indispensable, organic part of the comedia. And though it can hardly be said, strictly speaking, that Lope created the Spanish drama, his transcendent genius shaped it and gave it its final form, which it maintained for more than a century. It was the impress of his genius which made it truly national. A knowledge of everything that pertained to Spain, such as few ever possessed, doubtless greatly aided him in his task; indeed "no man," a distinguished Spanish critic has said, "knew Spain as well, both by instinct and through his love for it, as Lope de Vega."[1]

Schack has so well described Lope's influence in finally fixing the Spanish national drama, and has so well characterized his marvellous gifts, that I translate his words here[2] "The drama, as it took exclusive possession of the Spanish stage since Lope de Vega, cannot indeed be considered as his sole creation; it had been developed through a long series of attempts, and had during the last decade of the sixteenth century, through the united efforts of several writers, been raised to a new plane—its actual culminating point. And yet what a tremendous abyss separates even the most imperfect and earliest works of Lope from the best of his predecessors![3] But so far as concerns those

[1] "Nadie ha sabido tanto de España como Lope sabia por instinto y por amor" *Obras de Lope*, Vol X p. lxvii.

[2] *Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien*, Vol. II. p. 229, f

[3] This statement must be taken with some reservation, in view of what has been said above with regard to Miguel Sanchez. The parallel between the two great creators of the modern drama,—Shakspeare, in England, and Lope de Vega in Spain, is striking in several particulars. In both countries the *menu fretin*,—comparatively speaking, at least,—had contended for the unities, which were happily disregarded by both great poets, and doubtless for the same or for similar reasons. That this was done deliberately by Lope, we know to a certainty, and those who are inclined to attribute it to ignorance on the part of Shakspeare,

of his contemporaries who entered upon the same path with him, it is doubtful whether they, in spite of their uncommon talent, could have so irrevocably fixed the spirit and form of the drama, as Lope did. Only his creative and constructive power, combined with the fertility which enabled him to embody his conception of dramatic poetry in such countless shapes and in such manifold ways, was capable of determining the direction of Spanish taste in the dramatic art so decidedly that no contrary movement could obtain a footing for more than a century and a half. And in this sense Lope may certainly be looked upon as the founder of the Spanish national theatre, and the Spanish drama in all its modifications may be considered as his work. . . . If ever a poet was called to create for his nation not only a drama, but a whole dramatic literature, that poet was Lope de Vega. Nature had not only endowed him with that most perfect harmony of all the mental faculties from which art springs forth as the most beautiful blossom of the human mind; he was not only furnished with all those gifts which are necessary to the great lyric and epic poet, as they are to the dramatist,—with wealth and mobility of intellect; with a profound perception of nature and of life; with the glow of emotional feelings; with play of fancy and of thought,—but at the same time he possessed in the highest degree all those qualities which are especially essential to a dramatist:—the profoundest knowledge of human character; a deep comprehension of the passions and of their causes and effects; the greatest power of mental reflection; and that calm, comprehensive glance

need only bear in mind his close friendship with Ben Jonson, who was such a stickler (in theory at least) for the unities,—those poor spectres of which the modern stage is fortunately free, and is likely to remain free, in spite of some feeble attempts by theorists to bring them on the boards again. So the intermingling of the tragic and comic in the Elizabethan dramatists, which had been set down as monstrous and as wholly opposed to the established canons of criticism, finds its counterpart in the *comedia nueva* of Lope. And who will now say that this violence done to "art" has not been justified by its fruits?

which is necessary for the arrangement and execution of a dramatic plan. . . . The most difficult of all forms of poetry, for which whole nations and ages have struggled in vain, seem to have been given forth by this highly gifted mind without effort, and as it were, spontaneously. So rounded, so complete and as though emanating from inherent necessity do his countless pictures appear, that one is inclined to believe, not that the poet has produced them, but that nature has produced them through him."[1]

[1] I cannot resist quoting the terse and comprehensive summary of Lope's great achievement given in the brilliant Taylorian Lecture delivered by Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly at the University of Oxford in 1902 "He put an end to the simple classification of plays as tragedies and farces he conceived the *comedia* which fused the most diverse elements into one spacious whole, and by this invention he was enabled to represent his age, to enthral his public, and to develope his own amazing powers. He wrought to such purpose that the path which he cut out for himself, and by himself, became the main road. He pictured contemporary modes and humours with unflagging vivacity and unshrinking truth He opened up the treasures of historic legend, transforming indistinct types and hard automata into living beings, all touched with something of his own urbanity He created character, he enchanted with his transcripts of emotion and passion, he excelled in fancy, in ingenuity, and in the chivalrous courtesy which led him to make his heroines the most delightful in the world. In the *Fama póstuma* Montalbán tells us that Lope would never suffer any one to speak depreciatingly of women, and we should have guessed as much from the evidence of his plays And, in addition to all this, he captivated by the brilliance of his treatment There is nothing in the methods of his successors which amounts to a new departure. Calderón himself does not attempt to rival his master's constant wealth of metrical design; a design so elaborate in ornamentation that, as Chorley has said, 'one knows not which to admire most—the taste of a populace which this fine workmanship was made to please, or the mastery of invention and language required to produce it with such ease and abundance.' Nowhere is there a trace of effort, and, if we regard Lope's work as a whole, we shall marvel at its high level of excellence.

"That it has many defects is true. it could not be otherwise in so vast a structure The Euphrates, says Callimachus, is a mighty river; but it bears all the dead dogs of Babylon to the sea. The typical Spaniard of his age, Lope incarnates all Spain's weakness as he incarnates her strength."

See also the very striking characterization of Lope's achievement by Morel-Fatio, *La Comedia Espagnole*, etc., p. 23.

Among the innovations introduced by Lope into the Spanish drama was the comic underplot—the intervention of the *gracioso* and *graciosa*, who acted as foils to the *galan* and *dama*. This, of course, does not mean that comic characters had not been brought upon the stage before Lope's time; such characters are almost as old as the Spanish stage itself, and are to be found not only in the plays of Torres Naharro and in the farces of Lope de Rueda, but are exemplified still earlier in the *simple* of Juan de la Encina. Yet this comic figure does not occur in the plays of our poet's immediate predecessors, such as Cervantes or Juan de la Cueva or Miguel Sanchez, nor in the earliest of Lope's own comedias. So that the typical witty *gracioso*, who became such a favourite upon the Spanish stage, the parody of the heroic characters of the comedia, is the work of Lope de Vega. In his plays, however, as Schack has observed, the *gracioso had not yet become* the stereotyped figure such as we find him in the plays of Lope's successors: for example in those of Calderon, where the conventional jester is thought so indispensable that he is introduced even where his presence is disturbing and wholly incongruous, as in *El Príncipe constante*. From this fatal mistake Lope's vigilant dramatic instinct saved him.[1]

Moreover, he treated this personage with far greater skill and zest than any of his imitators, giving infinite variety to the character, and endowing the *gracioso* with a sparkling wit,—a playful humour, not even distantly approached by any other Spanish dramatist, and all the more effective and delightful because of its mellow geniality which never degenerates into bitter satire or personal abuse. But that Lope should have shown such

[1] Vol. II. p. 250. Lope says he first introduced the *gracioso* in one of his early plays, *La Francesilla*. See the note in Ticknor, Vol. II. p. 311, where Lope records that he wrote the play before Montalvan was born (1602). The exact date of *La Francesilla* is not known, but it must apparently be 1599, or earlier, as the *gracioso* is found in *El Blasón de los Chaves*, which was finished on August 20, 1599.

superiority in the manifold variety of his comic characters, need cause no surprise, for of all the gifts with which this amazing genius had been endowed, the most superlative was his faculty of inexhaustible invention, which has won him a place unique in the literary history of the world. He condescended even to an interest in the mere mechanics of dramaturgy. He was the first to bring the three act comedia into vogue, for although he was by no means the first to reduce the comedia from four acts to three, yet after he began to write comedias in three acts, a play in four was unheard of.[1] On the other hand, he despised the stage-carpenter and all his crafts and wiles. He set his face like adamant against the spectacular drama cultivated by Calderon and his followers at the instigation of the Court. "'Four trestles, four boards, two actors, a passion': and he undertook to supply the rest." And he did it to the admiration of both contemporaries and posterity.

There is every reason to believe, as we have shown, that Lope was already a well-known writer for the Madrid stage as early as 1587-8, and perhaps even earlier. The most prominent dramatists in Spain in the last two decades preceding this date were Lope de Rueda, Juan de Timoneda, Juan de la Cueva, the Sevillian (whose plays seem to have been produced with considerable success in the *Huerta de Doña Elvira* of his native city), Cristóbal de Virués, Jerónimo Bermudez, Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, Cervantes and Miguel Sanchez. As to the Valencian school of dramatic poets, they were all—with the possible exception of Tárrega—younger than Lope, and, though Gayangos says that Lope belonged to this school, the contrary is the fact. The Valencians were followers of Lope, whose two years' residence at Valencia, from 1588 to 1590, gave a marked impulse to the theatre in that city.[2] I cannot accept Ticknor's view,

[1] Lope's earliest plays, written, as he tells us, at the age of eleven and twelve, were in four acts.

[2] A conception of the state of the Spanish drama prior to Lope de Vega may be gained from: Böhl von Faber, *Teatro Español anterior á*

that "Lope seems to have begun upon the old foundations of the eclogues and moralities, whose religious air and tone commended them to that ecclesiastical toleration without which little could thrive in Spain." No doubt Montalvan says that Lope "greatly pleased Don Jerónimo Manrique, Bishop of Avila, by a number of eclogues written in his honour, and also the comedia *La Pastoral de Jacinto*, the first play in three acts that he wrote."[1] But we have no means of determining exactly when this took place, and Lope's own testimony conflicts with Montalvan's. He avers that at the age of eleven and twelve he wrote plays in four acts, "before Virués had reduced them to three." Now Moratin assigns *La gran Semiramis* and *La cruel Cassandra* of Virués to 1579. Lope's comedia *Los Hechos de Garcilaso de la Vega*, which we have in four acts, must therefore have been written prior to this date, as was also *El Verdadero Amante*; in fact Lope, in his dedication of the latter play to his son, as we have seen (p. 167), says that he wrote it at the age of twelve, *i.e.* in 1575-6.

During the sixty years of Lope's activity as a poet, he produced plays in astonishing profusion. In fact their number is so enormous that it seems incredible, even though he had composed nothing else. The enumeration has often been made, and yet it must be repeated here.

In the prologue to "The Pilgrim in his own Country" which Lope signed on the last day of 1603, he says that he had written two hundred and thirty plays up to that time: he gives a list which contains but two hundred and nineteen titles. In "The New Art of Making Plays now-a-days," published in 1609, we learn that he had then written four hundred and eighty-three plays; in Part XI.

Lope de Vega, Hamburg, 1832; Moratin, *Orígenes del Teatro Español*, Paris, 1883; the works of Ticknor, Vol II. (and the Spanish translation, Vol. II. pp. 543-550); Schack, Vol. I, Klein, *Geschichte des Spanischen Dramas*, Leipzig, 1872, Vol I., Schaeffer, *Geschichte*, etc., Vol. I., and W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (Halle, 1893-1903)—a remarkable work still in course of publication.

[1] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol XX. p. 30. Cf. p. 13, *ante*.

of his Comedias (1618), he gives the number as eight hundred; in Part XIV. (1620), the sum had reached nine hundred; in Part XX. (1625), it amounted to one thousand and seventy, and in the "Eclogue to Claudio" (1632), it is no less than fifteen hundred. These are the figures, exclusive of *autos*, given by Montalvan in his *Para Todos* (at the beginning of 1632). In his *Fama póstuma* (1636), Montalvan puts the number of comedias at eighteen hundred and the *autos* at over four hundred. Of this huge total, according to La Barrera (*Catálogo*, p. 424), the titles of six hundred and eight comedias and forty-four *autos* are known. The comedias are divided as follows. Printed in the collection of Lope's comedias = 290; in collections of various authors = 76; *sueltas* (known) = 37; *sueltas* (according to a probable conjecture) = 17; *sueltas* (according to a more uncertain conjecture) = 46; inedited (cited in *El Peregrino* and wholly unknown) = 106; inedited (not cited in *El Peregrino* and preserved in various libraries) = 11; doubtful, for various reasons = 25. Deducting the conjectural and doubtful pieces, and those in the *Peregrino*, there remain four hundred and thirty-one comedias that are actually known.[1]

This numerical estimate of Lope's plays is certainly much exaggerated, even as given by himself (= 1500), not to mention the additional three hundred ascribed to him by Montalvan. According to Lope's own calculation, between 1625 (= 1070) and 1632 (= 1500), he wrote four hundred and thirty comedias, an average of sixty-one per year, and this from his sixty-third to his seventieth year. This is not at all probable. Still, so great was the amount of our poet's production that, according to his own statement, it was equivalent to five sheets for every day of his life, which gives a total—Montalvan has made the calculation—of one hundred

[1] A careful search in the public and private libraries of Spain will doubtless increase this number somewhat; indeed several have come to light since the Academy began to publish its edition of Lope. I possess nearly three hundred of Lope's plays.

and thirty-three thousand two hundred and twenty-five sheets. The same biographer cites several instances of the miraculous facility with which Lope composed: "His pen could not keep pace with his mind, for his thoughts came more rapidly than his hand could write them. In two days he composed a comedia, which it would not have been an easy task for the nimblest scribe to copy in that time; and on one occasion, in Toledo, in fifteen consecutive days he wrote fifteen acts, which make five comedias, and read them as he was writing them, in a private house where the feat was witnessed by Joseph de Valdivieso."[1] Montalvan states his own experience in these words: "Roque de Figueroa, the theatrical manager, found himself at Madrid in such need of a comedia that the *Corral de la Cruz* was closed, it being near the three carnival days before Shrovetide, and so urgent was the matter that Lope and I joined to write for him in all haste the comedia *La Tercera Orden de San Francisco*, in which Arias took the character of the Saint with a truth to nature such as had never been seen before. The first act fell to Lope, the second to me, which we wrote in two days, and the third act was divided—eight sheets to each, and as the weather was bad I remained at his house during that night. Knowing that I was no match for him, I tried to make up for my deficiency by getting up at two o'clock in the morning, and by eleven o'clock I had finished my part. I then went out to look for him [Lope], and found him in the garden, occupied with an orange tree which was frozen, and on my inquiring what progress he had made with his verses, he answered: 'I began to write at five o'clock, but it is perhaps an hour ago since I finished the act, breakfasted and wrote an *epístola* of fifty tercets, and I have been watering this garden, which has fatigued me

[1] Lope's own statement is still more astonishing. In his "Eclogue to Claudio" he says that of the fifteen hundred comedias he had written, more than a hundred had passed from the Muses to the theatre in twenty-four hours:

"Pues mas de ciento en horas veintiquatro
Passaron de las Musas al Teatro."

not a little.' And taking out the papers, he read to me the eight sheets, and the tercets, a thing which would have astonished me had I not known his wonderful fertility and his mastery of versification."[1]

So great had Lope's fame become, and so firm was the conviction that everything he wrote was good, that his name was attached to articles of every kind in order to indicate their excellence.[2] He himself smilingly refers to the circumstance,[3] and Quevedo, in his *Aprobacion* to the *Rimas de Tome de Burguillos* (1634), says: "Lope de Vega Carpio, whose name has been universally proverbial of everything that is good, a prerogative which fame has granted to no other," etc.

A most animated, memorable presentation of the Dictator at the very noon-tide of his glory is given by Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly in a strikingly eloquent passage which it is a pleasure to transcribe: "Lope witnessed, so to say, his own apotheosis. He was one of the sights of Madrid. As he returned from the hospital, where he attended the sick and dying, men turned to look at him in the street; women and children clustered round him to kiss his hand, to crave his blessing. His daily walk was as a royal procession: his portrait hung on the walls of palaces and cabins. So contemporaries tell us, and so we love to picture him in his august old age—the living symbol of all the might, and pride, and glory of heroic Spain."[4]

[1] *Obras Sueltas*, Vol XX p. 52

[2] His fame even spread as far as America. According to Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *History of Spanish Literature*, p. 257, three of Lope's plays were translated into the *Nahuatl* dialect by Bartolomé Alba. Fitzmaurice-Kelly quotes José Mariano Beristain de Souza's *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana*, Mexico, 1816, Vol I. p. 64.

[3] "Es adagio provincial
Que todas las cosas son
De Lope, extraño caudal," etc.

Coleccion escogida de obras no dramáticas de Frey Lope Félix de Vega por Don Cayetano Rosell (Madrid, 1856), *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XXXVIII. p. 234.

[4] *Lope de Vega and the Spanish Drama being the Taylorian Lecture* (1902) *by James Fitzmaurice-Kelly*, London and Glasgow, 1902, p. 25.

Probably no writer ever won such fame during his lifetime as did Lope de Vega. His supremacy was acknowledged by his fellow-poets and dramatists, often reluctantly and grudgingly enough; and, viewed from a material standpoint, his reward was beyond that which generally falls to the lot of great creators. Montalvan says of him: "He was the richest and the poorest poet of our time." Montalvan estimates the gifts which Lope received "from lords and other private persons" at ten thousand ducats;[1] the comedias brought him about eighty thousand ducats, reckoning the price of each at five hundred reals; the *autos* about six hundred; the dower from both marriages about seven thousand: the total amounting to more than a hundred thousand ducats." Besides this Lope enjoyed from the crown a pension in Galicia, valued at two hundred and fifty ducats annually; a chaplaincy in Ávila, which he obtained as an ex-member of the household of Don Jerónimo Manrique, a former bishop of that see, was worth one hundred and fifty ducats; three hundred ducats were derived from the living to which he was presented by the Duke of Sessa, and forty ducats annually "from a little house he owned, close to the Calle de la Cruz." In addition, according to Montalvan, the Duke of Sessa gave Lope twenty-four thousand ducats during the course of his life.

In spite of this income—paltry enough when we consider the man, and yet munificent when we consider the usual rewards of the highest literary genius—Lope, as his letters show, was always poor, owing to his boundless generosity; for, as was said by one who knew him best, he never denied alms to anyone that asked him.[2] The

[1] A *ducado* or ducat = 11 *reales de plata* + 1 *maravedi*. It takes 34 *maravedis* to make 1 *real vellon*, which is approximately = 5 cents, and 1 *real de plata* = 2 *reales de vellon*. A *real* may be generally taken to mean a *real de plata* or silver real.

[2] To quote once more the words of Fitzmaurice-Kelly. "Though his household was on a modest footing, he was always pressed for money. He gave without stint in charity, and he died poor. He had many afflictions to crush him; yet he lived every day of his life, did the work

principal source of his revenue—his comedias—he esteemed the least of all his literary productions. These, as he frequently said, he wrote for bread. "Necessity and I, going into the business of making verses, brought the comedias into fashion," he says. Like many another poet he was a poor critic of his own works, and undervalued what he did best. Petrarch, who was proud of his Latin epic *Africa*, lives almost wholly by his sonnets. And, as regards one other Spaniard, the foremost of them all,—Cervantes—there is nothing to show that he ever realized the supreme greatness of his *Don Quixote*; while, on the other hand, we know that he always pointed with pride to his very mediocre comedias, which any third-rate *ingenio* might have written, and, almost at his last gasp, spoke with affectionate regard of his dull and soporific pastoral romance, the *Galatea*. In like manner Lope de Vega rated his own epics and lyrics far above his comedias, while to the latter he owes his immense and enduring fame. His comedias are not all good; in the very nature of things it is impossible that they should be, and his most ardent devotee, I imagine, would not maintain that they were so. More than a score could be mentioned, however, that have not been, and probably never will be, surpassed. These vary from sublime tragedy to the brightest effects of humour, and all are authentic masterpieces in their various kinds. With the theatrical managers waiting at his door for these '*versos mercantiles*,' Lope wrote far too much; he also wrote too rapidly and too carelessly. But in all the countless number of his plays, judging from the many I have read, I will make bold to assert that there is not one which is wholly bad,—

of twenty men, and we cannot doubt that—on the whole—his long, tumultuous existence was a happy one. We see him in the ardour of aggressive youth, and watch him, still battling, in the zenith of his renown. But we like best to think of him under another aspect during the last decade of his career: composing masterpieces as easily as he breathed, and conscious that, after countless combats, the victory is his. We perceive him rejoicing in the calm autumnal splendour of his fame, but never more content than when playing with his children in the garden," etc. p. 28.

not one without repeated bursts of lofty poetry which only a splendid genius could have written. It is chiefly to his comedias, as I have said, that Lope owes his enduring fame,—and I say enduring fame, because I believe that now, more than ever, his fame shows unquestionable signs of a revival which is destined to be permanent. After the comparative obscurity of over two centuries, after the passing of the Calderon cult inaugurated in Germany in the early decades of the century just past, the world has once more turned back to him who was the idol of the Spanish nation at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and Lope de Vega has regained his kingdom. Nor is this renascence limited to Spain alone. Grillparzer re-established the repute of Lope throughout the continent of Europe, and in England there has been a corresponding revival which has been whimsically, or forgetfully, ascribed to Ormsby. In the interest of historical truth it should be placed on record that the credit for this revolution of opinion in England is due, in the first instance, to *The Athenæum*,[1] a journal which rendered inestimable service to the cause by encouraging that great authority, John Rutter Chorley, to propagate sound doctrine in its columns. Towards the close of the nineteenth century the triumphal march of Lope has been unchecked, continuous, and universal. To withstand the great array of accomplished scholars ranged under Lope's conquering banner requires more self-assurance than could possibly be found in any modest student. The rehabilitation is now complete, and it would be difficult indeed to overpraise the part taken in the final stages of the victorious campaign by the eminent critic, Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo, in whom the Spanish

[1] See *The Athenæum* (London), Nos. 1360 and 1361, November 19 and November 26, 1853. In 1853 Ormsby was a youth fresh from Trinity College, Dublin. At this time, as his intimate friend Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly informs me, Ormsby had not yet begun his Spanish studies.

Another admirable essay by Chorley, entitled *Notes on the National Drama of Spain*, appeared six years later in *Fraser's Magazine* (London, 1859), LIX. and LX.

Academy has found for its reprint of Lope de Vega's complete works an editor fully equipped with all the learning, penetration, and enthusiasm requisite for the fulfilment of his stupendous task.

It cannot be denied, even by the most zealous *Lopista*, that for a short time previous to his death the position of the "great Monarch of the Spanish theatre," had been rudely shaken by some of his own disciples and imitators who chanced to gain the applause of the play-going public. Tirso de Molina, Alarcon, and—in still greater degree—Calderon had won recognition.[1] Lope saw himself, towards the close of his career, gradually pushed more and more aside. He knew it only too well and complains of it wistfully in a letter to his patron. He suffered the fate of all who court the fickle favour of the populace. He had lived too long and had outstayed his welcome; he survived to see others, who owed nearly everything to his magic pen, supplant him in the good graces of the common crowd—of that *vulgo* which he perhaps despised, but which he had always striven so assiduously to please. For, though Lope's popularity was immense, —greater in his own country than that of any other Spaniard of his age,—it was more superficial than the popularity of his follower Calderon. And yet Lope was, in more respects than one, a much greater poet than Calderon. In grandeur of theological conception and metaphysical subtlety, Calderon, the poet of Catholicism *par excellence*, is superior to any dramatic poet of his age. Yet Lope far surpasses Calderon in fertility of invention,[2]

[1] Calderon was likewise the Court favourite His comedia, *El mayor Encanto Amor*, was represented on the lake of the Buen Retiro, at Madrid, on St. John's night, 1635, the year of Lope's death. Four years earlier Lope had written his brilliant comedia *La Noche de San Juan* for this festival. *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. VI. p 198.

[2] The inferiority of Calderon, in point of originality, has frequently been pointed out. Lope never stooped to appropriate the wares of another dramatist; Calderon plundered not only Lope, but others also, especially Tirso de Molina and Mira de Mescua. See Schack, Vol III. p. 54. Of plays by Calderon, based upon Tirso, Cotarelo, *Tirso de Molina*, Madrid, 1893, p. 167, gives four: *A secreto Agravio secreta*

in breadth of grasp and in simplicity and clearness of expression, for the *culteranismo* that so often mars the verse of Calderon, is rare in Lope. Moreover—and the point is capital—Lope is infinitely the superior in depicting character, as well as in vivacity and persuasiveness of dialogue, which he handles with an easy grace and dexterity unequalled by any other Spanish dramatist. Again, Calderon is distinctly inferior to Lope in his feminine types. In the former we miss the delicacy and charm—the noble tenderness, the gracious sincerity, the irresistible appeal—of Lope's enchanting heroines. The perennial freshness, the pulsation of emotion that vitalizes the theatre of Lope, is wanting in the cold, conventional, artificial world of his successor, in which the personages are frequently exaggerated to such a degree that they cease to be human. Here is the secret of Lope's greatness—*his simplicity and truth to nature. In this quality* he stands quite alone, and is not even approached by any of his fellow writers for the stage. Where Lope gives us individual men and women, his follower gives us mere types. Calderon, especially after his earlier period, accentuated and exaggerated what he found in Lope, and in his *comedias de capa y espada* (dramas of intrigue or of manners), which are the most characteristic part of his theatre, this tendency has degenerated into a mannerism that is often almost wooden. It is hard to believe that such characters as he presents really existed or could exist; we rebel against his detestable conception of honour which vindicates the most cold-blooded murder. The whole fabric which he has reared seems factitious and unreal. It would appear as though Spain had changed with the death of Lope; and indeed the audiences to which Calderon appealed were entirely different from those of Lope de Vega. The master wrote for the embodied Spanish nation; the disciple for the few—for the king and the courtiers. The unshackled freedom of social commerce,

Venganza = (Tirso's *El celoso Prudente*); *Los Cabellos de Absalon* = (*La Venganza de Tamar*); *El Encanto sin Encanto* = (*Amar por Señas*); *El Secreto á Voces* = (*Amar por Arte mayor*).

the every-day life of the people which Lope rendered with such vigour and such consummate mastery, gave place to the frigid atmosphere, the stilted manners of the Court. Lope meant his comedias, as he distinctly says, not to be read, but to be acted. He composed with a confident, breathless speed, often scattering his jewels with a spendthrift's prodigality; the musical verses tripped from his pen without effort and, to all seeming, spontaneously. In Calderon's dramas, on the other hand, we discern the conscious effort of the frugal craftsman with no abundant resources in reserve. Lope was the poet of the people: Calderon was the poet of the palace.

But for some time the countless creations of Lope's inexhaustible fancy had begun to lose their savour even with the general public—with the jaded *vulgo* ever clamouring for something new. His plays were no longer received with the rapturous enthusiasm of earlier years; some were even hissed, as we learn from his letters. The old attraction was waning. The glamour of Lope's name had begun to fade. The world about him had changed. The heroic days of Spain which he had delineated with convincing force in his comedias, had passed, and with them the taste for such productions. Spain had been declining, slowly but surely. With the accession of Philip IV., the decadence had begun to manifest itself most unmistakably. The argosies from the Indies were all mortgaged months and years before they reached the mouth of the Guadalquivir. A brave show was made to keep up the tradition of ancient splendour, but all was an empty pretence. And this sinister condition of things reacted on the national theatre. The emphatic, affected, monotonous comedia of Calderon and his school came into vogue. Once more, the people "called him noble that was now their hate, him vile that was their garland." Nature was thought vulgar by the superfine, and the mob aped its betters. The poignant simplicity, the engaging truth, the sunny humour of Lope de Vega, which had enthralled the whole Spanish race for half a century, ceased to move and to delight. The constant spell of fifty years was broken: the great enchanter's

magic lost its power. But Lope had not degenerated with the times. Ever a fighter, he could not tamely acquiesce in his dethronement from the vast and glorious empire which his unaided genius had won, and which he had held by an unquestioned right of conquest. He must have known it was a forlorn hope to accept battle against a whole generation far younger than himself; but it was not in him to refuse a challenge, and, if he was to fall, he would perish sword in hand. Almost to the end he proved that his arm was not shortened nor his heart grown cold. One of his last comedias—if not his last—*Las Bizarrias de Belisa*, written the year before his death, at the age of seventy-two, is in his best manner, blithe and radiant with immortal youth. Old and feeble in body, Lope displayed to the last a wit, an urbanity, an invention which defied the years. Still he could not but recognize that the sceptre was departing from him. In his closing hours of bitterness and trial he lacked the invincible buoyancy of his contemporary Cervantes. He had hitherto met the shocks of fortune with unabated valour,

> "And ever with a frolic welcome took
> The thunder and the sunshine."

Now, during the last twelvemonth, the burden of domestic grief was, as he said, more than he could bear. Suffering from frequent attacks of melancholy, and bowed down by a mighty sorrow, he felt that his sun was setting. Yet it continued to flash forth fitfully with undiminished splendour. At last it sank on that August evening when Lope's soul was required of him, and the great light went out which had illumined the remotest corners of Spanish soil. But his works remain as an imperishable monument to one who, with all his faults, was among the greatest of mankind.

APPENDIX A

RECORD OF THE ACTION AGAINST LOPE DE VEGA FOR LIBELLING CERTAIN ACTORS

En Madrid, este dicho dia, mes e año dicho [29 de Diciembre de 1587] para averiguacion de lo susodicho, se recibio juramento en forma de derecho de Rodrigo de Sayavedra, estante en esta corte, que posa junto a la calle de los Relatores en casa de la de Merchan, viuda, de edad de veynte e ocho años, poco mas o menos, el qual preguntado por el tenor de la querella dixo—que lo que sabe y pasa es, que estando este testigo en casa de Geronimo Velazquez, maestro de representaciones, que es el querellante, vio en poder de un hijo suyo, que se llama el dotor Velazquez de Contreras, unos papeles, que eran dos pliegos de papel juntos, que estaban escritos en el uno unos versos macarronicos en latin a manera de satira, el qual tenia un titulo que decia · *Satira primera contra el dotor Damian Velazquez*, y el principio de la satira en latin macarronico empezaba ynvocando los poetas y a la postre de la ynvocacion nombraba a un Escobar, natural desta corte, haziendole ladron en la ynvocacion, y luego yendo diciendo mal del Damian Velazquez, a quien se dirixia, y del dicho Geronimo Velazquez, su padre, querellante, y de Ynes Osorio, su madre, muger del dicho Velazquez, querellante, y hermana del dicho dotor; y de Ana Velazquez, prima del dicho dotor e sobrina del dicho Velazquez, todas ellas mugeres casadas e muy honradas y en tal reputacion tenidas e habidas; y al cabo de la dicha satira prometia luego la segunda parte, y este testigo no se acuerda particularmente de lo que en la dicha satira decia mas de como dicho tiene que decir mal de las personas que dichas tiene, que por ella mesma parecerá, la qual conocerá todas las veces que le fuere mostrada; y en el segundo pliego estaba escrito un romance en satira ansimismo, que trataba de la calle de Lavapies, diciendo mal de la dicha Ana Velazquez, sobrina del dicho querellante, que, como dicho tiene, es muger casada, y de otra Doña Juana, cuyo sobre nombre no se acuerda este testigo mas de que es muger soltera, y de Elena Osorio, hija del dicho Velazquez, que es casada, como dicho tiene, no se acuerda si decia de otras personas, y particularmente no se acuerda este testigo de lo que en esta satira en romance decia, mas de que las ynfamaba de putas y otras cosas feas, e

ansimismo conoscerá este testigo la dicha satira en romance todas las veces que le fuere mostrada; y el dicho doctor preguntó a este testigo si conocia la letra y el lenguaje de las dichas dos satiras y este testigo le dixo que le parecia verdaderamente el lenguaje y discurso de Lope de Vega, un poeta desta corte, por el mucho curso que tiene de oyr sus versos, ansi en latin como en romance, e la letra, aunque venia disfrazada al principio de la dicha satira, despues en el discurso della se echa muy bien de ver ser propia de mano del dicho Lope de Vega, y este testigo la conoze porque tiene muchos papeles de su propia mano e letra y haberle visto muchas vezes escribir, e por esto tiene por cosa cierta que la dicha letra es de la propia mano del dicho Lope de Vega, y ansimismo habrá como quinze dias, poco mas o menos, que este testigo llegó a esta corte desde Toledo y luego dentro de dos dias supo como habia dos o tres satiras hechas en disfavor e infamia del dicho Geronimo Velazquez e de su muger e hijos e sobrina, que todos publicamente decian que eran de Lope de Vega, a lo qual este testigo dio credito porque de seis meses a esta parte, poco mas o menos, ha visto como el dicho Lope de Vega ha dado en mostrarse enemigo del dicho Velazquez e hazelle malas obras en sus ganancias quitandole los compañeros e procurando que se vayan con otros comediantes, y las dichas satiras supo este testigo que estaban en poder del licenciado Moya un treslado y otro en poder de un alguacil de comision, que anda en esta corte . e este testigo sabe que el dicho Lope de Vega es hombre acostumbrado a hazer semejantes satiras y oyó decir que habia hecho un soneto en satira contra la compañia de Cisneros, y se jacta y alaba, y a este testigo se lo ha dicho que ha de hazer todo el mal e daño que pueda a Velazquez y a su casa; por todo lo qual tiene este testigo por cosa certisima e averiguada que las dichas satiras y la traza y letra dellas son de la mano y letra del dicho Lope de Vega," etc. A. Tomillo y C. Pérez Pastor, *Proceso de Lope de Vega por Libelos contra unos comicos.* Madrid, 1901, pp 13, and foll.

En este dicho dia, mes y año dichos se recibio juramento en forma debida de derecho del Licenciado Ordoñez, estante en esta corte, que posa en la plazuela del Cordon a las espaldas de las casas de don Alonso de Arçila, de edad poco mas o menos de veinte y cinco años, el qual preguntado por el tenor desta querella—dixo que conoce al dicho Geronimo Velazquez, etc. . . . y conoze a Lope de Vega, acusado, y lo que mas sabe es que habrá como dos meses, poco mas o menos, que este testigo vio un soneto que satiricamente ynfamaba a la persona del dotor Velazquez, hijo del dicho Velazquez, querellante, en el qual le trataban que no tratase de abogacia, pues era hijo de representante, mejor hiciera tratar en causas farandulicas, y que no tenia necesidad de abogar, pues su hermana ganaba para todos, y este testigo no vio la dicha letra del dicho soneto, porque se le dixeron sin mostrarsela, y despues acá este mismo concepto le ha visto este testigo escripto en una satira que se ha hecho al dicho dotor Velazquez y su padre . . . y a su hija, muger y una sobrina suya, que son las qué tiene dichas, las quales vio en poder del dicho dotor Velazquez, y estan la una dellas en versos macarronicos latinos, y otra, segun le dixo el dicho dotor, en un romance, y la satira

macarronica latina ynfamaba al dicho dotor Velazquez de hombre ynsipiente y que no sabia nada en su facultad y que consentia que su hermana fuese conocidamente mala, tratandole de alcaguete y ansimismo al dicho Velazquez, su padre, le ynfamaba de alcaguete representante e consentia que su hija fuese puta conocida, y contra Ynes Osorio su muger del dicho Velazquez, ansimismo lo consentia tratandola y ynfamandola de alcagueta, y este testigo vio la letra de la dicha satira en latin en los dichos versos macarronicos, que está ella y la otra en dos pliegos de papel, a lo que se quiere acordar, y aunque en las dos planas primeras la letra parece estar desconocida, en la tercera plana descubre mas la forma, y parece a este testigo, por cosa cierta, ser la letra de Lope de Vega, poeta de esta corte, y fuera de parecelle la dicha letra de la dicha satira de la mano del dicho Lope de Vega, este testigo le ha oydo recitar por dos veces la dicha satira en latin macarronico, por lo qual ynfiere este testigo y le pareze cosa cierta que concurriendo estas dos cosas, la una haber visto la letra de la dicha satira latina y parecelle la propia del dicho Lope de Vega, y habersela oido recitar por dos vezes, como dicho tiene, que el dicho Lope de Vega y no otra persona hizo la dicha satira contra los dichos, etc. . . e ansimismo este testigo sabe que el dicho Lope de Vega es enemigo del dicho Geronimo Velazquez, querellante, y le quiere mal, por que este testigo se ha hallado en algunas conversaciones con el dicho Lope de Vega y otras personas adonde tratandose del dicho Geronimo Velazquez y sus cosas, el dicho Lope de Vega le ha infamado y tratado mal dél y de sus cosas con palabras de mucho deshonor e ynfamia, por lo qual y por lo que este testigo sabe y ha oido quel dicho Lope de Vega es hombre acostumbrado a hazer satiras, ansi latinas como en romance, contra personas honradas desta corte, y ha visto algunas dellas, y porque el dicho Geronimo Velazquez no tiene otro enemigo poeta en esta corte sino el dicho Lope de Vega, y haber visto la letra de las dichas satiras y parecelle del dicho Lope de Vega y habersela oido recitar a el mesmo dos vezes, como [ha] dicho, tiene por sin duda este testigo que la dicha satira contra los dichos Geronimo Velazquez y sus hijos e muger la hizo el dicho Lope de Vega y no otra persona, y esto es lo que sabe para el juramento que hizo y firmólo.—El Licenciado Ordoñez.—Ante mi San Vicente. *Ibid.* p. 16, and foll

En Madrid a treinta dias del mes de diziembre deste año [1587], para mas averiguacion de lo susodicho se recibio juramento en forma a Cristobal Fernandez, estante en esta corte, que asiste en negocios de la Audiencia de Guatimala en Indias, y posa en la calle de Lavapies en las casas del doctor Pizarro y es de edad de veinte e cinco años, poco mas o menos, el qual preguntado por el tenor de la querella—dixo que conoce al dicho Geronimo Velazquez, etc. . . . y todos son jente muy honrada, de buena vida e fama, e por tales los tiene este testigo, e conoce a Lope de Vega, preso, que es poeta, y lo que mas sabe es que habrá como veinte e cinco dias, poco mas o menos, que este testigo tuvo noticia de que habia en esta corte salido una satira en romance que tenia gran deseo de vella para ver lo que decia, y estando un dia por el dicho

tiempo, uno o dos dias despues que lo supo, en casa de doña Juana de Ribera, que vive al Lavapies, entró allí el dicho Lope de Vega y Melchor de Prado, que es un amigo suyo, y otro hombre, que no se acuerda quien es, y la dicha doña Juana de Ribera dixo que había sabido que había salido una satira que se holgara de vella, y entonces rogó al dicho Lope de Vega que se la dixese, porque ya el la sabria, y el dicho Lope de Vega dixo que diria de ella lo que se acordase, y asi comenzó a recitar un romance que era la dicha satira y en el iba infamando, a lo que parecia, a la dicha Elena Osorio y a Ana Velazquez y a la dicha doña Juana de Ribera, y parece que en el proponer de la dicha satira iba diciendo que habia tres mugeres en la calle de Lavapies, las quales hacía de todas una esquadra, a la una hacía capitan, a la otra alferez, a la otra sargento, y habiendo dicho lo que tocaba a la primera decía en ella :

la hija de la Santa Ines,

y este testigo entiende que esto se dixo por la dicha Elena Osorio, hija del dicho Velazquez y de la dicha Ines Osorio su muger, y luego habiendo de decir de la dicha doña Juana de Ribera, que era la segunda y el alferez de la dicha satira, no dixo nada, antes pasó a la tercera, que era el sargento y era la dicha Ana Velazquez, la qual nombró por su nombre, y ansi el dicho Lope de Vega fue recitando toda la satira y paró en un pie de ella que dice

el dotor don Andres

y dixo que él se habia engañado en el sentido del dicho pie y que tambien se engañarian en él los demas, y entonces el dicho Lope de Vega lo declaró muy diferente de lo que todos habian entendido, y con mucha disimulacion dixo que ansi se lo habian declarado a el, y no dixo quien, y la declaracion fue que perseguia Don Andres, que vive frontero de la Merced, a el dicho dotor Velazquez porque él y otros se juntaban allí a la puerta de su casa a conversacion, y entonces este testigo, vístole declarar al dicho Lope de Vega el dicho verso y por haber entendido que tenia odio a las dichas Elena Osorio e Ana Velazquez, entendió y sospechó que la dicha satira la habia hecho el dicho Lope de Vega, aunque este testigo no se la vio escribir, y juntamente la dicha doña Juana mostró a este testigo un billete, el qual dixo se le habia dado Melchor de Prado, en el qual iban muchas bellaquerias contra la dicha Ana Velazquez diciendo que trataba con representantes y otras cosas de ynfamia, las quales razones en lo que toca a representantes tambien se tratan en la dicha satira, y por esto y por ser el dicho Melchor de Prado tan amigo del dicho Lope de Vega y ser todo lo que dicho tiene asi a un tiempo, este testigo entiende que la dicha satira e billete la hicieron con animo de ynfamar a las dichas Elena Osorio y Ana Velazquez por querellas mal, como dicho tiene, y esto sabe y es la verdad para el juramento que hizo y lo firmó.—Cristobal Fernandez." *Ibid.* pp. 19, and foll.

The testimony of Pedro de Albarado, is in part as follows : ". . .

a lo que se quiere acordar este testigo en la dicha satira decia que la dicha Elena Osorio era la capitana

hija de la Santa Ines,

y el alferez la dicha doña Juana, y contra ella entre otras cosas decia :

'el alferez doña Juana
que el don se puso despues
que supo que era parienta
del Conde Partinumples
y a mi me dixo un yngles
que la vio sus blancas piernas
por dos varas del anvés,'[1]

y otras razones ; y contra la Ana Velazquez, que la llamaba el sargento, decia

'puta despues de nacida
puta antes y despues'

y ostras muchas palabras feas de que no se acuerda," etc *Ibid.* p. 24.

Gonzalo del Castillo, "alguacil for the King our lord," after reciting that he is acquainted with the complainants, who are all married and very much respected, says: "conoce asi mesmo a Lope de Vega, que está preso en la carcel desta corte, y lo que mas sabe es que habrá como doce dias, poco mas o menos, que este testigo vio en poder de Vera, que es musico de la compañia de Velazquez, una satira que el dicho Vera le mostró que estaba hecha en ynfamia de Elena Osorio y de Ines Osorio, su madre, y de Ana Velazquez, muger e hija e sobrina del dicho Geronimo Velazquez, y de doña Juana de Ribera, que viven al Lavapies todas en una calle, y se acuerda este testigo de algunas partes de la dicha satira y de lo que tocaba a las que dichas tiene ques en ynfamia de la dicha Elena Osorio, que decia que la dicha Ana Velazquez se ponia a su ventana para quitar los percances que podian caer a la dicha Elena Osorio por la dicha Ines Osorio su madre que si le cocaran un medio real era sin duda que la llevaria a la dicha Elena Osorio a qualquier parte, y a la dicha Ana Velazquez haciendo una minuta de muchos galanes que decia la habian servido, y en resolucion que naide la cocaria con qualquier dinero que no se echaria con el, y otras muchas cosas contra la dicha doña Juana de Ribera feas y de ynjuria," etc. *Ibid.* p. 26.

Amaro Benitez, another witness, on January 3, 1588, after reciting that he knows the complainants, continues : ". . . y conoce a Lope de Vega, preso, y lo que mas sabe es que habra como diez dias, poco mas o menos, que estando este testigo en el corral de las comedias en la calle del Principe oyendo a los italianos, un don Andres, que no sabe mas nombre de que dicen es hijo de un medico, y suele andar con un hijo del Corregidor desta villa, sentados en un banco este testigo y don Luis de Vargas, el dicho don Andres les leyó a ambos juntos un romance a modo de satira que decia mal de la dicha Elena Osorio y Ana Velazquez y otra doña Juana de Ribera que este testigo no la conoce, y luego como

[1] MS. delantes.

el dicho don Luis de Vargas le leyó dixo : este romance es del estilo de quatro o cinco que solos lo podran hacer : que podra ser de Liñan y no esta aqui, y de Cervantes y no esta aqui, pues mio no es, puede ser de Vivar o de Lope de Vega, aunque Lope de Vega no dixera tanto mal de sí si el lo hiciera, y a esto uno de los que le estaban oyendo [dixo] . ande vuesa merced, que eso suele ser estilo, que el que hace una cosa como esta suele nombrarse el primero ; y este testigo no sabe quien era el que esto respondió, y con esto oyeron la comedia, y por entonces no se dixo mas hasta que despues habrá seis o siete dias, poco mas o menos, que estando este testigo en la comedia del dicho arlequin entró el dicho Lope de Vega, y haciendole este testigo lugar, porque entró tarde, este testigo le dixo que habia oido decir que él habia hecho un romance que decia ·

'Los que algun tiempo tuvistes
memoria del Lavapies,'

y el dicho Lope de Vega le respondio a este testigo ¿a quien lo ha oido decir v.md. ? y este testigo le dixo por ahi lo dicen, y hélo oido a tantos, que me lo hacen creer, porque dicen que es vuestro estilo, y a esto el dicho Lope de Vega le respondió a este testigo que votaba a Dios que qualquiera que a este testigo se lo hubiese dicho mentía, porque no era él hombre que hacía semejantes cosas, y que se matará a cuchilladas con ellos aunque fuese amigo o enemigo, y dixo entonces más que no faltaba más que v.md. me viniese a decir esso, porque ya se han ido a quexar de mi al señor alcalde Espinosa, y está mandada hacer informacion contra mi dello, y con esto este testigo le dixo que le perdonase, porque como lo decian tantos, habia entendido que era suyo, aunque le tenia por hombre honrado y que no decia mal de naide, y con esto no trataron más dello hasta que de ahi a dos o tres dias este testigo vio como el alguacil Diego Garcia llevó preso, del corral de las comedias de la Calle de la Cruz, al dicho Lope de Vega, y a este testigo le dixeron, no se acuerda quién, que llevaban preso a el dicho Lope de Vega, a lo qual este testigo luego dixo ¿sabese por qué se lo llevan ? por lo del romance; lo qual este testigo dixo porque como era cosa publica que él le habia hecho," etc.

The witness further deposed : "que no ha oido mas de que el dicho romance es del dicho Lope de Vega, y que no está bien con el dicho Velazquez, como dicho tiene, y el primero dia que el dicho Velazquez representó en esta corte el dicho Lope de Vega le fue a oir, y dixo a este testigo: esta es la hora que Velazquez dice que no quiere que entre en su comedia, y yo le tengo de decir que aunque le pese, pagando medio real tengo de entrar; por lo qual entiende este testigo que no son amigos," etc. *Ibid.* pp. 41, 45.

The deposition of Lope de Vega, is as follows ·

"En Madrid a nueve dias del mes de Enero de mill e quinientos ochenta y ocho años se recibió juramento en forma debida de derecho de Lope de Vega, preso, el qual preguntado—dixo que se llama Lope de Vega, y es natural de Madrid, hijo de Felix de Vega e Francisca del Carpio, que vive a la porteria de los carros de la Vitoria, y es de edad de veinte e quatro años, poco mas o menos.

Preguntado de qué vive e se entretiene en esta corte—dixo que hasta ahora ha servido al Marques de las Navas[1] de secretario, y agora se está en casa de sus padres, porque como el Marques está en Alcantara no quiso ir con él.

Preguntado si ha estudiado Latin o otra alguna facultad—dixo que estudió gramatica en esta corte en el colegio de los Teatinos, y ansimismo ha oido matematicas en la Academia real, y el astrolabio y esfera alli mesmo, y esto lo ha oido de dos o tres años a esta parte.

Preguntado si es verdad que este confesante trata en hacer y hace comedias, y las ha hecho y dado algunas a algunos autores de hacer comedias—dixo que (tratar) no trata en ellas, pero que por su entretenimiento las hace como otros muchos caballeros de esta corte, como son don Luis de Vargas y don Miguel Rebellas y otros que por su entretenimiento gustan de hacerlas, y que es verdad que ha hecho algunas y las ha dado a Velazquez, autor de comedias, y otros autores para que las representen.

Preguntado qué conocimientos tiene este confesante con el dicho Velazquez—dixo que en razon de lo que tiene dicho le conoce, e no de otra cosa, e debe de haber mas de quatro años que se conocen.

Preguntado si en el tiempo que dice que ha què le conoce le ha visitado algunas veces en su casa—[dixo] que algunas veces le ha visitado, como otros, del dicho tiempo a esta parte.

Preguntado si conoce a Elena Osorio, hija del dicho Velazquez—dixo que sí conoce, y que la ha hablado en casa de su padre las veces que alli ha entrado en conversacion, como otros, y que sabe que es casada y la tiene por muger muy honrada, y en esta opinion la ha tenido siempre.

Preguntado si conoce al dotor Velazquez, hijo del dicho Velazquez—dixo que le conoce del mismo trato de su padre.

Preguntado si conoce a Ana Velazquez, que es prima de Elena Osorio, que es hija de Diego Velazquez—dixo que la conoce de haberla visto en casa del dicho Velazquez, su tio, y que es casada con un librero que no se acuerda como se llama.

Preguntado si suele este confesante pasear de ordinario por los barrios de Lavapies, donde el dicho Velazquez vive—dixo que de un año a esta parte no los pasea, y que de antes solia ir por ellos algunas veces para visitar al dicho Velazquez, y que el no ir agora es porque el dicho Velazquez no ha estado en esta corte, y que una vez en cuaresma le convidó a comer el dicho Velazquez, y comió con él y su compañia.

Preguntado, despues que vino el dicho Velazquez a esta corte esta ultima vez, quantas veces le ha visitado—dixo este confesante que al dicho Velazquez no le ha visitado ninguna vez esta ultima vez que vino; pero quel dicho Velazquez a este confesante muchas veces y se han hablado todas las veces que se han encontrado.

Preguntado si son amigos este confesante y el dicho Velazquez—dixo que si y harto grandes.

Preguntado si lo son tanto, porqué estan encontrados ahora—dixo que porque las comedias que le solia dar las dió a Porras.

[1] D. Pédro Dávila, Marqués de las Navas.

Preguntado por qué se las dejó dar a Velazquez y se las da a Porras—dixo que porque estando él en Sevilla no se las pidió y llegó primero el dicho Porras.

Preguntado si le dan algun genero de interese porque las dé mas a uno que a otro—dixo que no, sino que él las hace por su gusto a ratos ociosos, y es su gusto darlas mas a uno que a otro.—Lope de Vega.

Preguntado si está enemistado con el dicho Geronimo Velazquez, autor de comedias,—dixo que no.

Preguntado qué es la causa porque en las conversaciones donde se halla dice mal de Velazquez y de sus cosas—dixo que lo niega, que antes siempre le ha honrado e defendido.

Preguntado de qué le ha defendido—dixo que de decir que su compañia es la mejor que se presenta, y cosas a este proposito que se tratan en el corral de la comedia.

Preguntado si tiene noticia de un romance que empieza.

"Los que en un tiempo tuvistes
noticias del Lavapies"

—dixo que si, que noticia tiene dél porque se le vio en poder de Jusepe Enriquez, estudiante, que vive a la calle de Barrionuevo

Preguntado qué contiene el dicho romance—dixo que no se acuerda bien, porque una vez sola le vio leer, y estaban presentes el Licenciado Moya, Francisco de Lala y Melchor de Prado, y dixo le habia hallado en el portal de su casa, que habrá esto cosa de veinte o veintidos dias

Preguntado si tomó traslado este confesante del dicho romance o alguno de los que allí estaban—dixo que no, que él sepa.

Preguntado que si tomó en la memoria alguna parte del dicho romance—dixo que quatro versos del dicho romance en que este confesante está comprendido, porque se los hizo leer dos o tres veces. Fuele dicho escriba los dichos versos, y él los escribió en la forma siguiente:

"conocido por Belardo
como Juan de Leganes,"

y luego dixo que no se le acordaban mas de los dichos dos pies y que si se le acordaran los dixera.

Preguntado en qué otras partes ha oido el dicho romance y tratado del—dixo que en el juego de los trucos en la casa de Ruiz, a la calle de las dos Hermanas, y en la comedia ha oido tratar del.

Preguntado quién dicen que lo hizo—dixo que Castillo, un alguacil de la comision del negocio de Tafalla, porque servia a Ana Velazquez contenida en la satira y la mas ofendida en ella, y porque a todos es publico que ha sido perseguida del, siendo como es muger honrada, y este alguacil se huyó desta corte en prendiendo a este confesante.

Preguntado si tiene noticia de otra satira que está hecha en versos macarronicos que empieza.

In Doctorem Damianum Velazquez Satira Prima,

—dixo que tiene noticia della porque la vio en poder del Licenciado Moya, y se la leyó tres o quatro [veces] antes que viese el romance en

poder de Jusepe Enriquez y se la mostró estando solos en su propia casa y dixo que la habia hallado en su aposento, que se la habian echado por las aberturas de las puertas, y despues desto la leyó el Licenciado Moya en casa de Francisco de Lala el dia que se leyó el romance presentes los dichos, porque ansimismo se leyó el dicho romance allí.

Preguntado si ha hecho este confesante algun soneto, redondillas o tercetos, u otro genero de verso en versos macarronicos—dixo que en su vida hizo verso macarronico ni latino, porque aunque es verdad que entiende latin y le sabe hablar, nunca hizo versos latinos ni macarronicos, ni jamas se habrá visto obra suya que no sea en castellano.

Preguntado quantos traslados ha visto de la satira u del romance—dixo que ninguno, mas de solos los que vio en poder del Licenciado Moya y de Jusepe Enriquez.

Preguntado quién se dice que hizo la dicha satira en versos macarronicos—dixo que ni lo sabe ni lo ha oido decir, por ser como son en verso que jamas se ha visto en esta corte.

Preguntado que causa puede tener Velazquez para decir que este confesante las haya hecho—dixo que no sabe otra mas de haberse desabrido con él por no haberle dado las comedias, por haberle sido de mucha descomodidad.

Preguntado cuya le parece la letra del dicho romance satirico que le fue mostrado—dixo que no la puede juzgar, aunque la miró con atencion.

Fuele asimismo mostrada la satira de los dichos versos macarronicos, y le fue preguntado cuya le parece ser la dicha letra—dixo que le parece ser del Licenciado Ordoñez[1] porque le ha visto escribir muchas veces, y que por otra parte le parece que quién la escribió no es posible sepa latin ni escribirle, por no tener buena ortografia, ni virgulas, ni comas ni diptongos.

Preguntado si sabe este confesante alguna parte de la dicha satira macarronica—dixo que sabia tres o quatro versos, no sabe si se le acordaran, e ansimismo dixo que la letra de la dicha satira, la ultima y penultima plana, le parece ser letra del Licenciado Ordoñez, y lo demas no, porque son diferentes letras, y que cree por sin duda la hizo el Licenciado Ordoñez, a su parecer, porque a este confesante y a otras personas ha dicho mucho mal de aquella casa y de la gente della, ansi del dicho Velazquez como de Elena Osorio, por ciertos respetos que el dirá, siendole mandado, y porque una noche, tres o quatro dias antes de Navidad, le importunó mucho le dixese lo que sabia de la dicha satira, y tambien porque el dicho Licenciado Ordoñez sabe hacer los dichos versos macarronicos y los ha hecho muchas veces.

Preguntado qué obras sabe que haya hecho en versos macarronicos el dicho Licenciado Ordoñez—dixo que ha muchos años que en el colejio de los Teatinos se decia, pero que como son cosas de niñerias no se acuerda, pero siempre ha tenido esta opinion.

Preguntado si ha tratado este confesante con don Luis de Vargas u con otras personas alguna cosa tocante a las dichas satiras, y quién estaba

[1] The licentiate Alonso Ordoñez, a lawyer, son of Pedro Ordoñez, a bookseller of Madrid, now deceased, and of Ana Bernal. (P. y T.)

presente—dixo que no se acuerda adonde, ni qué personas han tratado dellas, porque era ordinario tratarse dellas.

Preguntado si es verdad que estando un dia en la comedia el dicho Luis de Vargas dixo a este confesante que las dichas satiras no podian ser sino de su ingenio—dixo que no se acuerda, pero que bien podia ser que se lo dijese.

Y luego le fue dicho escriba los versos que dice sabe de la dicha satira:

"Vidente Ordoñez, amico,
et cantare pares et respondere parati," [1]

y otro verso que dice:

qui bonis verbis solet trunkare ropillas.

Y luego le fue mostrada una carta que empieza: "Porque ya no puedo sufrir lo que por aqui me dicen," con una firma que dice "Lope de Vega," sobre escripta a "Rodrigo de Sayavedra" y le fue dicho si la dicha carta es suya y escripta de su mano—dixo que confiesa ser suya la carta, que la escribió a Rodrigo de Sayavedra porque se trataban como hermanos, y porque todo lo contenido en ella es publico y se trataba entre muchas personas que declarará siendole mandado.

Preguntado si es verdad que este confesante ha dicho de memoria a muchas personas mucha parte de la dicha satira—dixo que no, ni lo podia decir con verdad, sino es al Licenciado Ordoñez, y al Licenciado Castaño, que una noche ambos juntos le persuadieron les dijese los versos que sabia de la dicha satira y les dixo los tres que tiene dichos y otro que no se le acuerda, que por todos eran quatro.

Preguntado como sabe este confesante que Castillo, alguacil de la comision de Tafalla, servia a Ana Velazquez—dixo que por la dicha Ana Velazquez, que le llamó un dia a este confesante y le dixo que el dicho Castillo andaba desasosegado y desasosegandola, dandole a entender que tenia voluntad de servirla, y que ella no gustaba dello, porque no era cosa de su profesion, dandole a entender que el dicho Castillo hacía cosas y decia que le perjudicaban mucho por ser, como ella es, mujer recojida y honrada, y este confesante y el vulgo la tiene por tal, y que esta es la verdad y lo firmó.—Lope de Vega Carpio.—Ante mi San Vicente. *Ibid.* pp. 46 ff.

APPENDIX B

Of Lope's posthumous works, two volumes of comedias had been prepared for the press before his death, and appeared in the same year, 1635. They were: *Veinte y una Parte verdadera de las Comedias del*

[1] This line is taken from the beginning of the seventh Eclogue of Vergil.

Fenix de España, Frei Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, del Abito de San Juan, Familiar del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion, Procurador Fiscal de la Camara Apostolica, sacadas de sus originales, Dedicadas a Doña Elena Damiana de Juren Samano y Sotomayor, etc. Año 1635. *Con Privilegio. En Madrid, por la viuda de Alonso Martin. A costa de Diego Logroño, mercader de Libros. Vendese en sus casas de la Calle Real de las Descalzas.* 4°.

There are two *Aprobaciones*, the first signed on April 29, 1635, by Valdivieso, the second on May 19, 1635, by Quevedo. A short dedication, signed by Lope's daughter Doña Feliciana Felix del Carpio is followed by an address "to the admirers of Frei Lope Felix de Vega Carpio" by the Licentiate Joseph Ortiz de Villena, who says that he had acquired the greater part of Lope's works at no little labour, and that at the author's request Ortiz de Villena gave him these twelve comedias taken from his rough drafts and originals, in order to print them. Lope, says Ortiz de Villena, wished this volume to be the Twenty-first Part of his comedias, for the others which have been printed in Seville, Zaragoza, Valencia and elsewhere, are all by different poets, and although they bear his name they are not his, and have only served to detract from the reputation of his writings and give bread to the booksellers, who have printed them without a license. After these, Part Twenty-two will appear, and then I promise the *Vega del Parnaso*, etc.

The other volume of plays, which appeared some time after October 2, 1635, bears the title *Veintidos Parte perfeta de las Comedias del Fenix de España, Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, del Habito de San Juan, Familiar del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion, Procurador Fiscal de la Camara Apostolica. Sacadas de sus verdaderos Originales, no adulteradas como las que hasta aqui han salido. Dedicadas a la Excelentisima Señora Doña Catalina de Zuñiga y Avellaneda, Marquesa de Cañete. 64 y* 10. *Año* 1635. *Con Privilegio. En Madrid. Por la viuda de Juan Gonzalez. A costa de Domingo de Palacio y Villegas y Pedro Verges, mercaderes de libros.* 4°.

The dedication is signed by Lope's son-in-law, Luis de Usátegui. The *aprobacion* is dated May 12, 1635.[1] One of the plays in this volume *Amor, Pleito y Desafio*, is not by Lope, but is the comedia *Ganar Amigos* by Alarcon, a proof that these plays were not "taken from the true originals," as the title-page states.

Two years after this the following volume by Lope appeared: *La Vega del Parnaso, por el Fenix de España Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, del Abito de San Juan, Procurador Fiscal de la Camara Apostolica. Dirigida al Excelentissimo Señor Don Luis Fernandez de Cordova, Cardona y Aragon, Duque de Sessa, etc En Madrid, En la Imprenta del Reyno. Año* 1637 4°. The *aprobacion* is signed by Joseph de Valdivielso on August 26, 1635, and in it he mentions that Lope had just died. This was a mistake, however, as we know that Lope died on August 27, 1635 (see pp. 368 and 371). This volume, as we have frequently had occasion to see in the course of the foregoing pages, contains some of the most important biographical matter to be found in any of Lope's writings. On fol.

[1] My copy has not the above title-page, but an engraved title such as is described by La Barrera, p. 527, note. The date is also Madrid, 1635.

237, is the poem . *Felicio, Egloga pescatoria*, written upon the death of the poet's son—D. Lope Felix del Carpio y Luxan. This son, who was born in 1607, was apparently still living—so far as the father knew, at least—at the close of August, 1634, when the license to print the *Rimas* of Tomé de Burguillos was obtained: for the *Gatomachia* contained in this volume is, as we have mentioned (see p. 357), dedicated to Lope (*el mozo*), who must have died between August, 1634, and the same month of 1635. This eclogue *Felicio*, it must be admitted, expresses very little sincerity of feeling, and is one of the least happy of the poet's later compositions.

In the following year another volume of Lope's Comedias appeared, with this title: *Parte veinte y tres de las Comedias de Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, del Abito de San Pedro y de San Juan. Dedicadas a Don Gutierre Domingo de Teran y Castañeda, Señor de la Casa de Teran del Valle de Yguña, Montañas de Burgos. Por Manuel de Faria y Sousa, etc Año* 1638. *Con Privilegio. En Madrid. Por Maria de Quiñones. A costa de Pedro Coello, mercader de libros.* 4°. The *suma de privilegio*, which is in favour of Lope's son-in-law, Luis de Usátegui, is dated Jan. 16, 1638.

In 1641 there appeared: *Ventiquatro Parte perfecta de las comedias del Fenix de España, Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, del Abito de San Juan, Familiar del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion, Procurador Fiscal de la Camara Apostolica Sacadas de sus verdaderos originales, no adulteradas como las que hasta aqui han salido. A Don Bernardo de Velasco y Rojas, etc. Año* 1641 *Con Privilegio. En Zaragoza: Por Pedro Verges.* 4°.[1] The *censura* is dated at Zaragoza, October 16, 1640

There was yet another 'Part Twenty-four,' which is described by Salvá (*Catálogo*, Vol I p. 547), and of which he possessed the first 132 leaves of text, but no preliminaries. It contains the following plays *La despreciada Querida; La Industria contra el Poder y el Honor contra la Fuerza; El Labrador venturoso; El Palacio confuso; La Porfia hasta el Temor; El Juez de su Causa;* and in a 'Part XXIV,' Madrid, 1624, according to Nicolas Antonio. *El Ingrato; La Tragedia por los Zelos; La primer Culpa del Hombre; La Cruz en la Sepultura; El Honrado con su sangre*, and *El Hijo sin Padre.*[2]

[1] Another Parte XXIV (*extravagante*), Zaragoza, 1632 (and 1633), has been described above.

[2] Of these plays only seven are with any certainty to be attributed to Lope

1 *La despreciada Querida*, of this play there is a MS formerly in the possession of Duran, the third Act of which is in the handwriting of Juan Bautista de Villegas, and signed by him "En Valencia, á 15 de Mayo de 1621" There can be no question that he and not Lope is the author. See La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p 495 Hartzenbusch has printed it as Lope's in the *Bib de Aut Esp* (*Comedias de Lope*, Vol II p. 329) It is also printed in '*Parte XXVIII. de las de á fuera*,' Huesca, 1634. Salva, *Catálogo*, Vol I p 589.

2. *La Industria contra el Poder, y el Honor contra la Fuerza*, is Calderon's *Amor, Honor y Poder* (ed. Apontes, Madrid, 1761, Vol VI. p. 267). See Salvá, *Catálogo*, Vol. I. p 611 It is also contained in the above volume, Huesca, 1634.

3. *El Labrador venturoso* is printed in Part XXII. of Lope's Comedias, Madrid, 1635.

4. *El Palacio confuso* "According to Schack, the *suelta* of this title attributed to Mescua, is not his, but Lope's, and this may be presumed from Part XXVIII. *Escogidas*, in which it is ascribed to Mescua, but the style of which is rather Lope's"

The last volume of Lope's comedias to appear, bears this title. *Parte veintecinco, perfeta y verdadera, de las Comedias del Fenix de España, Frey Lope Felix del Vega Carpio, del Abito de San Juan, Familiar que fue del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion, Procurador Fiscal de la Camara Apostolica. Sacadas de sus verdaderos originales, no adulteradas como las que hasta aqui se han publicado. A Don Francisco Antonio Gonzalez Ximinez de Urrea, etc. Con licencia En Çaragoça, Por la viuda de Pedro Verges. Año* 1647. *A costa de Roberto Devport.* 4°. Judging by my own copy, it is the most wretchedly printed volume of all. Three years previously, José Ortiz de Villena published a volume of *autos* and *entremeses* by Lope entitled: *Fiestas del Santissimo Sacramento, repartidas en doce Autos sacramentales con sus Loas y Entremeses.* It was printed at Madrid and Zaragoza in 1644, and has been republished in Vol. II. of the Academy's edition of Lope.

APPENDIX C

FIRST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF LOPE DE VEGA (FEBRUARY 4, 1627)

En el nombre de la Santisima Trinidad Padre Hijo y Espiritu Santo tres personas y un solo Dios verdadero y de la Virgen Maria madre de Dios

(Chorley) It is also printed in Part XXVIII., *extravagante*, Zaragoza, 1639, and in the volume issued at Huesca, in 1634.

5 *La Porfia hasta el Temor* is printed in the *Comedias de diferentes*, etc., XXVIII., and *Parte XXVIII., extravagante*, Zaragoza, 1645, and in the above volume at Huesca, 1634 (*Salvá, Ibid*) Hartzenbusch reprinted it in the *Comedias de Lope*, Vol II p 311.

6 *El Juez de su Causa* (*El Juez de su misma Causa*). It is printed in Part XXV of Lope's Comedias, Zaragoza, 1647, also in the *Diferentes*, Part XXVIII., and in the volume at Huesca, 1634.

7. *El Ingrato* is *El Ingrato arrepentido*, printed in Lope's Part XV

8 *La Tragedia por los Zelos* is by Guillen de Castro Printed in *Comedias de Tirso de Molina y de D Guillen de Castro*, Madrid, 1878 (Libros raros y curiosos.)

9. *La primer Culpa del Hombre* (*La Creacion del Mundo*), printed in *Comedias nuevas*, Amsterdam, 1726, and is in the collection of Lord Arlington as a *suelta* Reprinted in the Academy's edition of Lope, Vol III.

10. *La Cruz en la Sepultura* is Calderon's *La Devocion de la Cruz* Also printed in the volume at Huesca, 1634.

11. *El Honrado con su Sangre* La Barrera attributes it somewhat hesitatingly to Claramonte

12. *El Hijo sin Padre.* Duran possessed a MS of this play, it is probably the same as Lope's *El Hijo de si mismo*, mentioned in the first list of the *Peregrino* See the *Catálogo de la Bib Nac* (*Piezas de Teatro*), Madrid, 1899, No 1525 From this list it appears that the volume issued at Huesca, in 1634, contained about the same plays as the one mentioned by Nicolas Antonio as having appeared at Madrid, in 1624. But I question the accuracy of the latter date. It is not probable that such a volume was issued at Madrid during Lope's lifetime. The date 1640 is much more likely

nuestra Señora concevida sin pecado original, de el Santisimo José su virgen esposo del angel de mi guarda y de el bien aventurado San Joan Bautista yo Lope Felix de Vega Carpio Clerigo Presbitero aunque indigno hijo de Felix de Vega y de Doña Francisca Fernandez Flores y estando por la vondad de Dios bueno y sano aunque receloso de que mis dias no pueden ser muchos respecto de los que han pasado de mis trabajos estudios y afliciones de espiritu, ordeno mi testamento y última voluntad en la forma que sigue. Primeramente protesto morir como he vivido en la fée cristiana creyendo y confesando todo lo que tiene y cree la Santa Iglesia Catolica apostolica Romana, los articulos de la fé pertenecientes a la divinidad de Dios y a la humanidad de Xpo. nuestro Señor la unidad de un Dios y la Trinidad de tres personas distintas, padre hijo y espiritu Santo, el nacimiento del verbo en la tierra de las purisimas entrañas de la serenisima Virgen Maria mi Señora y abogada, los discursos de su vida predicacion y milagros, su pasion y muerte por mis pecados, su resurreccion y santa pasion con todas las demas obras y misterios que contiene y particularmente confieso y creo constantemente el de la Santa Eucarestia de que soy devoto y esclavo y suplico humildemente a nuestro señor sea servido por su piedad que quando yo parta de esta miserable vida le reciba dignamente con grande contricion de mis pecados.

Por mi primera manda ofrezco y doy mi alma a Dios nuestro Señor a quien con lagrimas suplico que en aquella tremenda hora la ampare y defienda de mis enemigos para que no se pierda en mi el precio y fruto de su preciosa sangre en cuyo favor asi mismo invoco la beatisima Virgen, el angel Santo de mi guarda, el bien abenturado San Josep San Juan Bautista, mi Serafico Padre San Francisco, el Glorioso San Antonio de Padua y San Isidro de Madrid de quien yo aunque con rudo ingenio escribi su vida. El cuerpo mortal y miserable mando a la tierra de quien tuvo principio. y quiero y es mi voluntad que se la restituya sin honor alguno de los que el mundo suele dar en tales actos porque fuera de que conozco que no lo mereze deseo que solo se le haga el entierro que a un pobre sacerdote. cuanto a el lugar bien quisiera que fuera el Carmen descalzo en cuyo capitulo estan enterrados Doña Juana de Guardo mi muger y Carlos Phelix mi hijo pero como deven ser en todo preferidos los padres quiero que sea en San Sebastian donde estan sus cuerpos y por no dar fastidio en ello a los Señores que le llevaren. Cumplido con esto que siempre me ha dado mas cuidado que los bienes de fortuna que por mi natural inclinacion he tenido en poco. primeramente digo que de mis deudas no tengo aqui de espresar pues no siendo hombre de tratos ni contratos y si alguna cosa debo o me deven es entre mis amigos y esto me sera facil de satisfacer y concluir, algunos he tenido en esta vida aunque no los que pudiera por que naturalmente he sido retirado y para hazer eleccion de ellos por algunos exemplos escrupuloso, a todos devo mucho pero no puedo mostrar este reconocimiento a todos pero a todos suplice que me perdonen.

A Joan de Piña mi grande y antiguo amigo por saver quanto se ocupa en la lection de libros curiosos el tiempo que le sobra de su exercicio quiero que se le den cincuenta libros de mi estudio y le ruego que crea

de mi que quisiera que fueran otras tantas joyas de diamantes, pero piedras preciosas son los libros. a Alonso Perez a quien yo he devido y quiero tanto dexo un cuadro de una Beronica retrato de Xpo. nuestro Señor que yo he tenido siempre en gran veneracion.

A el Doctor Juan Perez de Montalvan que yo he amado y tenido en lugar de hijo dexo un retrato mio que está en mi estudio señal de mi amor y de mis pocos bienes pues con diferentes prendas habia yo de acudir a tan grandes obligaciones. A el Padre Maestro Hortensio Felix Paravicino dexo una imagen en tabla de nuestra Señora de la Concepcion obra excelente de Caravaxal y le suplico la tenga donde se acuerde que fui el hombre que mas amó sus virtudes reverenció sus letras y admiró su divino y milagroso ingenio.

A el Doctor Francisco de Quintana por las mismas razones y meritos dexo un cuadro de San Diego con las Rosas suplicandole se acuerde de mi en sus sacrificios y oraciones.

Al Licenciado Billena mi grande amigo ruego lo mismo y le dexo un cuadro de Santa Catalina de Sena. A Lorenza Sanchez por lo bien que me ha servido dexo docientos reales.

Al Duque de Sessa mi Señor suplico no se tenga su escelencia por deserbido de aceptar por prenda de reconocimiento a las infinitas mercedes que he recivido de su generosa mano un retrato de mi mocedad donde hay una embidia pintada y otras figuras morales, para que su excelencia se acuerde que desde aquella hedad le comencé a servir y que con verdadero amor y lealtad no he faltado a mi obligacion.

Nombro por mis albaceas a Alonso Perez librero de Camara de S.M. con la Señora Doña Mariana de Cepeda atrebiendome a darles este cuidado pensar que sera tan poco y lo que yo debo fiar de amor que siempre me han tenido. Iten es mi voluntad que se digan por el Ilustrisimo y Reverendisimo Señor Don Geronimo Manrique Obispo de Avila que Dios tiene cien misas en señal que reconozco en mi muerte lo mucho que le debi al principio de mi bida. Y asi mismo por mi alma quinientas misas suplicando afectuosamente a los Señores albaceas sea con toda brebedad y si pudiere ser en la misma semana y advirtiendo que sea con personas seguras y porque suelen tal vez los testamentos andar en diversas manos, y al presente soy sacerdote declaro que he sido casado dos beces, la primera con Doña Isabel de Urbina hermana del Regidor Diego de Urbina Rey de Armas de S.M. de quien tube a Teodora y a Antonia ya difuntas.—Y la segunda con Doña Juana de Guardo hija de Antonio de Guardo de quien tube a Juana y a Carlos Phelix asi mismo difuntos y a hora al presente a Doña Feliciana Phelix que sola de todos mis hijos me ha quedado a quien nombro por universal heredera de todos mis bienes con la benedicion de Dios y mia, asegurandole mi amor si un padre tiene necesidad de asegurarle, que la quisiera dexar lo que se puede creer de mi obligacion, si bien pienso que haverle dado tal madre es el mayor tesoro que le pude dexar, resta que pues ella no la conoció porque su parto le costó la vida conozca y respete a quien la ha criado con justo amor y agradecimiento aunque esto es tan seguro en su birtud y entendimiento. A Albaro Lopez de Castro mayordomo que fue del

Exmo. Señor Duque de Alba empeñe una joya en dos mil reales, hera de valor de quatro mil, murió sin declararlo, puse pleito a sus heredores y el amor y respeto que le tuve me obligó a no le proseguir entonces declaro esto por si en algun tiempo como en el mundo sucede saliere algun heredero a pedir habiendose de cobrar de el mas de dos mil reales, sin un cofre de bestidos, de que se encargó como albacea de Doña Juana de que por su ausencia nunca dió cuenta ni en su muerte dexó memoria.

Esto escribi de mi mano y letra y es hasta ahora mi ultima voluntad y lo firmé de mi nombre en Madrid a cuatro de Febrero de mil y seiscientos y veinte y siete. Lope de Vega Carpio.

From the inventory filed on the following day we learn that Lope's library consisted of fifteen hundred volumes.

La Barrera, *Nueva Biografía*, p. 670.

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF LOPE DE VEGA (AUGUST 26, 1635)

"En el nombre de Dios nuestro Señor, amen Sepan los que vieren esta scriptura de Testamento y ultima voluntad, como yo Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, presvitero de la sagrada rrelixion de San Juan, estando enfermo en la cama, de enfermedad que Dios nuestro Señor fué servido de me dar, y en mi memoria, juicio y entendimiento natural; creyendo y confesando, como verdaderamente creo y confieso, el misterio de la santisima Trinidad, Padre, hixo y Spiritu Santo, que son tres personas y un solo Dios verdadero, y lo demas que crehe y enseña la santa madre yglesia catholica romana; y en esta fe me güelgo haber vivido y protesto viuir y morir; y con esta ynbocacion divina otorgo mi testamento, desapropiamento y declaracion en la forma siguiente:

Lo primero encomiendo mi alma a Dios nuestro Señor, que la crió a su ymagen y semexanca y la rredimió por su preciosa sangre, al qual suplico la perdone y lleve a su santa gloria; para lo qual pongo por mi yntercesora a la Sacratisima Virgen Maria conceuida sin pecado original, y a todos los santos y santas de la corte del cielo; y difunto mi cuerpo, sea restituido a la tierra de que fué formado.

Difunto mi cuerpo sea bestido con las ynsignias de la dha rrelixion de San Juan y sea depositado en la yglesia, lugar que hordenare el Exmmo. Señor Duque de Sesa, mi Señor, y paguese los derechos.

El dia de mi muerte, si fuere ora y si no otro siguiente, se diga por mi alma misa cantada de cuerpo presente, en la forma que se acostumbra con los demas relixiosos. Y en quanto al acompañamiento de mi entierro, onrras, novenario y demas osequias y misas de alma y rreçadas que por mi alma se an de dezir, lo dexo al parecer de mis albaceas ó de la persona que lixitimamente le tocare esta disposicion.

Declaro que antes de ser sacerdote y rrelixioso, fui casado segun orden de la santa madre Iglesia con Doña Juana de Guardo, hixa de Antonio de Guardo y Doña Maria de Collantes su muger, difuntos, vezinos que

fueron desta villa, y la dha mi muxer trajo por dote suyo a mi poder veinte y dos mil trecientos y ochenta y dos rreales de plata doble, é yo la hize de arras quinientos ducados, de que otorgué scriptura ante Juan de Piña, y dellos soy deudor a Doña Phelíciana Felix del Carpio, mi hixa única y de la dicha mi muger, a quien mando se paguen y rrestituyan de lo mexor de mi hacienda con las ganancias que le tocare.—Declaro que la dicha Doña Phelíciana mi hixa está casada con Luis de Usategui, vecino desta villa ; y al tiempo que se trató de dho. casamiento, le ofrecí cinco mill ducados de dote, compreendiendose en ellos lo que á la dicha mi hixa le tocase de su abuelo materno, y dellos otorgué scriptura ante el dicho Juan de Piña, a que me rremito ; y respecto de haber estado yo alcançado, no e pagado ni satisfho. por quenta de la dicha dote maravedis, ni otra cosa alguna, aunque e cobrado de la herencia del dicho mi suegro algunas cantidades, como parecerá en las cartas de pago que e dado.—mando se les paguen los dichos cinco mill ducados.

A las mandas forçosas si algun derecho tienen, les mando quatro reales.

A los lugares santos de Jerusalem mando veinte reales.—Y para casamiento de doncellos guerfanas un real —Y para ayudar a la beatificacion de la beata Maria de la caueça, otro rreal y para cunplir y pagar este mi testamento y declaracion, nombro por mis albaceas al dicho Exmo. Señor Duque de Sesa, Don Luis fernandez de Córdoua y luis de Usategui, mi yerno, y a qualquiera de los dos *in solidum* ; a los quales con esta facultad doy poder para que luego que yo fallezca vendan de mis bienes los necesarios y cumplan este testamento, y les dure el tiempo necesario, aunque sea pasado el año del albaceasgo.

Declaro que el Rey nuestro Señor, Dios le guarde, usando de su benignidad y largueça, a muchos años que en rremuneración del mucho afecto y voluntad con que le e servido, me ofreció dar un oficio para la persona que casase con la dicha mi hixa, conforme a la calidad de la dicha persona, y porque con esta esperança tuvo efectto el dicho matrimonio, y el dicho Luis de Usátegui, mi hierno, es hombre principal y noble y está muy alcançado, suplico a Su magestad con toda humildad y al exmo. Señor Conde Duque, en atencion de lo rreferido onrre al dho. mi hierno haciendole merced como lo fio de su grandeza

Cóbrese todo lo que paresciere me deuen, y paguese lo que lixitimamente paresciere que yo devo

Y cumplido en el rremanente de todos mis vienes, derechos y acciones, nonbro por mi heredera unibersal a la dicha Doña Feliciana Félix del Carpio, mi hixa única, y en quanto a los que pueden tocar a la dicha sagrada rrelixion de San Juan, tambien cumpliendo con los estatutos della, nombro a la dha. sagrada rreligion para que cada uno lleve lo que le perteneciere

Revoco y doy por ningunos y de ningun efectto todos y qualesquier testamentos, cobdicilios, desapropiamientos, mandas, legados y poderes para testar, que antes deste aya hecho y otorgado por scripto, de palabra, y en otra qualquier manera, para que no valgan ni hagan fee, en juicio ni fuera del, salbo este, que es mi testamento, declaracion y desapropiamiento, el qual quiero y mando se guarde y cumpla por tal ó como

mexor aia lugar de derecho; y lo otorgo ansi ante el scriuano del número y testigos de yuso scriptos. En la villa de Madrid a veinte y seis dias del mes de Agosto, año de mil seiscientos y treinta y cinco. É yo el scriuano doy fe conozco al dicho Sr. otorgante, y a lo que paresció estaua en su juicio y entendimiento natural, y lo firmo: testigos el Sr. Joseph, digo, Philipe de Vergara, medico, y Juan de Prado platero de oro, y el licenciado Joseph Ortiz de Villena, presuitero, y Don Juan de Solis, y Diego de logroño, residentes en esta corte; y tambien lo firmaron tres de los testigos.—Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio.—el licenciado Don Felipe de Vergara.—D. Juan de Solis.—El licenciado Joseph hortiz de Villena. —ante mi Francisco de Morales."[1]

[1] La Barrera, *Nueva Biografía*, p. 498. Ticknor, I believe, first published this Testament. See his *History of Spanish Literature*, Vol. II p. 225.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRELIMINARY NOTE

The circumstances which led to the insertion of the appended lists are set forth in the preface. Here I need only repeat that the basis of the present bibliography is an interleaved and richly annotated copy of John Rutter Chorley's *Catálogo de Comedias y Autos de Frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio* which was originally printed at the end of the fifty-second volume of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (pp. 535-558). This interleaved copy was bequeathed by Chorley to the British Museum, and was received by the Museum officials on November 9, 1867. There it appears to have remained unnoticed by all students of Spanish, with the exception of Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly who informed me of its existence, and supplied me with a copy of it. The title of the revised version reads:—*Catálogo de Comedias y Autos de Lope de Vega. Por J. R. C. Impreso en Madrid:—con adiciones y notas de Barrera. Año de* 1861. *Adicionado y corregido en MS. por su redactor original. Año de* 1864. The press-mark is 11725 h. The original is wholly in Spanish: the comments and notes are here given in English.

In his preliminary *Advertencia* Chorley states that the first draft was finished in October 1857, and duly forwarded to Hartzenbusch, who communicated it to La Barrera (1860). It was published in 1861 with La Barrera's *adiciones y correcciones*, and with a few notes by Hartzenbusch. Chorley observes that, with the exception of the list in the 1618 edition of the *Peregrino en su patria*, which had been overlooked or forgotten for more than a century, La Barrera's additions are of no great value, that La Barrera's "corrections" do not always deserve the name, and that La Barrera occasionally represents himself as being the author of notes which, as a matter of fact, figured in the original manuscript. In the *refinte* Chorley restores his *Catálogo* to its primitive form which Hartzenbusch and La Barrera had altered. This unauthorized re-arrangement of the materials was not, in the English bibliographer's opinion, a change for the better.

Though it dates back to 1864, Chorley's revision of his work is so characteristically thorough that it leaves comparatively little to be gleaned by his successors. Still, I have spared no pains to attain additional accuracy in the minutiæ, and I have embodied the

supplementary information which Chorley would certainly have included, had it been available in his time. On the other hand, it is right to say that, though the sequence and disposition of material adopted by Chorley have been respected, condensation has been freely used in certain sections. Needless repetition has thus been avoided without the sacrifice of any essential point Chorley's *obiter dicta*—always interesting, usually luminous, and often denoting fine critical insight—have been preserved, but, in some few instances, I have ventured to record my dissent from his conclusions

In so extensive a series of elaborate tables, abounding at every page in complex details, the possibilities of error are almost illimitable, and experts will no doubt detect in the subjoined lists a certain number of mistakes, omissions, superfluities, and contradictions But I trust that the proportion of such defects may not be excessive, and, in any case, I can promise that all corrections of my shortcomings will be received with gratitude.

H A R.

CATALOGUE OF COMEDIAS AND AUTOS

OF

FREY LOPE FELIX DE VEGA CARPIO

NOTES AND EXPLANATIONS

The titles of the dramatic works which make up this Catalogue have been gathered together from the works quoted below.

In the first place comes the great collection of *Comedias de Lope de Vega*, which consists of twenty-five volumes or *Partes*, in Spanish quarto, printed between 1604 and 1647. In the copies of which any information exists at present, *Partes III* and *V* of this series correspond apparently to another collection of various comedias by divers authors: so that, strictly speaking, *Partes III* and *V* of Lope's comedias are unknown. And, on the other hand, while there exist a *Parte XXII* and a *Parte XXIV* of comedias, really and truly written by Lope de Vega, there are also another *Parte XXII* and two separate volumes entitled *Parte XXIV* which purport to be by our author and in fact contain pieces by him, though these are intermingled with plays by other poets.

The volume entitled *Seis comedias de Lope de Vega* printed at Madrid in 1603, though it usually appears as printed at Lisbon, contains a comedia by our author following upon five supposititious comedias ascribed to him.

The work to which Lope's son-in-law, D. Luis de Usátegui, gave the title of *La Vega del Parnaso*[1] contains eight comedias by Lope.

Two are contained in the *Relacion de las fiestas que la Villa de Madrid hizo en la canonizacion de san Isidro*.

A book entitled *Doce comedias nuevas de Lope de Vega y otros autores, Segunda Parte* contains four comedias by Lope.

Four volumes, numbered *Parte XXVI*, *Parte XXVII*, *Parte XXVIII* and *Parte XXIX de Comedias de Lope* include plays by our author and

[1] As this volume was not published till 1637, two years after Lope's death, Chorley considers that Lope was probably not responsible for the title.

others.[1] These four are usually called by bibliographers *Partes* (volumes of comedias) *de Lope de Vega extravagantes.*

Comedias by Lope are found, moreover, in *Parte XXVIII de comedias de diferentes autores* and in *Partes XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXVII* and *XLIV* of that collection.

Comedias by Lope are likewise found in certain volumes of dramatic works, printed separately, in addition to those already cited, and in various collections of *comedias sueltas* which are duly mentioned below.

Between 1562 and 1704 there appeared at Madrid a collection of *Comedias escogidas* which reached a total of forty-eight volumes or *Partes.* Works by Lope are contained in *Partes III, VI, VII, VIII, X, XV, XVI, XVIII, XX, XXV, XXVIII, XXXVII, XXXIX, XLII* and *XLIV.*

Lastly we know of autographs and manuscript copies of comedias by Lope in various public and private libraries, and the titles of these are embodied in the present Catalogue

This has been completed, as far as possible, by means of the titles of comedias printed by Lope himself in the two editions of his work, *El Peregrino en su patria,* due use being made, as a last resource, of the *Indice general alfabético de las comedias que se venden en casa de los herederos de Francisco Medel del Castillo,* printed at Madrid in 1725, and the *Catálogo alfabético del Teatro español,* printed at Madrid by Don Vicente Garcia de la Huerta in 1785

Appended is the Key to the abbreviations used to denote, as often as possible, the public or private library in which a given volume or dramatic work exists, or the writer who conveys information concerning it.

KEY TO THE ABBREVIATIONS

Aguilar. = Gaspar de Aguilar.
Alarcon. = Don Juan Ruiz de Alarcon y Mendoza.
Barr. = Don Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera, Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del Teatro antiguo español desde sus orígines hasta mediados del siglo XVIII Madrid, 1860.
Belmonte. = Luis de Belmonte.
Bib. Nac. = Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid).
Brit. Mus. = British Museum.

[1] So far as I am aware, comments Chorley, the *Partes extravagantes XXVI, XXVII* and *XXVIII* do not exist and are only known from the fact that Fajardo mentions them in his Index. Some fragments of them are (apparently) preserved in three vols. (see pp. 437-438) now in the Osuna Library

Calderon. = Pedro-Calderon de la Barca.
Cáncer. = Jerónimo Cáncer.
C. de varios: 1638. = Doce comedias de varios autores. Tortosa, 1638.
Claramonte. = Andrés de Claramonte.
C. N. Amst. = Comedias nuevas. Amsterdam, 1726.
C. N. Barcel.: 1630. = Doce comedias nuevas de Lope de Vega y otros. Barcelona, 1630.
Cubillo. = Alvaro Cubillo.
Dif. XXVIII, etc. = Comedias de diferentes autores. Parte XXVIII, etc.
Duran.[1] = In Agustin Duran's collection.
Enciso. = Diego Jimenez de Enciso.
Enriquez Gomez. = Antonio Enriquez Gomez.
Escog. I, II, etc. = Comedias escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España, Parte I, II, etc.
Fajardo.[2] = Juan Isidro Fajardo, author of a manuscript *Indice de Comedias*.
Figueroas. = Diego and José de Figueroa.
Gayangos.[3] = In Pascual de Gayangos's collection.
Godinez. = Felipe Godinez.
Góngora. = Luis de Góngora.
Guevara. = Luis Velez de Guevara.
G. L. 1617 = Cuatro comedias famosas de Góngora y Lope. Madrid, 1617.
(H.) = Catalogue of Don Vicente Garcia de la Huerta. Madrid, 1785.
H. A. R. = In Hugo Albert Rennert's collection.
Holland. = In Lord Holland's collection.
Hoz y Mota. = Juan de la Hoz y Mota.
Hurtado de Velarde = Alfonso Hurtado de Velarde.
J. R. C.[4] = In John Rutter Chorley's collection.
Labouchere.[5] = In Henry Labouchere's collection.

[1] On Duran's death in 1863 his collection was bought by the State, and is now in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

[2] Chorley notes that he possessed a copy of Fajardo's manuscript Index, the original of which is in the Biblioteca Nacional. This Index, which was compiled at Madrid in 1717, professes to contain the titles of all the comedias in Spanish and Portuguese verse printed down to the year 1716.

[3] On Gayangos's death in 1897 his collection was bought by the State, and is now in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

[4] Chorley's collection was bequeathed by him to the British Museum.

[5] Henry Labouchere, born August 15, 1798, was created Baron Taunton on August 18, 1857 he died on July 13, 1869. His library contained the most complete series of Lope's comedias known to Chorley it included all the *Partes* hereafter named, except Parte XXIV of Madrid, 1640. Chorley purposely omitted to note the volumes of Lope's comedias in Lord Holland's collection, as all of them were in the British Museum Nor, save in a few instances, have I noted the volumes in my own collection, which lacks only Parte XVI to be complete.

La Barrera appended to Chorley's note the statement that the above-named Parte XXIV was in the Biblioteca Nacional. In the revised copy Chorley disputes this, quotes Hartzenbusch in support of his view, and, on the authority of a letter from

Laso de la Vega. = Gabriel Lobo Laso de la Vega.
Leyva. = Francisco de Leyva Ramirez de Arellano.
Lisboa. 1603. = Seis comedias de Lope de Vega. Lisboa, por Pedro Crasbeeck: 1603.
Malaspina = Francisco Malaspina.
Martinez = Antonio Martinez.
Matos Fragoso = Juan de Matos Fragoso
M. = Indice general alfabético de las comedias que se venden en casa de los herederos de Francisco Medel del Castillo. Madrid, 1725.
Mejia de la Cerda = El Licenciado Mejia de la Cerda.
Mes. Rom.[1] = Ramon Mesonero Romanos.
Mira de Mescua = Antonio Mira de Mescua, Amescua ó Amezcua.
Monroy = Cristóbal de Monroy
Montalvan. = Juan Perez de Montalvan.
Moreto = Agustin Moreto y Cavana
Olózaga = In Salustiano de Olózaga's collection.
Osuna. = In the Duke of Osuna's collection.
P. = In the list of comedias which figures in the first edition of the *Peregrino en su patria*, Sevilla 1604, and Madrid 1604.
P[2] = In the list of comedias which figures in the sixth edition of the *Peregrino en su patria*, Madrid, 1618
Pidal. = In the Marqués de Pidal's collection
Relacion de las fiestas, etc = Relacion de las fiestas que la Villa de Madrid hizo en la canonizacion de san Isidro. Madrid, 1622
Rayon. = In José Sancho Rayon's collection.
Rojas = Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla
Rubí. = In Tomás Rodriguez Rubí's collection.
S. = *Suelta.*
Salucio del Poyo = Damian Salustrio, or Salustio, or Salucio, del Poyo.
Salvá = Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá, 2 vols., Valencia, 1872.

Gayangos, asserts that in October 1862 the set of Lope's comedias in the Biblioteca was constituted as follows the *Partes* preceded by an asterisk existed in duplicate

*I	Valladolid, 1609.	*XII.	Madrid, 1619.
II.	Barcelona, 1611	XIII	Madrid, 1620
	Madrid, 1618,	*XIV.	Madrid, 1621.
	Barcelona, 1630,	*XV	Madrid, 1621.
III	Barcelona, 1612	XVI	[Absent from the collection.]
	Madrid, 1613.	XVII	
IV	Madrid, 1614.	*XVIII	Madrid, 1623.
*V.	Barcelona, 1617.	*XIX.	Valladolid, 1627.
VI	[Incomplete the title-page and four plays are missing]	XX	Barcelona, 1630. [and also a defective copy of this *Parte*]
VII	[Absent from the collection]	*XXI	Madrid, 1635
*VIII	Barcelona, 1617	XXII	Madrid, 1635
IX.	Barcelona, 1618.		Zaragoza, "1635."
X.	Barcelona, 1618	XXIV.	Zaragoza, 1633
	Madrid, (?) 1621	XXIV.	Zaragosa, 1641
XI.	Barcelona, 1618.	XXV.	Zaragoza, 1647.
	Madrid, 1618		

[1] See the bibliography by Ramon Mesonero Romanos in the second section of *Dramáticos Contemporáneos á Lope de Vega*, which forms the forty-fifth volume of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* Chorley regards this *Catálogo*, and another by the same author in the forty-seventh volume of the *Biblioteca*, as being of no value

Schack. = Schack, Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1845-46 and (with supplement) 1854.
Suelta: Arlington. = In Lord Arlington's collection of *comedias sueltas* (British Museum).
Tárrega. = El canónigo Francisco de Tárrega.
Ticknor. = Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature.
Tirso. = Tirso de Molina (Frey Gabriel Tellez)
Valdivielso. = El Maestro José de Valdivielso.
Vega del P. = Forms part of the *Vega del Parnaso*. Madrid, 1637.
Vienna. = In the Imperial Library at Vienna.
Villaviciosa. = Sebastian de Villaviciosa.
Villegas. = Juan Bautista de Villegas.

Plays marked + are known to be by an author other than Lope.

Plays marked × contain no *figura del donayre*, and consequently they may be regarded (for the most part, at all events) as dating from before 1600.

CATALOGUE OF COMEDIAS

COMEDIAS PUBLISHED COLLECTIVELY, OR FOUND IN COLLECTIONS KNOWN TO US

Seis Comedias de Lope de Vega [1]

En Lisboa, por Pedro Crasbeeck, 1603, á costa de Francisco Lopez (Schack, *Nachtrage*, 40) [2]

This book contains the following comedias

+ La Destruicion de Constantinopla.
[Not by Lope but by Laso de la Vega.]
La Fundacion de la Alhambra de Granada.[3]
La Libertad de Castilla por el Conde Fernan Gonçales.[3]
[En lengua antigua]

[1] A copy of this edition, formerly in Chorley's possession, is now in the British Museum Library For a description of the volume, see text, pp. 156, 157 and *n.*

[2] Lope, in the preface to the *Peregrino*, stated that this volume was printed in Castile, and warned readers against believing that these comedias were his, though they bore his name. The last, *Carlos el Perseguido*, is his, though probably corrupt. [Barr.]

According to a letter to Chorley from Ticknor, dated November 5, 1857, there exists in the Ambrosian Library at Milan an edition with the same title and contents, except that the title-page reads *Con licencia de la Santa Inquisicion y Ordinario. En Madrid Impreso por Pedro de Madrigal. Año* 1603. See pp. 157-158 of text.

It may be supposed that there was only one edition, some copies with the true indication of place and printer, and others with a false indication of the same. [Hartzenbusch.]

[3] These plays are almost certainly not by Lope, and probably belong to an earlier period. [Chorley.]

Las Haçañas del Cid y su muerte, con la toma de Valencia.[1]
Los Amigos enojados y verdadera amistad.[2]
× El Perseguido. (P.)

[This appears in Part I of the Comedias of Lope.]

COMEDIAS DE LOPE DE VEGA

(PARTES I–XXV) 1604-47

PARTE I[3]

Valencia: 1604 (Schack)
Valencia 1605 (Labouchere, J. R. C).
Madrid: 1604 (Labouchere).
Zaragoza · 1604 (Brit. Mus.).
Valladolid 1604 (J R. C).
Valladolid. 1605 (Barr.)
Antwerp 1607 (Schack, J R C., H. A. R).
Valladolid. 1609 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, University of Madrid, Bib. Nac., J. R. C.).
Brussels: 1611 (see Dieze's translation of Velazquez, p. 331 *n*).
Milano 1619 (J. R C.).
Zaragoza por Juan de Larumbe, 1626. (Ticknor.) 12mo.

× Los donaires de Matico. (P El Matico.).
× Carlos el Perseguido (P. El Perseguido).
× El cerco de Santa Fe y ilustre hazaña de Garcilaso de la Vega. (P. Garcilaso de la Vega).
× Comedia Bamba (P. El Rey Bamba)
× La Traycion bien acertada. P.
× El Hijo de Reduan
× Urson y Valentin, hijos del Rey de Francia. P.
× El casamiento en la muerte (y hechos de Bernardo del Carpio). P.
× La Escolástica celosa. P.
× La amistad pagada.
× La Comedia del molino.
× El testimonio vengado.

[At the beginning of this volume there are eleven *loas* and twelve *entremeses*. In certain editions (ex gr Valencia, 1605) some of the

[1] This play is almost certainly not by Lope, and probably belongs to an earlier period. [Chorley.]

[2] Chorley considers the authenticity of this piece to be doubtful. See text, p. 157 *n*.

[3] Some editions (ex. gr. the Valencian edition of 1605) begin with the seventh piece, *Urson y Valentin*, and so on to the twelfth, then continuing with the first play, *El Matico*, and finishing with *El Hijo de Reduan*.

entremeses are lacking, while in other editions (ex. gr. Valladolid, 1604, Milan, 1619; and Zaragoza, 1626) the *entremeses* are omitted altogether. In the edition of Valladolid, 1609, the *entremeses* are at the end of the volume.]

Parte II

Madrid: 1609 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere).
Valladolid. 1609 (Schack).
Madrid. 1610 (Barr.).
Barcelona 1611 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, University of Madrid, J.R.C.).
Valladolid: 1611 (Labouchere).
Brussels. 1611 (Schack, J. R C.).
Antwerp: 1611 (H. A. R.).
Lisboa: 1612 (Salvá, I, p. 537).
Madrid. 1618 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere)
Barcelona. 1630 (Bib. Nac.).

× La fuerza lastimosa. P
× La ocasion perdida. P.
El gallardo Catalan. (P. El Catalan valeroso.).
× El Mayorazgo dudoso P
× La resistencia honrada y Condesa Matilde (? P. La Condesa).
× Los Benavides. P.
Los Comendadores de Córdoba (P. Los Comendadores.)
× La Bella mal maridada. P.
× Los tres diamantes P.
× La Quinta de Florencia [P. and P². under the title of *El primer Medicis*]
× El Padrino desposado. P and P².
× Las ferias de Madrid. P.

Parte III

Parte tercera de las comedias de Lope de Vega y otros autores, con sus loas y entremeses.[1]

Valencia. 1611 ?
Barcelona, por Sebastian de Cormellas, al Call. Año de 1612 (Bib Nac).
Sevilla. 1613 ?
Madrid: 1613 (Brit. Mus, Labouchere, J R. C., Bib. Nac., University of Madrid).
Barcelona. 1614 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere).

Los hijos de la Barbuda [by Guevara]
La adversa fortuna del caballero del Espiritu Santo [by Grajal].
El Espejo del mundo [by Guevara].
1. La Noche toledana [by Lope] P².
La tragedia de doña Inés de Castro [by Mejía de la Cerda].

[1] This Third Part and the Fifth, although generally included in the series of Lope's Comedias, seem to belong to the series of Comedias de diferentes autores.

Baron von Münch-Bellinghausen, author of the work entitled *Über das älteren Sammlungen Spanischer Dramen*, printed at Vienna in 1852, conjectures that this Third

2. Las mudanzas de fortuna y sucesos de don Beltran de Aragon [by Lope]. (P². D. Beltran de Aragon.).
   La privanza y caida de don Alvaro de Luna [by Salucio del Poyo].
   La próspera fortuna del Caballero del Espiritu Santo [by Grajal].
   El Esclavo del demonio [by Mira de Mescua].
   La próspera fortuna de Ruy Lopez de Avalos [by Salucio del Poyo].
   La adversa fortuna de Ruy Lopez de Avalos.
3. Vida y Muerte del santo Negro llamado san Benedito de Palermo. (El Santo Negro Rosambuco) [by Lope] P².
   [With five *loas* and three *entremeses*.]

Parte IV

Madrid: 1614 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, Bib. Nac.).
Pamplona: 1614 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, University of Madrid).
Barcelona, 1614 (Brit. Mus., J. R. C.).

× Laura perseguida. P.
× El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Colon. (? P. El nuevo mundo.).
   El asalto de Mastrique por el Principe de Parma. (P². El asalto de Mastrique.).
   Peribañez y el Comendador de Ocaña. P².
   El Genoves liberal. P².
× Los torneos de Aragon P
   La boda entre dos maridos. P².
× El Amigo por fuerza. P.
× El galan Castrucho. (P. El Rufian Castrucho.).
× Los embustes de Zelauro. (P. Los enredos de Zelauro.).
× La fe rompida. P.
× El Tirano castigado. P. and P²

Parte V. (Supposititious.)

Flor de las Comedias de España de diferentes autores.

Madrid: 1615 (Salvá, I, p. 539).
Madrid: 1616 (Brit. Mus.).
Barcelona: 1616 (Brit. Mus., University of Madrid).
Alcala: 1615 (Labouchere, J.R.C.).
Barcelona: 1617 (according to Gayangos, there was a copy of this edition in the Bib.Nac.).

[Each Comedia is preceded by a *loa* and a *baile*.]

Part was printed before 1613, perhaps in Seville, or more probably at Valencia. These doubts are cleared up by my discovery of a Barcelona edition (Sebastian de Cormellas, 1612) which contains the original *Aprobacion* of the book given in Valencia by Doctor Gaspar Escolano in the previous year. Was there by chance another edition of Valencia, 1611? [Barr]

[1]El exemplo de casadas y prueba de la paciencia [by Lope].
Las desgracias del Rey don Alfonso el Casto [by Mira de Mescua].
La Tragedia de los siete Infantes de Lara [by Hurtado de Velarde]
El Bastardo de Ceuta [by Grajales].
La venganza honrosa [by Aguilar].
La hermosura de Raquel [Parte Primera and Parte Segunda by Luis Velez de Guevara].
El premio de las letras por Felipe II [by Salucio del Poyo].
La guarda cuidadosa [by Miguel Sanchez]
El loco cuerdo [by Valdivielso]
La rueda de la fortuna [by Mira de Mescua]
La Enemiga favorable [by Tárrega]

Parte VI

Madrid 1615 (Labouchere, J. R. C.). Madrid 1616 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, J. R. C., University of Barcelona 1616 (Salvá, I, p. 539). Madrid.)

La batalla del honor. P².
La obediencia laureada y primer Carlos de Hungria P²
El Hombre de bien P².
El Servir con mala estrella. P².
El Cuerdo en su casa. P²
La Reina Juana de Napoles
El Duque de Viseo P²
El Secretario de si mismo. P².
El Llegar en ocasion P²
El Testigo contra sí P²
El mármol de Felisardo P
El mejor maestro el tiempo.

[1]To this La Barrera added the following note: "According to Fajardo, there was printed at Seville a *Quinta Parte de comedias de Lope*, containing the pieces entitled

1. El Amor enamorado
2. Las bizarrias de Belisa.
   La historia de Marsagatos.
3. El desprecio agradecido
+ El Animal profeta, San Julian
4. El guante de Doña Blanca
   El gran Cardenal de España, don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza
5. La mayor victoria de Alemania.
6. La mayor virtud de un Rey
   Nardo Antonio, Bandolero
7. Porfiando vence amor.
8. Si no vieran las mujeres

"He refers to this Part, five other plays by different authors." Upon this Hartzenbusch remarks that as volumes of comedias usually contain twelve pieces, it seems strange that this volume should contain seventeen. See *Comedias escogidas de Lope de Vega*, Vol. IV, p. 538, *n* (*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*).

In a note Chorley observes that La Barrera is mistaken. "The eight plays numbered 1 . . 8 (which are given in the *Vega del Parnaso*) are thus cited by Fajardo "En Parte Quinta *de Madrid*", or "En su Parte Quinta." Only *El Animal Profeta*, which is not by Lope but by Mira de Mescua, is given by Fajardo as *Suelta en Sevilla*. I have a *suelta* (printed, apparently, during the first half of the eighteenth century) in which this play is ascribed to Lope.

Parte VII

Madrid: 1617 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, University of Madrid). Barcelona: 1617 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, J. R. C.).

El Villano en su rincon. P².
El castigo del discreto. P².
× Las pobrezas de Reinaldos. P.
El gran Duque de Moscovia y Emperador perseguido. P².
Las paces de los Reyes y Judia de Toledo. P².
Los Porceles de Murcia. P².
La Hermosura aborrecida. P².
El Primer Faxardo. (? P. Los Faxardos.).
Viuda, casada, y doncella. P².
× El Príncipe despeñado. (? P. El Despeñado.).
La Serrana de la Vera. P.
San Isidro labrador de Madrid. P².

[The volume ends with four *loas*, three *entremeses* and three *bailes*.]

Parte VIII

Madrid: 1617 (Brit. Mus., University of Madrid). Barcelona: 1617 (Labouchere, J. R. C., Bib. Nac.).

El Despertar a quien duerme. P².
El anzuelo de Fenisa.
× Los locos por el Cielo. P.
El mas galan portugues, Duque de Berganza.
× El Argel fingido y Renegado de Amor. P. (MS. Brit. Mus.).
El postrer Godo de España [Also in Parte XXV under the title of *El Ultimo Godo*]. P².
× La prision sin culpa. P.
× El Esclavo de Roma. P.
× La Imperial de Oton.[1]
El vaquero de Morana.[2] P. and P².
× Angélica en el Catay.[2] P.
× El Niño inocente de la Guardia. P².

[The volume ends with three *entremeses*, four *loas*, and three *bailes*.]

[1] Though not given in P there is no *grueso* in this play.

[2] These pieces are missing in Nicolas Antonio's list, and in the list copied from Antonio by Schack.

Parte IX

Madrid : 1617 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, J R. C., University of Madrid).
Madrid : 1618 (Schack). Barcelona : 1618 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, J. R. C., Bib. Nac.).

N.B. *This volume is the first issued by Lope himself.*

La prueba de los ingenios.
La Doncella Teodor.
El amete de Toledo.
El Ausente en el lugar.
La Niña de plata.
El Animal de Ungria.
Del mal lo ménos.
× La hermosa Alfreda. (P. Hermosura de Alfreda.).
Los Ponces de Barcelona. P².
× La Varona castellana. P.
La Dama boba. P².
Los melindres de Belisa. P².

Parte X

Madrid · 1618 (J. R. C, Labouchere, University of Madrid.) Barcelona : 1618 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, Bib. Nac.).
Madrid : 1620 (Brit. Mus).
Madrid : 1621 (Bib Nac.).[1]

El Galan de la Membrilla. P². (MS. Brit Mus, 1615.)
La venganza venturosa. P².
Don Lope de Cardona. P².
La humildad y la soberbia.[2] P².
El Amante agradecido.
Los Guanches de Tenerife, y conquista de Canaria. P².
La octava maravilla. P².
El sembrar en buena tierra. P².
El Blason de los Chaves de Villalba. P.
Juan de Dios y Anton Martin. (P². S. Juan de Dios.).
La Burgalesa de Lerma. P².
El poder vencido y el amor premiado. P².

[1] This is given on the authority of a letter from Gayangos to Chorley. See also Salvá, I, p 541.

[2] This is the title in the *Tabla* in the text the title reads *Triunfo de la humildad: y soberbia abatida*

Parte XI

Madrid: 1618 (Labouchere, University of Madrid, Bib. Nac.).
Barcelona: 1618 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, J. R. C., Bib. Nac.).

El perro del Hortelano. P².
El azero de Madrid. P².
Las dos estrellas trocadas, y ramilletes de Madrid. P².
Obras son amores. P².
Servir á señor discreto. P².
El Príncipe perfeto, parte primera. [The *Parte Segunda* is in Parte XVIII.]
El Amigo hasta la muerte. P².
La locura por la honra. P².
El Mayordomo de la Duquesa de Amalfi. P².
El arenal de Sevilla. P.
La Fortuna merecida.
× La tragedia del Rey don Sebastian, y bautismo del Principe de Marruécos. (P. ? El Principe de Marruecos.).

Parte XII

Madrid: 1619[1] (Brit. Mus., J. R. C., Labouchere, University of Madrid, Bib Nac.).

Ello dirá.
La sortija del olvido.
Los Enemigos en casa. P².
La cortesia de España.
Al pasar del arroyo.
× El Marqués de Mántua. P.
Los Hidalgos de la aldea.
Las flores de don Juan y rico y pobre trocados. P².
Lo que hay que fiar del mundo.
La firmeza en la desdicha. P².
La desdichada Estefanía. [This is the *Parte primera*: the *Parte segunda* is *El pleyto por la honra.*]
Fuente Ovejuna. P².

Parte XIII[2]

Madrid: 1620 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, J. R. C., [?] University of Madrid, Bib. Nac.).
Barcelona. 1620 (Brit. Mus. and J. R. C.).

[1] There were two distinct issues in this year: see Salvá, I, p. 542.

[2] In this Part, for the first time, each separate play is dedicated to a different person instead of the whole volume being (as heretofore) dedicated collectively to one person. Lope continued this new practice of individual dedication in all the remaining volumes which appeared during his life, *i.e.* up to Parte XX inclusively. See p. 971 of the text.

La Arcadia.
El halcon de Federico.
El remedio en la desdicha. P. (Abindarráez y Narváez.).
Los esclavos libres. P.
El Desconfiado.
El Cardenal de Belen.
El Alcalde Mayor.
× Los Locos de Valencia. P.
Santiago el Verde (MS. Brit. Mus., undated)
La Francesilla P.
× El desposorio encubierto.
Los Españoles en Flándes

Parte XIV

Madrid 1620 (Brit Mus., Labouchere, J R C, University of Madrid)
Madrid 1621 (Brit Mus, Labouchere, Bib. Nac).

Los Amantes sin amor. P y P^2
La Villana de Xetafe
× La gallarda Toledana P
× La corona merecida P
× La Viuda valenciana P
× El Caballero de Illescas P and P^2
Pedro Carbonero P
× El verdadero Amante. P.
Las Almenas de Toro.
El Bobo del Colegio P^2.
× El Cuerdo loco —[Mentioned under this title in P. and under the title of *El veneno saludable* in P^2.] MS Holland, 1602.
La ingratitud vengada. P

Parte XV[1]

Madrid 1621 Fernando Correa (Labouchere, J. R C., University of Madrid, Bib Nac).
Madrid 1621. Viuda de Alonso Martin (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, H. A R).

These editions are distinct.

La mal Casada
Querer la propia desdicha
La Vengadora de las mujeres.
El Caballero del Sacramento. P^2.
× La Santa Liga. (P. La Batalla naval.).
× El favor agradecido P.
La hermosa Ester (MS. Brit. Mus., 1610)
× El leal Criado. P.

[1] In the Prologue to this Part Lope states that he had written 926 comedias.

La buena Guarda. (MS. Pidal. 1610. *La encomienda bien guardada.*).
La historia de Tobias.
El Ingrato arrepentido. P.
El Caballero del Milagro. P.

Parte XVI[1]

Madrid : 1621 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, J. R. C.).
Madrid : 1622 (Schack, University of Madrid).

El Premio de la hermosura.
× Adonis y Venus. P.
Los Prados de Leon. P².
Mirad á quién alabais.
Las Mujeres sin hombres. (? P. Las Amazonas.).
La fábula de Perseo.
El Laberinto de Creta. P².
La Serrana de Tormes. P.
Las grandezas de Alejandro.
La Felisarda.
La inocente Laura.
× Lo fingido verdadero o Vida, Muerte y Martirio de San Gines, (P². El mejor representante.).

Parte XVII

Madrid : 1621[2] (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, J. R. C., University of Madrid).
Madrid : 1622[2] (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, J. R. C.).

Con su pan se lo coma. P².
Quien más no puede. P².
× El Soldado amante. P.
Los muertos vivos. P.
× El primer Rey de Castilla. P.
× El Dómine Lucas. P.
× Lucinda perseguida. P.
El Ruiseñor de Sevilla. P².
× El sol parado. P.
La Madre de la mejor.
× Jorge Toledano. P.
El hidalgo Abencerraje : El hidalgo Jazimin. (? P². Gallardo Jacobin.).

[1] It is stated in the Prologue that this Part was published after Part XVII, "No se acabó de imprimir por su ausencia [de Lope] y así viene despues de la XVII."

[2] There were two issues in each of these years (1621 and 1622) : see Salvá I, p. 544.

Parte XVIII

Madrid : 1623 (Salvá, I, p. 544).
Madrid · 1625 (Brit. Mus., J. R. C., Labouchere, University of Madrid, Bib. Nac.).

El Principe perfeto, parte segunda. [The *Parte Primera* is in Parte XI.]
× La pobreza estimada P.
El divino Africano (P². S. Agustin.).
× La Pastoral de Jacinto. (P. Los Jacintos.).
× El honrado Hermano (? P. Los Horacios.).
El Capellan de la Virgen.
× La piedad ejecutada. (P. Pimentales y Quiñones.).
× Las famosas Asturianas. (P² Las Asturianas.).
× La campana de Aragon P
Quien ama no haga fieros
El Rustico del Cielo.
El valor de las Mujeres

Parte XIX

Madrid . 1623 (Brit. Mus).
Madrid . 1624 (Labouchere, J. R. C., University of Madrid).
Madrid : 1625 (Brit Mus , J. R. C.).
Valladolid : 1627 (Bib. Nac., H. A. R.).

De cosario á cosario
Amor secreto hasta zelos.
La inocente sangre.
El Serafin humano.
El Hijo de los leones.
El Conde Fernan Gonzalez
Don Juan de Castro, partes primera y segunda. P². [The *Parte Segunda*, somewhat altered, is in Parte XXV under the title of *Aventuras de D. Juan de Alarcos.*]
La limpieza no manchada.
El vellocino de oro.
× La mocedad de Roldan. P.
Carlos Quinto en Francia. P².

Parte XX

Madrid . 1625 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, J. R. C.).
Madrid : 1627 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, J. R. C.).
Madrid : 1629 (Labouchere, University of Madrid [1]).

[1] This copy lacks the title-page.

Barcelona: 1630 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, J. R. C., Bib. Nac.).

[This volume was the last published during the poet's life; but he prepared Parte XXI which was published by his daughter.]

La discreta venganza.
Lo cierto por lo dudoso.
Pobreza no es vileza.
Arauco domado.
La ventura sin buscalla. P².
El valiente Cespedes.
El hombre por su palabra. P².
× Roma abrasada. (? P. Neron cruel).
Virtud, pobreza y mujer P².
El Rey sin reino.
El mejor mozo de España.
El Marido más firme.

PARTE XXI

Madrid: 1635 (Brit. Mus., J. R. C., Labouchere, University of Madrid, Bib. Nac., H. A. R.)

La bella Aurora.
¡Ay, verdades! que en amor . .
La Boba para los otros y discreta para sí
La noche de San Juan.
El castigo sin venganza. (MS. Ticknor, 1631)
Los bandos de Sena.
El mejor Alcalde el Rey
El premio del bien hablar.
La vitoria de la honra. P². (Dif. XXXIII. *Vitoria por la honra*)
El piadoso Aragones.
Los Tellos de Meneses, parte primera
Por la puente, Juana.

PARTE XXII

*Madrid. 1635 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, J. R. C., University of Madrid, Bib. Nac, H. A. R.).

Quien todo lo quiere.
No son todos ruiseñores.
Amar, servir y esperar.
La vida de san Pedro Nolasco.
La primera informacion.
Nadie se conoce.
La mayor vitoria.
Amar sin saber á quien. [Also in Parte XXII, Zaragoza, 1630.]

Zaragoza: 1630 (Labouchere). [According to Schack, a copy is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.[1]]

Nunca mucho costó poco.
[This is not Alarcon's comedia.]
+ Di mentira, sacarás verdad.
[This seems to be by Matias de los Reyes]
La Carbonera. [Also in Parte XXII, Madrid, 1635.]
La amistad y la obligacion.
La verdad sospechosa. [This is by Alarcon.]

[1] See text, pp. 344-345.

+ Amor, pleito y desafio. [This is Alarcon's *Ganar amigos*. It is in Parte XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633.]
El Labrador venturoso. [This is stated to be in Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640.]
Los trabajos de Jacob. (Sueños ay que verdad son.)
La Carbonera. [Also in Parte XXII, Zaragoza, 1630.]
Quien bien ama tarde olvida.
Amar sin saber á quien. [Also in Parte XXII, Madrid, 1635.]
El Marqués de las Navas. (MS. Holland, 1624.)
Lo que ha de ser. [See also Parte XXV. But the present impression of the play is nearer the original MS. Brit. Mus., 1624.]
La lealtad en el agravio. (P. Las Quinas de Portugal.).
En los indicios la culpa.
La intencion castigada.

Parte XXIII

Madrid: 1638 (Brit Mus., J R. C., Labouchere, Bib. Nac., University of Madrid, H. A. R.).

Contra valor no hay desdicha.
Las Batuecas del Duque de Alba. (P². Las Batuecas.).
Las cuentas del Gran Capitan.
El piadoso Veneciano. P².
Porfiar hasta morir.
El robo de Dina.
El saber puede dañar.
La envidia de la nobleza. (? P. Zegries y Bencerrajes.).
× Los pleitos de Inglaterra. (P. El Pleito de Inglaterra.).
× Los palacios de Galiana. (? P. La Galiana.).
× Dios hace Reyes.
El saber por no saber, y vida de San Julian de Alcalá.

Parte XXIV[1]

Madrid: 1640 (N. Antonio y Schack).

El palacio confuso. (Dif. XXVIII)
El Ingrato (S., Brit Mus., J. R. C., with the name of Calderon.)

[1] This *Parte XXIV*, so Chorley maintained, is now only known through the notice of it given by Nicolas Antonio He observes that it is not in the collections of Lords Holland and Taunton, nor in the public libraries of Paris, Vienna, and Spain. Chorley therefore regards it as lost, but adds that fortunately, apart from pieces with which Lope admittedly had nothing to do, all the comedias cited by Antonio are known in other *Partes* or in *sueltas*. with the exception of *El Honrado con su sangre*, and this, as Gayangos suggests, may possibly be the piece which passes under the name of Claramonte. See Appendix B, p. 410 and *n.* 2 and Salvá, I, p. 547 where No. 4. of the above list is given under its alternative title. *La primer culpa del hombre.*

Diese, in his translation of Velasquez, refers to a *Parte XXIV*, Madrid, 1638, which —so he says—contains plays different from those included in the Zaragoza editions of 1633 and 1641. Is it possible that the volume of which Diese speaks is identical with the above-noted edition of Madrid, 1640?

La tragedia por los celos [by Guillen de Castro].
El Labrador venturoso. [See Parte XXII, Madrid, 1635.]
La creacion del mundo. (C. N. Amst., 1726.)
La despreciada Querida [by Villegas].
La industria contra el poder. [This seems to be Calderon's *Amor, honor y poder*.]
La porfia hasta el temor. (Dif. XXVIII.) S., J. R. C.
El Juez de su misma causa. P². [See Parte XXV.]
La cruz en la sepultura. [According to Münch-Bellinghausen, this is Calderon's *La devocion de la Cruz*.]
El Honrado con su sangre. [According to Gayangos, this is by Claramonte.]
El Hijo sin padre. (? P. and P². El Hijo de si mismo.). [But Chorley thinks it must be a different play.]

Zaragoza. 1632 and 1633 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, Bib. Nac., H. A. R.).

La ley ejecutada.
Selvas y bosques de amor.
El examen de Maridos [by Alarcon].
El qué diran [? by Matias de los Reyes]
La honra por la mujer.
El amor bandolero
La mayor desgracia de Carlos V y hechizerias de Argel.
Ver y no creer.
Dineros son calidad.
¿ De cuándo acá nos vino ?
Amor, pleito y desafio. [See Parte XXII, Madrid, 1635.]
La mayor victoria. [See Parte XXII, Madrid, 1635.]

Zaragoza: 1641 (Brit. Mus., Labouchere, J. R. C., University of Madrid, Bib. Nac., H. A. R.).

Guardar y guardarse.
La Hermosa fea.
El Caballero de Olmedo.
× El bastardo Mudarra. (P². Los Siete Infantes de Lara.). MS Olózaga, 1612
La ilustre Fregona.
El nacimiento de Cristo. (? P. El Nacimiento).
Los Ramirez de Arellano.
Don Gonzalo de Cordoba. (Vega del P., La mayor victoria de Alemania. MS. Osuna, 1622, La nueva victoria de D. Gonzalo de Cordoba.)
San Nicolas de Tolentino.
Los peligros de la ausencia.
Servir á buenos.
Barlan y Josafá. (MS. Holland, 1611.)

Parte XXV

Zaragoza: 1647 (Brit. Mus., J. R. C., Labouchere, University of Madrid, Bib. Nac.).

La Esclava de su Galan.
El desprecio agradecido. (Vega del P.)
Aventuras de don Juan de Alarcos. P². [The same play, though somewhat altered, as that which is printed in Parte XIX with the title *D. Juan de Castro, Segunda Parte*.]

El mayor imposible.
La vitoria del Marqués de Santa Cruz. (P². Toma de Longa, etc.).
Los Cautivos de Argel. (P. Los Cautivos.).
Castelvines y Monteses. P².
Lo que ha de ser. [See Parte XXII, Zaragoza, 1630.] MS. Brit. Mus., 1624.
El último Godo. (Parte VIII, *El postrer Godo.*) P².
La necedad del discreto. P².
El Juez en su causa. (? El Juez de su misma causa in Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640.) P².
× Los embustes de Fabia. P. and P².

In a note, apparently by La Barrera, it is added that *Partes XXVI, XXVII* and *XXVIII* which pass as being by Lope only, but which contain pieces by him and others, are included later among those of *Diferentes Autores*. To this Chorley appends the following observations.

Fragments of *PARTES EXTRAVAGANTES*: *COMEDIAS DE SEVILLA*, etc.

The reference to this *Parte XXVI* and the two following *Partes XXVII* and *XXVIII*) as well as the reference to the volume of *Comedias de Sevilla* (see later, p. 442, *n.* 2) are introduced by La Barrera, on the sole authority of Fajardo's Index. He omits to give the reader the very necessary information that, so far as can be ascertained at present, these volumes do not exist, save in some fragments which have been preserved in three made-up volumes (*tomos colecticios*) in the Osuna Library, numbered respectively 131, 132, and 133, described by Schack, *Nachträge* 41-2.

The contents are as follows :—

Tomo 131 (8 plays).

1. Vandos (Los) de Sena. ff. 114-38. (Fragment of Parte XXI of Lope)
2. Querer mas y sufrir menos. (Apparently a suelta.) [It is in Parte XXIX of *Lope y otros*, Huesca, 1634.]
3. Nardo Antonio Vandolero. ff. 235-54. (C. de Sevilla, according to Fajardo.)
4. Engaño (El) en la verdad. (P.) (S. J. R. C.)
5. Príncipe despeñado (El). S. [It is in Parte VII of Lope.]
6. Sierras (Las) de Guadalupe. S. (S. J. R. C.)
7. Amar como se ha de amar. S. "representóla Suarez" [In "Comedias de Sevilla," according to Fajardo: see Salvá, I, p. 548.]
8. Nacimiento (El) de Alba. S. (S. J. R. C.). [According to Fajardo 26 *Extravagante*: see pp. 346-347 of text.]

Tomo 132 (12 plays).

1. En la mayor lealtad mayor agravio. S. (P. *Quinas de Portugal.*) S. (J. R. C.) Parte XXII, Zaragoza, 1630, *La lealtad en el Agravio*).
2. Conde (El) don Pedro Velez. } ff. 95-145. [According to Fajardo,
3. La Fortuna adversa del Infante D. Fernando de Portugal. } "Comedias de Sevilla."]
4. Nuestra Señora de la Peña de Francia. [According to La Barrera, p. 683, El Casamiento en la muerte y hechos de Bernardo del Carpio.] P.
5. Leon apostólico (El) y cautivo coronado.
6. Esclavo fingido (El). (MS. Barr.)
7. D. Manuel de Sousa: Naufragio prodigioso y Principe trocado. [See Salvá, I p. 548.]

ff. 171-270. ("C. de Sevilla," according to Fajardo)

8. Buen vecino (El). ff. 204-21 [Fragment of Dif. XXXIII In J. R C.'s collection].
9. Prodigio (El) de Etiopia S. (S. J. R. C) [According to Fajardo, XXVI *Extravagante* of Lope]
10. Vitoria (La) de la honra. S. (In Parte XXI and Dif. XXXIII) [See Salvá, *Ibid.*]
11. Valor perseguido (El) y traycion vengada. S. [A *suelta*, with the same title, in Chorley's collection bears the name of Montalvan]
12. Engañar á quien engaña. S. (MS. copy. J R. C)

Tomo 133 (11 plays).

1. Zelos con zelos se curan [By Tirso de Molina.]
2. Madrastra (La) mas honrada S.
3. Novios (Los) de Hornachuelos: "representóla Fernandez." S. (J. R. C.). MS Osuna: [According to Gallardo, this is by Luis Velez de Guevara.]
4. Médico (El) de su honra: "representóla Avendaño." (M.)
5, 6 Lanza por lanza, la de Luis de Almanza. Partes I and II. "representóla Avendaño." (Parte I S. Holland.)
7. Sastre (El) del Campillo. "representóla Manuel Vallejo" [By Belmonte.]
8. Allá darás rayo "representóla Manuel Vallejo."
9. Selva confusa (La). S [According to Schack this is not by Lope; but see the note in the alphabetical list of titles.]
10. Julian Romero: "representóla Antonio de Prado"
11. Vargas (Los) de Castilla. (J R. C fragment. ff. 127-146.

ff. 1-146. Fajardo, *Parte XXVII extravagante* except *Julian Romero* which figures as belonging to XVII of Zaragoza. But this may be an error of the copyist.

CUATRO COMEDIAS FAMOSAS DE DON LUIS DE GÓNGORA Y LOPE DE VEGA, RECOPILADAS POR ANTONIO SANCHEZ.

Madrid: 1617 (J R C.). (Schack, *Nachträge*, 41) Córdoba: 1613.[1]

*Las firmezas de Isabela [by Góngora].

× Los Jacintos, y Celoso de si mismo [by Lope]. P. Parte XVIII. La Pastoral de Jacinto.

× Los enredos de Benito. [Chorley thinks that this anonymous play may be by Lope. La Barrera is doubtful.]

× El Lacayo fingido. P

LA VEGA DEL PARNASO.

Madrid· 1637. (J. R. C.) Reprinted in *Obras sueltas de Lope*, IX and X.

This volume contains the following comedias:

El guante de doña Blanca. (Dif XXIX, XXX, and XLIV). Fajardo: "En su P^te 5 y en el libro *Vega del P.*"

La mayor virtud de un Rey. (Escog. XXXVII with the title *El mejor Casamentero* by Matos) Fajardo: "En el libro *Vega del P.* y en su P^te 2 de Madrid, 1634." [P^te 2 is probably a slip for P^te 5.]

Las bizarrias de Belisa. MS. Brit. Mus, 1634. Fajardo. "En su P^te 5 y en el libro *Vega del P.*"

Porfiando vence amor. Fajardo "En la *Vega del P.* y en su P^te 5 de Madrid."

El desprecio agradecido Comedias, XXV and Escog. XXXIX with the title *La Dicha por el desprecio*, by Matos. Fajardo: "En su P^te 5: y en su P^te 25 [*i.e.* Parte XXV, Zaragoza, 1647] y en el libro *Vega del P*"

El Amor enamorado Fajardo: "En su P^te 25 y en su libro *Vega del P*"

La mayor victoria de Alemania. (This is *Don Gonzalo de Cordova*, Parte XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641· and MS. Osuna *Nueva victoria*, etc.) Fajardo "En su P^te 5 y en su libro *Vega del P*"

¡Si no vieran las mujeres! Fajardo: "En su P^te 5 y en su libro *Vega del P.*"

RELACION DE LAS FIESTAS QUE LA INSIGNE VILLA DE MADRID HIZO EN LA CANONIZACION DE SU BIEN AVENTURADO HIJO Y PATRON SAN ISIDRO, etc. DIRIGIDA A LA MISMA INSIGNE VILLA POR LOPE DE VEGA CARPIO.—Madrid, por la viuda de Alonso Martin, año de 1622. Reprinted in *Obras sueltas*, XII: 1777.

La niñez de San Isidro.

La juventud de San Isidro.

[1] Chorley notes that the Córdoba edition which seems to be the *princeps* (the licenses are dated Madrid, 1612 and 1613) is in Gayangos's collection, Chorley also refers to La Barrera, p. 707, who states that the names of the authors are not given in the *Tabla* but in the text. *El Lacayo fingido* bears Lope's name. The title of the third play is given as *Las burlas y enredos de Benito*

Parte viente y ocho de comedias de varios autores.[1] (Parte XXVIII de Diferentes.)

Arsenal Library, Paris.
Vatican Library, Rome (according to a letter from Ticknor dated October 1857).

Huesca: por Pedro Bluson, 1634.
Biblioteca de Autores Españoles: Comedias de *Calderon*, IV, p. 654.

El Labrador venturoso. (Parte XXII. Madrid, 1635.)
El palacio confuso. [Escog. XXVIII with the name of Mescua.]
La porfia hasta el temor. (S. J. R. C.)
El Juez de su causa. P[2] (Parte XXV. Juez en su causa.)

[1] In his revised copy, Chorley has struck out the headings and contents of Partes XXVI, XXVII and XXVIII. See his observations concerning these *extravagantes* on pp. 437-438. Chorley there states, and he repeats the assertion elsewhere, that La Barrera gives these *Partes extravagantes* solely on the authority of Fajardo from whom he copies his entries. I think, however, that Chorley pushes his scepticism somewhat too far. On the whole, the balance of evidence seems to me to favour the conclusion that there did exist a *Parte XXVII extravagante*, and—quite apart from La Barrera (*Catalogo*, p 682a)—Menéndez y Pelayo is of the same opinion (Academy's edition of Lope's *Obras*, vol. IV, p lxii) At all events, if only for the sake of completeness, it is advisable to set out the contents of these *Partes* which were included in Chorley's first draft (see also text, pp 346 and 354-355) [H A R]

PARTE XXVI

Zaragoza 1645.

La Ciudad sin Dios (El Inobediente).
Despertar á quien duerme Parte VIII, 1617.
Dos agravios sin ofensa. [By Gaspar de Alarcon.]
Lealtad, amor, y amistad. [Doubtful.]
Lo que es un coche en Madrid (Los Riesgos que tiene un coche). [By Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza.]
Mas vale salto de mata que ruego de buenos. [Doubtful]
La Merced en el castigo [Ascribed to Moreto in Escog. XXX, 1668, under the title of *El Premio en la misma pena*, ascribed to Montalvan in a *suelta* and in Escog XL, 1675, under the title of *El Dichoso en Zaragoza*]
El nacimiento del Alba. [See text, p. 347]
Púsoseme el sol, salióme la luna. [By Claramonte.]
El Prodigio de Etiopia (Santa Teodora). [Doubtful]
El que diran y donayres de Pedro Corchuelo. [By Matias de los Reyes.]
La ventura de la fea.

PARTE XXVII.

Barcelona 1633. (Ticknor Library, Boston.)

Alla darás rayo. [Doubtful.]
El Médico de su honra.
Los Milagros del desprecio.
Por la puente Juana.
El Sastre de Campillo. [By Luis de Belmonte Bermudez.]
La Selva confusa. [Doubtful.]
Los Vargas de Castilla.
El Infanson de Illescas.
El Gran Cardenal de España Don Gil de Albornoz. [By Enriquez Gomez.]
Celos con celos se curan. [By Tirso de Molina.]
Lanza por lanza, la de Luis de Almanza.

In addition to the Parte XXVIII given above, La Barrera (*Catalogo*, p. 683), indicates another as follows

Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio . (y otros autores). Parte veinte y ocho

Zaragoza 1639.

La Cruz en la sepultura. [Ascribed to Lope it is by Calderon.]
De un castigo tres venganzas. [Ascribed to Lope it is by Calderon.]

Parte XXIX

Doze comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio (y otros autores). Parte veinte y nueve.

Huesca: por Pedro Lusón, 1634. (Bib. Nac.) [Schack, *Nachträge*, 43.]

La paloma de Toledo.[1] Pp. 121-140. (J. R. C. the same fragment.)
Querer mas y sufrir menos. Pp. 58-81. (S. J. R. C.)
Los Martires de Madrid. (S. J. R. C.)
La próspera fortuna de don Bernardo de Cabrera.
La adversa fortuna de don Bernardo de Cabrera.
Las mocedades de Bernardo del Carpio. (Escog. Zaragoza, 1653. S. J. R. C.)

Parte XXIX

Comedias de diferentes autores Valencia 1636. Por Silvestre Esparsa. (Duran. Ticknor, tr. by Gayangos and Vedia, IV, 411, and Barr., p. 685.)

¡Ay, verdades! que en amor. . . . (Parte XXI.)
El guante de doña Blanca.—Barr. (Vega del P.)

Parte XXX

Parte treinta de comedias famosas de varios autores.

Zaragoza, 1636. (Schack, *Nachtrage*, 99, and Ticknor, private letter, October 1857).

Sevilla, en la Imprenta de Andres Grande, 1638. (Barr., p. 685, and *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.* XV, p. 224).

El guante de doña Blanca. (Vega del P.)

El palacio confuso. [La Barrera says that it bears Lope's name. Chorley remarks that La Barrera seems to have misread the entry in Fajardo, whose note is as follows "En Parte 28 de Mescua." This is to some degree borne out by the fact that the play is ascribed to Mira de Mescua in Escog. XXVIII, Madrid, 1667. The attribution to Lope occurs, as above noted, in Dif. XXVIII, Huesca, 1634.]
La despreciada querida. [Ascribed to Lope it is by Juan Bautista Villegas.]
El labrador venturoso. [So says La Barrera following Fajardo, but Chorley suspects a slip on the part of Fajardo who may have intended to write Dif. XXVIII where (see above) the play is given.]
La porfia hasta el temor.
El Príncipe Escanderberg. [Ascribed to Lope it is by Luis Velez de Guevara.]
El Trato muda costumbres. [Ascribed to Lope it is by Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza.]
El celoso Extremeño. [Ascribed to Lope: it is by Antonio Coello.]

[1] See Salvá, I, p. 548.

PARTE XXXI [1]

Parte treinta y una de las mejores comedias que hasta hoy han salido.

Barcelona, 1638, por Jaime Romeu. (Brit. Mus.) [Barr., p. 685.]

Contra valor no hay desdicha. (Parte XXIII.)

El Silencio agradecido [By Lope, according to Gamez and Casal. See Barr., p. 583.]

PARTE XXXII

Parte treinta y dos con doce comedias de diferentes autores. Con licencia en Zaragoza por Diego Dormer. Año 1640 á costa de Jusepe Ginobart, mercader de libros. (Ticknor, trad. Gayangos and Vedia, IV, 413.) [Barr., p 685.]

× El Enemigo engañado. P. (J R. C. fragment of this *Parte.*) (S Duran.)

El sufrimiento del honor (J R C fragment of this *Parte.*)

PARTE XXXIII

Parte treinta y tres de doce comedias famosas de varios autores Valencia, 1642, por Claudio Macé (Brit. Mus.) [Barr, p 686.]

La victoria por la honra P². (Parte XXI)

El buen vecino (J R. C fragment) [The same that is found in Tomo 132, Osuna, ff 204-221.]

PARTE XLIV [2]

Parte cuarenta y cuatro de comedias de diferentes autores. Zaragoza, 1652, por los herederos de Pedro Lanaja (Vienna, Münch-Bellinghausen, p 26). [Barr, p. 687]

El guante de doña Blanca. (Vega del P)

El Villano en su rincon. P² (Parte VII.)

[1] In this volume the authors names are not given.

[2] To this La Barrera appends the following note —

Comedias de Lope de Vega (y otros autores) a volume printed at Seville, repeatedly cited by Fajardo, and surviving in a fragment (consisting of six comedias), which forms part of the made-up volume, number 132, of the Library of the Duke of Osuna The pieces in this very rare book which may, more or less doubtfully, be ascribed to Lope are —

1 El Conde don Pedro Velez (Fajardo "En C. de Sevilla." Osuna. T. 132)
2. La adversa fortuna del Infante don Fernando de Portugal. (Fajardo. "En C. de Sevilla" T 132 Osuna.)
3. La Peña de Francia (Possibly by Tirso de Molina.[a] (Fajardo. "En C. de Sevilla." T 132. Osuna.)
4 El Leon Apostólico, y cautivo coronado (Fajardo, "En C. de Sevilla." T 132 Osuna.)
5. El Esclavo fingido (Fajardo "En C. de Sevilla." T. 132. Osuna.)
6. Don Manuel de Sousa ó el naufragio prodigioso. (Fajardo. "En C de Sevilla." T. 132. Osuna.)

MINOR COLLECTIONS OF COMEDIAS PREVIOUS TO THE COLLECTION OF COMEDIAS ESCOGIDAS.

Doce comedias nuevas, de Lope de Vega y otros autores. Parte II. Barcelona, por Jerónimo Margarit. Año de 1630. (Bib. Nac. Schack, *Nachtrage*, p. 43.)

Las dos Bandoleras, y fundacion de la Santa Hermandad de Toledo
El Hijo por engaño, y toma de Toledo.
La desdichada Estefania. [Parte primera.] (Parte XII.)
El pleito por la honra (ó el valor de Fernandico). [The Second Part of the preceding play] S J. R. C.

Doce comedias de varios autores. Tortosa, por Francisco Martorell, 1638. (Schack, Nachtrage, p. 99.)

La bienaventurada madre Santa Teresa de Jesus. P² (La madre Teresa de Jesus ?)

[This passes under the name of Luis Velez de Guevara, and does not seem to be the work mentioned in P².]

La Isla bárbara "de Lope"

[This is not by Lope, but by Miguel Sanchez, who has a play of this title in MS. Osuna, with licenses of 1611 and 1614. It has been printed by me, together with *La Guarda cuidadosa*, in an edition issued at Boston, 1896.]

COMEDIAS ESCOGIDAS

Madrid, 1652-1704 (Brit Mus. and Bodleian).

Parte III [1653]

La llave de la honra
Mas pueden zelos que amor

7. El Conde Fernan-Gonzalez, y libertad de Castilla (Fajardo "En C de Sevilla." T 132. Osuna.)
8. El Hijo pisadoso, y Bohemia convertida. (Fajardo "En C de Sevilla." T 132 Osuna.)
9 El Maldito de su padre, y valiente Bandolero (Fajardo "En C de Sevilla. T 132. Osuna.)

Only the first six of these plays, according to Chorley, are in the above-mentioned Tomo 132 in the Osuna library see also La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p 683, and *Comedias escogidas de Lope*, p. 541

[a] Chorley conjectures that *La Pella de Francia* may be an alternative title of *El Casamiento en la muerte*. Parte I P² As to the *Comedias de Sevilla*, he refers to his previous statement (p 347), and points out that Fajardo mentions the following plays in addition to the nine set forth by La Barrera.

1 Amar como se ha de amar "Pte 6 impr en Sevilla." T 131 Osuna. S
2. El Gran Cardenal de España, D. Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza. "Pte 5 impr en Sevilla."
3. La Historia de Maragatos "Pte 5 de Sevilla antigua."
4. Nardo Antonio Vandolero "Pte 5 impr. en Sevilla." T 131. Osuna.

Fajardo also mentions three other plays which are not by Lope.

La discreta enamorada. P².
La Portuguesa, y dicha del forastero. P².
× El maestro de danzar.
Lo que está determinado.
San Diego de Alcalá.

Parte VI [1653]

In the Imperial Library at Vienna (Münch-Bellinghausen, p 55) there is a Parte VI of *Comedias escogidas*, printed at Zaragoza, 1653, "por los herederos de Pedro de Lanaja"—a book differing from the Madrid edition of 1654 (Brit. Mus. and Bodleian) The edition of Zaragoza, 1654, contains the same plays as the Madrid edition.

The 1653 volume includes the following pieces by Lope :—

Mirad á quien alabais. (Parte XVI.)
Dineros son calidad. (Parte XXIV. Zaragoza, 1633.)
Las mocedades de Bernardo del Carpio. (In Parte XXIX of *Comedias de Lope y otros*, Huesca, 1634.)
Satisfazer callando, y Princesa de los montes [See Parte XXXVII where a piece of the same title, which Chorley believed to be the same as this and to be written by Lope, is ascribed to Moreto: it appears in Parte III of Moreto, Madrid, 1681. In the latter edition it is entitled *Los Hermanos encontrados (o Satisfacer callando)*. It is not in Part III of Moreto, 1676 and 1703, which I possess].

Parte VII [1654]

El monstruo de la fortuna, "*de tres ingenios*"
[This is Lope's comedia, *La Reina Juana de Napoles*, Parte VI. Another piece with the same title, given in Escog. XXIV, is composed by Calderon, Montalvan and Rojas]

Parte VIII [1657]

El Marques de la Navas, "de Mira de Mescua"
[This is Lope's piece MS. Holland, 1614, and Parte XXII, Zaragoza, 1630]

Parte X [1658]

Los milagros del desprecio.

Parte XV [1661]

La batalla del honor, "de Fernando de Zárate."
[This is Lope's piece. (Parte VI.) P².]

PARTE XVI [1662]

El desden vengado, "de Rojas."
[According to Schack (*Nachträge*, p 46) this is by Lope. MS. Aut. 1617. Osuna.]

PARTE XVIII [1662]

Las niñeces (ó la niñez) del Padre Rojas, "jamas impresa." MS. Aut. Osuna, 1625. [See text, p 317.]

PARTE XX (?) [1663]

× La Difunta pleyteada, "de Francisco de Rojas"
[This may be the piece noted by Lope in P The style is more like his than like Rojas's, and it should be specially noted that the play has no *figura del donayre*.]

PARTE XXV [1666]

La Condesa de Belflor, "de Moreto."
[This is Lope's *El Perro del Hortelano* (*ó Amar por ver amar*). P². Parte XI.]

PARTE XXVIII [1667]

El Palacio confuso, "de Mira de Mescua."
[Perhaps the piece ascribed to Lope in Dif. XXVIII and which appears (according to Nicolas Antonio) in Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640. In Schack's opinion, the piece attributed to Mescua is not by him, but by Lope; it is certainly in Lope's manner.]
San Isidro, labrador de Madrid. P². (Parte VII.)
La ventura en la desgracia.

PARTE XXXVII [1671]

El mejor Casamentero, "de Matos"
[This is Lope's play La mayor virtud de un Rey (Vega del P.).]
Satisfacer callando, y Princesa de los montes (o los Hermanos encontrados), "de Moreto"
[La Barrera is undecided as to whether the play should be ascribed to Moreto or Lope. Chorley thinks that it is by Lope, and that it is the same attributed to him in Escog. VI, Zaragoza, 1653 : see above, p. 444.]

PARTE XXXIX [1673]

La dicha por el desprecio, "de Matos Fragoso."
[This is Lope's *El desprecio agradecido.* (Vega del P. and Parte XXV.).]
La discreta venganza, "de Moreto."
[This is Lope's play printed in Parte XX.]

PARTE XLII [1676]

El Hijo de la molinera (ó El gran Prior de Castilla), "de Francisco de Villegas."
[This is the play by Lope which exists as a *suelta* entitled *Mas mal hay en la aldeguela de lo que se suena.* (Brit Mus., J R.C.)]

PARTE XLIV

La prudencia en el castigo, "de Rojas Zorrilla."
[This play is attributed to Lope in the *sueltas* (J. R C), and Chorley thinks this ascription is correct.]

Comedias de los mejores y mas insignes ingenios de España, Lisboa, 1652. (Gayangos)
La batalla del honor. P² (Parte VI.)

Comedias nuevas de los mas célebres autores, etc., de España Año 1726. En Amsterdam, á costa de David Garcia Enriquez. (J. R C.)
La creacion del mundo. S. (Arl. Brit. Mus J. R. C)
[Nicolas Antonio gives it as belonging to Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640]
La fuerza lastimosa P. (Parte II)

COMEDIAS OF LOPE DE VEGA IN COLLECTIONS OF SUELTAS.

THE ARLINGTON COLLECTION OF COMEDIAS SUELTAS (Brit. Mu.)

This collection consists of: *El mejor de los mejores libros*, etc. Madrid, 1653; Partes IV, V, VII, VIII, X, XI, XII and XIII of the *Escogidas*,

the last of which (XIII) was published in 1660 and might have been purchased by Arlington just before his departure from Spain. The collection also includes six volumes of ancient *sueltas*, one of which contains the following pieces by Lope [1]

El nacimiento del Alba.

[Doubtful A re-cast of *La Madre de la mejor* in Parte XVII: see the note on doubtful sueltas in the Chorley collection and text, p 347]

El Hijo de los leones (Parte XIX)

Enmendar un daño á otro. [Doubtful]

La Carbonera (Parte XXII, Madrid)

La Creacion del mundo con una Loa sacramental (C N. Amst. 1726.)

Guerras de amor y honor. (First Part only.)

Los tres Diamantes. P Parte II

Tanto hagas cuanto pagues.

El valiente Céspedes (Parte XXII)

[Also contains the comedia entitled *Bernardo del Carpio en Francia* by don Lope de Liaño this seems to be the play which Huerta and Ticknor cite as a work by Lope

In another volume of the same series of *sueltas* are the two following pieces by Calderon, with the same titles as they bear in the impressions which ascribe them to Lope]

La industria contra el poder, y el honor contra la fuerza [by Calderon].

La cruz en la sepultura [by Calderon] "Representóla Avendaño "[2]

COLLECTION OF COMEDIAS SUELTAS IN THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY AT VIENNA. (Munch-Bellinghausen, p 75) In nine volumes

This contains the following pieces written by Lope, or ascribed to him.

El nacimiento del alba [Doubtful . see text, p. 347]

La bella Andromeda. (Parte XV. La Fábula de Perseo)

La puente Mantible [by Calderon]

El Hijo de los leones —Parte XIX

[1] Henry Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, was born in 1618. He fought on the royalist side at the beginning of the Civil War , in 1658 he was sent as diplomatic agent to Madrid whence he returned after the Restoration of Charles II with whom he was a special favourite. He brought back with him the collection now in the British Museum, and appears to have acquired at Madrid a certain pomposity of demeanour which excited the ridicule of his contemporaries. He was raised to the peerage as Baron Arlington in 1663, and joined the Cabal an earldom was conferred on him in 1672. The fussy, slippery politician Arlington is now perhaps best remembered as a collector of Lope's works. He died in 1685 See an excellent sketch of his career by Mr. Osmund Airy in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885), IV, pp 230-233 [H. A R.]

[2] Following upon his list of Arlington *sueltas* in the British Museum, Chorley details the *sueltas* in the Osuna collection. I omit them so as to avoid repetition (see pp. 437-438).

El Principe despeñado. Parte VII. (? P. El Despeñado.)
Valor, fortuna y lealtad de los Tellos de Meneses, parte segunda.
Fuente Ovejuna, de Monroy. [This differs from Lope's play of the same title. Parte XII P².] S. Brit. Mus.
El Hijo sin padre MS. Duran. [Nicolas Antonio quotes a play of this title as being in Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640. This cannot be the piece mentioned in P. with the title of *El Hijo de si mismo*.]
El Principe don Carlos [by Enciso].
Los tres diamantes. Parte II. P.
La obediencia laureada, y primer Carlos de Ungria —Parte VI. P.
La creacion del mundo. [According to Nicolas Antonio this was in Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640.] C. N. Amst. 1726
La Moza de cantaro. Dif. XXXVII.
El cerco de Viena por Carlos V
El Conde Dirlos. [By Cubillo, whose authorship is asserted in the closing verses. The play mentioned in P. must be different.]
David perseguido y montes de Gelbóe.

COMEDIAS WRITTEN BY LOPE, OR ASCRIBED TO HIM, IN THE COLLECTION OF AGUSTIN DURAN (Schack, *Nachtrage*, p. 44)

El mayor prodigio ó el purgatorio en la vida.
El jardin de Vargas, ó la gata de Mari-Ramos.
Los Nobles como han de ser.
El Enemigo engañado P Dif. XXXII.
Enmendar un daño á otro. [Doubtful.]
Más valeis vos, Antona, que la Corte toda.
El mérito en la templanza, y ventura por el sueño. [Doubtful.]
El Niño diablo.
El labrador de Tormes
La ciudad sin Dios. [In Escog. II. El Inobediente ó la ciudad sin Dios, by Claramonte, whose piece is a recast of Lope's. It is also ascribed to Lope in Parte XXVI, *extravagante*: see text, p. 346.]
La competencia en los Nobles (MS Brit. Mus. 1625.)
Engañar a quien engaña (MS copy J. R. C.)
El engaño en la verdad. (P.)
Los Hierros por el amor.
Más mal hay en la aldegüela de la que se suena [ó El Hijo de la Molinera, y el gran Prior de Castilla, under which title it is ascribed to Villegas in Escog XLII.]
Pedro de Urdemalas. [Wrongly ascribed to Montalban.] P².
El palacio confuso, "de Mescua" (Dif. XXVIII. It is attributed to Mescua in Escog. XXVIII and, according to Nicolas Antonio, in Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640.)
El Hijo de los leones. Parte XIX.
Las burlas veras.

Dos agravios sin ofensa. [This cannot be by Lope: see the note appended to this title in the list of Chorley's *sueltas*, p. 452.]
La horca para su dueño. (La hermosa Ester.—Parte XXV.) MS. Brit. Mus 1610.
Guerras de amor y honor, parte primera.
+El gran Cardenal de España, don Gil de Albornoz, parte primera. [This by Enriquez Gomez.]
Ventura y atrevimiento.
La ventura en la desgracia. (Escog. XXVIII.)
La defensa en la verdad

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (BESIDE OTHERS ALREADY MENTIONED AS BEING IN DIFFERENT COLLECTIONS)

El pleito por la honra (Parte XII. and *Comedias nuevas de Lope y otros*, Parte II. Barcelona, 1630)
San Diego de Alcalá. (Escog. III)
El gran Tamorlan de Persia
[This is Luis Velez de Guevara's piece entitled *La nueva ira de Dios y Gran Tamorlan*]
El Animal profeta, San Julian By Mescua? MS. Osuna, 1631
[I have a *suelta* which bears Lope's name, and Menéndez y Pelayo prints the play as Lope's in Vol IV of the Academy's edition]
El Infanzon de Illescas.
[According to Hartzenbusch this is by Tirso An old impression is inserted in Parte XVII of the comedias of Lope (a volume which belonged to Tieck) instead of the twelfth piece, *El Hidalgo Abencerraje* A MS exists in the Osuna collection with the title *El Rey D Pedro en Madrid* "de Claramonte" (Hartzenbusch, Comedias de Tirso, p xliii.) Under the same title it is ascribed to Calderon in his Parte V (*furtiva*), Barcelona, 1677 It is printed in Parte XXVII, *extravagante*, Barcelona, 1633 see text, p 354 and *n* Menéndez y Pelayo gives it as Lope's, or rather as a *refundicion* of one of Lope's plays by Claramonte. see the essay prefixed to Vol X of the Academy's edition. The piece is the original of Moreto's comedia, *El valiente Justiciero*]
Las Doncellas de Simancas.

IN THE LIBRARY OF LORD HOLLAND, KENSINGTON. (J R. C.)

El Alcalde de Zalamea (MS Duran.)
El Animal profeta, y más dichoso patricida, San Julian. [See above.]
La bella Andrómeda. (Parte XVI. Fábula de Perseo.)
Las burlas veras.

El cerco de Viena y socorro por Carlos V.
La defensa en la verdad.
El Diablo niño.
La Discreta enamorada.
Don Beltran de Aragon. (Las mudanzas de fortuna, in Parte III de Lope y otros.)
La Estrella de Sevilla.
Fernan Mendez Pinto, partes primera y segunda [by Enriquez Gomez].
La fianza satisfecha.
El gallardo Catalan. (Parte II. P. El Catalan valeroso.)
La horca para su dueño (*La hermosa Ester.* Parte XV. MS Brit. Mus. 1610.)
El Labrador del Tormes.
Lanza por lanza, la de Luis de Almansa, primera parte. (Osuna. Tomo 133. Fragment of XXVII *extravagante.* Barcelona, 1633.)
El Marques de las Navas (MS Holland, 1614. Parte XXII, Zaragoza, 1630. Escog VIII, where it is ascribed to Mescua.)
Más pesa el Rey que la sangre [by Luis Velez de Guevara].
La merced en el castigo. [Apparently by Montalvan see the note on this play in Chorley's collection of *sueltas*]
El milagro por los celos. (Don Alvaro de Luna.)
Las mocedades de Bernardo del Carpio (Doce Comedias de Lope y otros. Parte XXIX, Huesca, 1634)
La Moza de cantaro. Diferentes, XXXVII.
El nacimiento del Alba [Doubtful]
Las niñeces del Padre Rojas (Escog XVIII, MS Osuna, 1625)
El pleito por la honra (Doce Comedias nuevas de Lope y otros. Parte II. Barcelona, 1630) [See text, p 345]
El prodigio de Etiopia
San Diego de Alcalá (Escog. III)
Satisfacer callando [See Escog XXXVII, where there is ascribed to Moreto a play of this title which I believe to be identical with the present one In Escog VI, Zaragoza, 1653, it is ascribed to Lope See La Barrera, p 705, and above, p 443]
El sufrimiento de honor
El valeroso Aristómenes Mesenio. [By Alonso de Alfaro also ascribed to Matos Fragoso, under the title of *Quitar el feudo á su patria*]

Comedias de Lope

In Collections of *Sueltas*

In the Library of John Rutter Chorley.

Acertar errando y embajador fingido. - - I. Parte 3[1] (ancient).
Alcalde (El) de Zalamea. - - - - I. Parte 3 (ancient).
Amigo (El) por fuerza (P. Parte IV) - I Parte 6.
Amistad (La) y obligacion. (Parte XXII. Zaragoza, 1630) - - - - - - I Parte 3 (ancient).
Animal (El) de Ungria. (Parte IX) - - I Parte 2
Arcadia (La). (Parte XIII) - - - I Parte 2.
Batalla (La) del honor. (P² Parte VI) - I. Parte 6.
Bella Andromeda (La) (Fabula de Perseo Parte XVI.) - - - - - - - I Parte 3 (ancient).
Bernardo del Carpio Segunda Parte. "representóla Avendaño." - - - - I Parte 3 (ancient).
Bizarrias (Las) de Belisa. (Vega del P MS. Brit Mus. 1634) - - - - - I. Parte 2.
Boba discreta (La). (Parte IX La Dama boba MS Osuna, 1613) - - - I Parte 6.
Boba (La) para los otros, y discreta para si (Parte XXI) - - - - - - - I. Parte 1
Burlas veras (Las). - - - - - - I Parte 3 (ancient).
Campana (La) de Aragon (Parte XVIII P) I Parte 3 (ancient)
Carbonera (La) (Parte XXII Madrid, 1635) I Parte 3 (ancient)
Casamiento (El) en la muerte y hechos de Bernardo del Carpio. } (P² Parte I) I { Parte 1 / „ 3 } (ancient).
Cerco (El) de Viena y Socorro por Carlos V I. Parte 3 (ancient).
Ciudad (La) sin Dios - - - - - - I Parte 3 (ancient).
Competencia (La) en los nobles (MS Brit Mus licensed November 16, 1628) - - I Parte 3 (ancient)
Contra valor no ay desdicha (Parte XXIII Dif 31) - - - - - - - I Parte 1.
Creacion (La) del mundo. (C N Amst. 1726, and XXIV, Madrid, 1640) [According to Nicolas Antonio] - - - - - - I Parte 6.
Dama melindrosa (La) (Parte IX. Los Melindres de Belisa) - - - - - I Parte 6
David perseguido y Montes de Gelbòe - I Parte 2
Defensa (La) en la verdad - - - - I Parte 3.
Desprecio agradecido (El). (Vega del P. Parte XXV.) - - - - - - - I. Parte 2
Dios hace reyes. (Parte XXIII.) - - - I. Parte 3 (ancient).
Dineros son calidad (Parte XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633. Escog. VI, Zaragoza, 1653) - - I Parte 1.

[1] These signs—I Parte 3, etc (=Tomo I, Parte 3)—refer to the lettering of the volumes in Chorley's collection now in the British Museum

Donayres (Los) de Matico. (P. El Matico. Parte I.) - - - - - - - I. Parte 3 (ancient).

Doncella, viuda y casada "de un ingenio." (Parte VII Viuda, casada y doncella) - I Parte 6.

Doncellas (Las) de Simancas. Parte I. - - I. Parte 1 and Parte 3 (ancient)

Dos agravios sin ofensa. [This cannot be by Lope. In the concluding verses the poet styles himself an "ingenio primerizo." In the Osuna collection there is a *suelta* of this title bearing the name of Gaspar de Alarcon it may be identical with the present play] - I. Parte 3 (ancient).

Dos Soldados (Los) de Christo (Parte XXIV. Zaragoza, 1641, MS Holland, 1611 Barlan y Josafa.) - - - - - - - I. Parte 3 (ancient).

En la mayor lealtad mayor agravio : y favores del cielo en Portugal - - - - - P. Quinas de Portugal (Parte XXII Zaragoza, 1630. Lealtad en el agravio) I. Parte 4 (ancient)

Engaño (El) en la verdad. (P.) - - - I. Parte 4 (ancient).

Enmendar un daño á otro. [Doubtful : this piece belongs to the school of Calderon.] - I Parte 4 (ancient)

Esclava (La) de su galan (Parte XXV) - I. Parte 2.

Estrella (La) de Sevilla - - - - I. Parte 4 (ancient).

Fianza satisfecha (La) - - - - - - I. Parte 1 (ancient).

Fuerza lastimoza (La) (P Parte II C.N. Amst. 1726) - - - - - - - I. Parte 1 (ancient).

Gallardo Catalan (El). (Parte II) - - I. Parte 4 (ancient)

Hermosa fea (La) (Parte XXIV. Zaragoza, 1641.) - - - - - - - - I Parte 2.

Hijo (El) sin padre (MS Duran Parte XXIV of Madrid, 1640, according to Nicolas Antonio.) - - - - - - - - I. Parte 4 (ancient).

Hombre (El) de bien (P² Parte VI) - I. Parte 6

Honra (La) por la muger (Parte XXIV. Zaragoza, 1633. MS copy, Holland.) - - I. Parte 4 (ancient).

Ingrato (El) "de Calderon." (Parte XXIV de Madrid, 1640, according to Nicolas Antonio.) I. Parte 4.

Jardin (El) de Vargas. y La Gata de Marirramos. - - - - - - - I. Parte 4 (ancient).

Labrador (El) del Tormes. - - - - I. Parte 4 (ancient).

Lealtad (La) en la traycion : y el honor en el agravio. (MS. Duran, 1617.) - - - I. Parte 4 (ancient).

Lo que ha de ser. (Parte XXII. Zaragoza, 1630.—Parte XXV.) - - - - I. Parte 2.

Locos (Los) de Valencia. (P. Parte XIII) - I. Parte 2
Marques (El) de las Navas. (Parte XXII Zaragoza, 1630 Escog VIII MS Holland, 1614.) - - - - - - - - I Parte 4, 2 copies (ancient).
Martires (Los) de Madrid. (Dif XXIX) - I Parte 4 (ancient).
Más mal ay en la aldegüela de lo etc (Escog XLII El Hijo de la Molinera "de Villegas") I Parte 4 (ancient)
Más vale salto de Mata que ruego de buenos. - I Parte 4 (ancient).
Más valeis vos, Antona, que la Corte toda - I Parte 4 (ancient)
Mayor vitoria (La) (Parte XXII Madrid, 1635) - - - - - - - - I Parte 2
Merced (La) en el Castigo y premio en la misma pena ["De Moreto" Escog XXX.] ["De Montalvan"—whose play it seems to be—Escog XL with the title *El Dichoso en Zaragoza*] - - - - - - - I Parte 4 (ancient)
Mejor Alcalde (El) el Rey (Parte XXI) - I Parte 2
Merito (El) en la templanza y ventura por el Sueño (Doubtful. The style is unlike Lope's) - - - - - - - I Parte 4 (ancient)
Milagro (El) por los zelos D Alvaro de Luna } I Parte 4 (ancient).
Parte primera - - - - - } I Parte 2 (modern)
Milagros (Los) del desprecio "de un Ingenio" (Escog X) - - - - - - - I Parte 1 (ancient)
Mirad á quien alabais (Parte XVI and Escog VI of Zaragoza, 1653) - - - - I Parte 4 (ancient)
Mocedades (Las) de Bernardo del Carpio - - - { Doze Comedias de Lope y otros Parte XXIX, Huesca, 1634 Escog VI, Zaragoza, 1653 - } I. Parte 1 „ 3 (ancient)
Molino (El) (P Parte I)- - - I Parte 1.
Moza (La) de Cantaro (Dif XXXVII [1]) - I Parte 4 (ancient)
Nacimiento (El) del Alba [Doubtful Recast of *La Madre de la mejor* of Parte XVII] I Parte 5 (ancient)
Niña (La) de plata (Parte IX) - - - I Parte 2.
Niño Diablo (El) - I Parte 5 (ancient)
Nobles (Los) como han de ser - - - I Parte 5 (ancient)
+ Novios (Los) de Hornachuelos See p 466 I Parte 5 (ancient).
Obediencia laureada (La) y primer Carlos de Ungria (Parte VI P[2]) - - - I Parte 6
Obras son amores (P[2] Parte XI) - - I Parte 1

[1] La Barrera (*Catálogo* p 708) refers to this volume, which appeared at Valencia in 1646, as Parte XXXXXVII Lest the student should be misled by this misprint, it may be as well to state that the volume is really the thirty seventh of the *Diferentes*, and that it should have been entered on p 686 of the *Catálogo* Chorley duly informed Gayangos of its existence but Gayangos apparently did not communicate the information to La Barrera until the printing of the *Catálogo* had almost reached its last stage, and in the final hurry of transcription and impression two superfluous X's were inserted

Perro (El) del hortelano. (P². Parte XI.) - I. Parte 1.
Pleyto (El) por la honra y valor de Fernandico. (XII *de Lope y otros.* Barcelona, 1630) - I. Parte 5 (ancient).
Por la puente, Juana. (Parte XXI) - - I. Parte 2.
Porfia (La) hasta el temor. (Dif. XXVIII and Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640, according to Nicolas Antonio) - - - - - I. Parte 5 (ancient).
Premio (El) del bien hablar. (Parte XXI.) - I Parte 2.
Prodigio (El) de Etiopia: Santa Teodora - I. Parte 5, 2 copies (ancient)
Prudencia (La) en el Castigo (Escog XLIV, with the name of Rojas Zorrilla) - - I Parte 5 (ancient)
Querer más y sufrir menos. (Doce Comedias de Lope y otros, Parte XXIX, Huesca, 1634) I Parte 5 (ancient)
Reyna Juana (La) de Napoles (Parte VI.) - I Parte 6.
San Diego de Alcalá (Escog III.) - - I Parte 5 (ancient).
Servir á buenos (Parte XXIV. Zaragoza, 1641.) I Parte 2
Servir con mala estrella. (Parte VI P²) - I. Parte 6.
Sierras (Las) de Guadalupe - - - - I Parte 5 (ancient)
Tanto hagas cuanto pagues (In vol III of Moreto, Madrid, 1681, with the title of *La Traycion vengada.*) - - - - - I. Parte 5 (ancient)
Valiente Juan de Heredia (El). (MS. Osuna) - I. Parte 5 (ancient)
Valor, lealtad y ventura de los Tellos de Meneses { Parte Primera, Parte Segunda } (Parte XXI) I Parte 1
Ventura (La) de la fea [Imperfect leaves 2-7 missing] - - - - - - I. Parte 5 (ancient)
Ventura y atrevimiento - - - - I Parte 5 (ancient)
Yerros [read *Hierros*] (Los) por amor - - I Parte 5 (ancient)

Fragments of Volumes or "Partes" of Comedias Published Collectively

Angelica en el Catay (P Parte VIII) - I Parte 1
Buen vecino (El) (Dif XXXIII) - - V Parte 6.
De cuando acá nos vino (Parte XXIV Zaragoza, 1633) - - - - - I. Parte 6
Castigo (El) sin venganza With the sub-title — Cuando Lope quiere, quiere { Fragments of a volume hitherto unknown,[1] ff 43-64 - - - (Printed in Parte XXI of Lope MS Ticknor, 1631.) - - - } I Parte 1.
En los indicios la culpa. (Parte XXII Zaragoza, 1630.) - - - - - - I. Parte 6

[1] Chorley notes "It has been recently (April, 1864) discovered to be a Part of *Varios de Lisboa*, 1647"

Enemigo engañado (El). (P. Dif XXXII.) - I. Parte 6
Niñez (La) del Padre Roxas. (Escog. XVIII. MS 1626 Holland.) - - - - I Parte 6.
Paloma (La) de Toledo. (Doce Comedias de Lope y otros, Parte XXIX, Huesca, 1634.) - I. Parte 6.
Sembrar en buena tierra. (P². Parte X) - I. Parte 6.
Silencio agradecido (Dif XXXI) - - I. Parte 6
[Without the author's name, but written by Lope, according to the MSS Indices of Gamez and Casal see La Barrera, p 583]
Sufrimiento (El) del honor (Dif XXXII) I Parte 6
Vargas (Los) de Castilla (Parte XXVII, extravagante, Barcelona, 1633) - - - I Parte 6
Ventura (La) en la desgracia (Escog XXVIII) I. Parte 6
Vitoria (La) por la honra (Dif. XXXIII Printed in Parte XXI of Lope) - - I. Parte 6

Summary of the Catalogue of *Sueltas*

Pieces known in this form only

1 Acertar errando y embajador fingido. J R C
2. Alcalde (El) de Zalamea (MS Duran) Holland J. R. C.
3 Amar como se ha de amar. Osuna Tomo 131
4 Bernardo del Carpio. *Segunda Parte* J R. C
5 Burlas veras Duran Holland J R C
6 Cerco (El) de Viena y Socorro por Carlos V. Vienna, Holland J. R C
7 Ciudad (La) sin Dios Duran J R. C
8 Como han de ser los nobles Duran J R C.
9 Competencia (La) en los nobles (MS copy, with a license of 1628. Brit Mus) Duran J. R C
10. David perseguido y Montes de Gelboe. Vienna. J. R C.
11. Defensa (La) en la verdad Duran Holland. J R C
Diablo niño (El) Holland See Niño
12. Doncellas (Las) de Simancas Brit. Mus J R C
13. Engañar á quien engaña Osuna. Tomo 132 Duran
[This does not seem to me to be by Lope J R C]
14 Engaño (El) en la verdad Osuna Tomo 131 Duran. J R C.
15. Estrella (La) de Sevilla Holland. J R. C.
16. Fianza satisfecha (La) Holland J R C
17. Guerras de amor y honor. *Parte primera* Arl Brit Mus. Duran
18. Hierros (Los) por amor Duran J. R C.
19 Hijo (El) de los leones Arl. Brit Mus
20. Hijo (El) sin padre. Vienna. J. R. C [Stated by Nicolas Antonio to be in Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640.]
21. Ingrato (El). Brit Mus J. R. C. [In *sueltas* with Calderon's name Stated by Nicolas Antonio to be in Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640]

22. Jardin (El) de Vargas . ó la Gata de Marirramos. Duran. J. R. C.
23. Labrador (El) del Tormes. Duran. Holland. J. R C.
24. Lealtad (La) en la traycion y el honor en el agravio. (MS. Duran, 1617) J R. C.
25. Madrastra (La) mas honrada. Osuna Tomo 133.
26. Más vale salto de mata que ruego de buenos J. R. C.
27. Más valeis vos, Antona, que la Corte toda Duran J. R. C
28. Mayor prodigio (El) y purgatorio en la vida. Duran
29. Milagro (El) por los zelos D Alvaro de Luna Holland. J. R C.
30. Niño Diablo (El) Holland. J R. C.
Nobles como han de ser J. R. C. See *Como*
31. Pedro de Urdemalas, Parte segunda. [With Montalvan's name.] Duran
32. Prodigio (El) de Etiopia Santa Teodora Osuna. Tomo 132 Holland J R C
33. Sierras (Las) de Guadalupe Osuna Tomo 131 J. R. C.
34. Tanto hagas cuanto pagues Arl Brit. Mus J. R C [Printed in the third volume of Moreto, Madrid, 1681 with the title *La Traycion vengada.* It is not in Moreto's Part III of 1672 or 1703]
35. Trabajos (Los) de Job Brit Mus
36. Valiente Juan de Heredia (El). MS. Osuna. J. R. C
37. Valor, lealtad y ventura de los Tellos de Meneses Vienna. (Printed in Parte XXI of Lope)
38 Ventura (La) de la fea. J R. C [Incomplete leaves 2-7 are missing]
Yerros (Los) por amor See Hierros.

Summary of the Catalogue of Sueltas

Doubtful Pieces

1 Adúltera penitente (La) S XVIIIth century Gayangos
[Medel cites an *auto* by Lope entitled *La adultera perdonada*]
2 Enmendar un daño á otro. Arl Brit Mus. Duran J R C.
[A work of Calderon's school]
3 Infanzon (El) de Illescas "representóla Avendaño" S. XVIIIth century Brit Mus
[Printed in Doce Comedias de Lope y autores, Barcelona, 1630, and in Parte XXVII (*extravagante*), Barcelona, 1633, under Lope's name There is a MS. copy ascribed to Gabriel Tellez, in the Cat. Bib Nac. No. 1593, with a license dated Zaragoza, Dec 30, 1626. Acad IX]
4. Mérito (El) en la templanza y ventura por el sueño Duran. J R. C
[A feeble and affected play, with no trace of Lope's style]
5. Nacimiento (El) del Alba. Arl. Brit. Mus. Vienna. Holland. J. R C. [See text, p. 347.]

6. Valor perseguido (El) y traycion vengada. Osuna. Tomo 132. [A play with this title exists in a *suelta* (J. R. C.) which bears the name of Montalvan.]

Printed in this form only.	38.
Doubtful.	6.
	44.

SUELTAS IN DURAN'S LIBRARY (ACCORDING TO THE INVENTARIO OF 1865).[1]

Pieces admittedly by other known authors are marked +.

Amor enamorado (El) Vega del P.
Animal (El) de Ungria (Modern) Parte IX S. J. R C.
Animal Profeta (El) (By Mescua?) S. J R. C. [Published as Lope's in the Academy's ed Vol. IV.]
+ Antes que te cases, etc S. J R. C. [This is Alarcon's *Examen de Maridos*]
Arcadia (La) (Modern.) Parte XIII. S. J R C
Batalla (La) de honor. Parte VII. S. J R. C
Bella Andromeda (La) S J. R C (Fábula de Perseo Parte XVI.)
Boba discreta (La) S. J R C (Dama boba. Parte IX.)
Burlas veras (Las). S J. R. C
+ Si el Caballo vos han muerto. S. J R C. (By Guevara).
+ Capitan Belisario (El). S. J. R. C. (By Mescua.)
Carbonera (La). S J R. C.
Casamiento (El) en la muerte Parte I. S J. R C.
Castigo (El) sin venganza. Parte XXI. S. J R. C.
Cerco (El) de Viena, etc S J R C
[Ciudad (La) sin Dios S. J R. C. Hartzenbusch's List]
[Competencia (La) en los nobles. S. J. R. C. Hartzenbusch's List.]
Contra valor no ay desdicha. Parte XXIII. S. J R. C.
Creacion (La) del mundo. S. J R C.
+ Cruz (La) en la sepultura. [Huesca, 1634. By Calderon.] S. Brit. Mus.
Dama melindrosa (La). S. J. R C. (Parte IX. Melindres de Belisa.)
David perseguido S J. R. C.
Defensa (La) en la verdad. S J. R C.
Desprecio agradecido (El). Vega del P. Parte XXV. S. Brit. Mus. [Escog XXXIX, with the title *La Dicha por el Desprecio*, and ascribed to Matos Fragoso]
Dineros son calidad Parte XXIV. Zaragoza, 1632. S. J. R C.
Doncellas (Las) de Simancas. S. J. R. C.
+ Dos agravios sin ofensa S. J R. C. [Supposititious work]
[Enemigo engañado (El). Dif. XXXII.] R. C. fragment. Hartzenbusch's List.]

[1] This *Inventario* was issued by the Director of the Biblioteca Nacional.

[Engañar a quien engaña MS. copy. J. R. C. Doubtful Hartzenbusch's List]
[Enmendar un daño á otro. S J. R. C. Doubtful. Hartzenbusch's List]
Estrella (La) de Sevilla. S. J R C
+ Fernan Mendez Pinto, Parte Primera y Segunda S J. R C [By Enriquez Gomez.]
Fianza satisfecha (La) S J R C
Fuerza lastimosa (La) (Modern) Parte II. S J R. C
+ Gran Cardenal (El) de España [By Enriquez Gomez.]
Guante (El) de Doña Blanca Vega del P S. Brit Mus
Guerras de amor y honor S Brit Mus
Hijo (El) de los leones Parte XIX S Brit. Mus
Horca (La) para su dueño S Holland. (Parte XV La hermosa Ester)
+ Industria (La) contra el poder S Brit Mus J R C [This play is generally ascribed to Calderon, but in the *Verdadera Quinta Parte* (1694) of Calderon, it is mentioned as one of the comedias which pass under his name, but which he did not write]
Jardin (El) de Vargas S J R C
[Labrador (El) del Tormes S J R C Hartzenbusch's List]
+ Lo que es un coche en Madrid S J R C [By Mendoza]
Locos (Los) de Valencia Parte XIII Modern
Marques (El) de las Navas Parte XXII Zaragoza, 1630. S J. R. C.
Martires (Los) de Madrid S J R C
Mas mal ay en la aldeguela, etc S J R C
[Mas valeis vos, Antona, etc S J R C Hartzenbusch's List]
Mayor victoria (La) Modern Parte XXII, Madrid, 1635 [It is not in the edition of Zaragoza, 1630] S J R C
Mayor victoria (La) de Alemania Vega del P Parte XXIV. Zaragoza, 1641
Mayor prodigio (El)
Mayor virtud (La) de un Rey Vega del P
Merced (La) en el castigo Doubtful S J R C
[Merito (El) en la templanza, etc Doubtful S J. R C Hartzenbusch's List]
Milagro (El) por los zelos Modern S J R C
Milagros (Los) del desprecio Escog X S J. R C
Mocedades (Las) de Bernardo del Carpio Parte XXIX de Huesca S J R C
Moza (La) de Cántaro Modern Dif XXXVII S J R C.
Nacimiento (El) del Alba S J R C
Nacimiento (El) de Christo Parte XXII Zaragoza, 1641.
[Niño diablo (El) S J R C Hartzenbusch's List]
[Nobles (Los) como han der ser. S. J. R. C Hartzenbusch's List.]
Obras son amores Parte XI. S. J. R C

Palacio confuso (El). [Dif. XXVIII (Huesca, 1634); stated by Nicolas Antonio to be in XXIV (Madrid, 1640). In Escog. XXVIII (1667) it is ascribed to Mescua.]
Pedro de Urdemalas "de Montalvan"
Pleyto (El) por la honra, etc. S. J. R C.
Porfiando vence Amor. Vega del P.
Premio (El) del bien hablar. Modern Parte XXI. S. J. R. C
Prodigio (El) de Etiopia. S J R C [Acad. IV]
Rey D. Pedro (El) en Madrid, y el Infanzon de Illescas · "de Calderon" S. Brit. Mus *Infanzon de Illescas* "de Lope."
San Isidro, labrador de Madrid. Parte VII. Escog. XXVIII
Si no vieran las mugeres Modern Vega del P.
Tres diamantes (Los). Parte II S. Brit Mus
Urson y Valentin Parte I
Valor, etc . . de los Tellos de Meneses. Parte Primera y Segunda. S J. R C [The *Parte Primera* is in Parte XXI de Lope]
Ventura (La) en la desgracia. Escog. XXVIII
Ventura y atrevimiento S J R C
Villano (El) en su rincon Parte VII.
Yerros (Los) [Hierros] por amor S J R C.

Manuscript Comedias by Lope de Vega in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

The following list is taken from the *Catálogo de las Piezas de Teatro que se conservan en el Departamento de Manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, by D. Antonio Paz y Melia, Madrid, 1899 In it are included the collections of the Duke of Osuna and of D Agustin Duran, which are respectively indicated below by the letters O and D

Acertar errando, ó El Embaxador fingido Printed in *Seis Comedias de Lope y otros*. Lisboa, 1603 Copy (O).
Alcaide (El) de Madrid. Copy Doubtful (O).
Alcalde (El) de Zalamea Copy (D) Exists as a *suelta* (Holland, Chorley) Printed in *Klassische Bühnendichtungen des Spanier*, von Max Krenkel Leipzig, 1887
Aldehuela (La) y el Gran Prior de Castilla Copy dated May 6, 1623. Escog. XLII. Where is the Osuna copy, dated Nov 6, 1622 ?
Alexandro el segundo, César el primer Traidor Copy, but marginal note on last leaf of Act I in Lope's hand (D)
Almenas (Las) de Toro Copy. Parte XIV. (O) Rocamora, *Cat.* says Acts I and II are in Lope's hand.
Amantes y Celosos, todos son Locos Copy [Re-cast of a play by Lope.]
Amar como se ha de Amar. Copy, with a license of 1643 (O).
Amar por burla Copy. (O).
Amar, servir y esperar. Copy. (O). Parte XXII

Amazonas (Las). Copy. (O). [The opening lines shew that this is the comedia of the same title by Solis, which has likewise been printed anonymously with the title *Las Amazonas en Escitia*. The play has also been ascribed to Calderon, but in the *Verdadera Quinta Parte* of Calderon (Madrid, 1694), the editor distinctly states that it was written by Solis A fragment of Tirso's *Las Amazonas en las Indias* is reprinted in the *Teatro escogido de Fray Gabriel Tellez*, Madrid, 1841. Vol. XII, p. 281 and fol.]

Amigo (El) hasta la Muerte Copy. (O) Parte XI

Amistad y Obligacion. Copy. Parte XXII (Zaragoza, 1630). [With slight changes, it is the same, so Duran says, as Montalvan's *Lucha de Amor y Amistad*]

Amor (El) bandolero. Copy, with censura of 1645. (D). Parte XXIV (1632).

Amor con Vista. Autograph (O) dated December 10, 1626. Printed in Comedias inéd. 1873.

Amor, pleito y desafio. Autog. (D) dated November 23, 1621 Comedias inéd. 1873

Amor secreto hasta Zelos Copy. [Re-cast of comedia in Parte XIX.]

Arminda celosa Copy. (D). [This is copied from the autograph, of 1622, according to Duran But see text, p 304, *n* 1]

Audiencias del Rey Don Pedro. Copy (O) [Ascribed to Lope by Schack and Menéndez y Pelayo Acad IX]

Barlaan y Josafat (Los dos Soldados de Cristo) Copy. (O). Parte XXIV (1641).

Batuecas (Las) del Duque de Alba Copy Parte XXIII

Bella (La) mal maridada, ó La Escuela de las Casadas Copy [It is a re-cast of Lope's play in Parte II]

Blason (El) de los Chaves de Villaba Copy Academy XI See p 470.

Boba (La) fingida, ó Engañar para reinar Copy [A re-cast.]

Boba (La) para los otros y discreta para si. Copy. (O) Parte XXI.

Brasil (El) restituido. Copy (D) [The autograph, dated October 23, 1625, was formerly in the possession of Charles Rich, London]

Buen (El) Vecino Copy (D) Diferentes, XXIII.

Burgalesa (La) de Lerma. Copy (O), dated Nov. 30, 1613 Parte X

Cardenal (El) de Belen, San Jerónimo Copy. Parte XIII

Carlos V en Francia. Copy Parte XIX. See p 470

Casamiento (El) por Cristo Copy (O). [Duran says it is identical with *Santa Justa*, referring to *Las Auroras de Sevilla* in Escog XXVII]

Celos (Los) de Rodamonte. Copy. (O). [It is probable that the play with this title ascribed to Mescua in *Doce Comedias de varios Autores*, Tortosa, 1638, is by Lope. Huerta cites one by Rojas, of which there is a *suelta* in the Imp Lib. at Vienna; La Barrera says this latter comedia was written by Rojas Zorrilla A play with this title is in Parte I. of his Comedias, Madrid, 1640.]

Ciudad (La) sin Dios. Copy. Escog II. (as *El Inobediente, ó La Ciudad sin Dios*, by Claramonte). [It is ascribed to Lope in Parte XXVI,

extravagante, 1632-33 It is a re-cast by Claramonte of Lope's play; Academy III.

Comendadores (Los) de Cordoba (El Honor desagraviado) [The MS numbered 635, Cat B N. p 100, is given, in the 'Additions,' p. 721, as an autograph of Claramonte's Lope's comedia in Parte II is quite different]

Competencia (La) en los Nobles Copy (D) *Suelta*, J R C. and in B N.

Contienda (La) de Garcia de Paredes y el Capitan Juan de Urbina Copy, dated Feb 15, 1600 See Barrera, p 435, and Cat B N No. 1750 Acad. XI

Cordobes (El) valeroso, Pedro Carbonero [Autograph, dated Ocaña, August 26, 1603.] Parte XIV.

Corona (La) de Ungria y la injusta Venganza [Copy of the autograph which latter, dated December 23, 1633, is in the Archives of the Marques de Astorga]

Cuerdo loco (El) ó Veneno saludable. Copy (D) [The autograph dated 1602 is in the collection of Lord Holland On p. 526 of Cat B N Duran is quoted as saying that the autograph of this comedia, dated November 11, 1602, was formerly in the Archives of the house of Astorga]

Dama (La) boba [Autograph, (O) dated Madrid, April 28, 1613] Parte IX

De Cosario a Cosario [A MS of the nineteenth century is indicated in Cat. B N No 3740, p 585] Parte XIX

De cuando acá nos vino (O). [Written in collaboration with Fr. Alonso Remon The first and third acts are in Lope's hand, the second in that of Remon Moreto's *De fuera vendrá* is taken from this play] Parte XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633

Defensor (El) de las Mugeres, ó El Premio del bien hablar [A recast of Lope's play in Parte XXI]

Del Monte sale quien el Monte quema Autog (O) dated Oct 20, 1627

Desden (El) vengado Autograph (O), signed at Madrid, August 4, 1617 Escog XVI, as being by Rojas Zorrilla

Devocion (La) del Rosario (?) Copy (D). [Ascribed to Lope and different from Diamante's play of the same title]

Dineros son Calidad Copy (O) Parte XXIV (Zaragoza, 1633); Escog VI.

Discordia (La) en los Casados Autograph (O), dated Madrid, August 2, 1611 Inedited

Discreta (La) Enamorada Copy Escog. III [This is one of the sources of Molière's *École des Maris*]

Divina (La) Vencedora Copy. (D) Third Act only

Don Lope de Cardona. Copy (O) Parte X

Doncella Teodor (La). Autograph (?) undated Parte IX

Enemigo (El) engañado Copy. (D). *Suelta* (Duran), Dif. XXXII.

Engañar a quien engaña Copy. *Suelta* (Osuna, Duran)

Engaño (El) en la Verdad. Copy. (O). Doubtful. [This differs from the *suelta* (Osuna, Duran, J. R. C.).]

En los Indicios la Culpa. Aut. (?) 1620, formerly in Osuna Coll., according to La Barrera. Not in B.N.

Enmendar un daño a otro. (4) Copy. (D). *Suelta* (Duran, J. R.-C.).

Esclava (La) por Amor. Re-cast of *La Esclava de su Galan*. Parte XXV.

Esclavo (El) fingido. Copy. [Ascribed to Lope. Doubtful.]

Escolastica (La) celosa. Copy. (O). Parte I.

Favor (El) agradecido. Autograph (?), of first Act only (D), dated Alba de Tormes, December 19, 1593 Parte XV.

Fianza (La) satisfecha. Copy (O). Ascribed to Calderon. *Suelta* (Holland, J. R. C.). Acad. V Rocamora, Cat. No. 583, gives it as Lope's

Flores (Las) de Don Juan y Rico y pobre trocados Copy (O) Parte XII

Fortuna (La) merecida. Copy Parte XI.

Fray Diablo (El Diablo Predicador) Copy (1638). [Inedited.]

Fuerza (La) lastimosa Copy. (O) *Comedias nuevas*, Amsterdam, 1726. Parte II

Fundacion (La) de la Alhambra de Granada Copy. Doubtful. Printed in *Seis Comedias de Lope y otros*, Lisboa, 1603.

Gallardo (El) Jacimin y el Hidalgo Abencerraje Copy. (O). With the double title. Parte XVII

Gata (La) de Mari Ramos (El Jardin de Vargas) Copy. (D). [Third Act wanting] *Suelta* (Duran).

Gran Capitan (El) Copy (O) Doubtful

Gran Columna fogosa (La); San Basilio Magno. Copy, with *aprobaciones* of 1629 Acad IV.

Guante (El) de Doña Blanca Copy. Dif XXIX (Valencia, 1636); XXX (Zaragoza, 1636); XLIV (Zaragoza, 1652); Vega del Parnaso; Obras sueltas, IX.

Guardar y Guardarse. Copy (O). Parte XXIV (Zarag 1641)

Hazañas (Las) del Cid y su Muerte, con la toma de Valencia. Copy. (See Cat. B N Nos. 895 and 1476) Printed at Lisboa, 1603. Very doubtful

Hechos (Los) de Garcilaso de la Vega y Moro Tarfe Copy. Acad. XI.

Hermosura aborrecida (La) y Desdichada firme Copy Parte VII

Hijo (El) por Engaño, Cerco de Toledo y Rey D. Alfonso de la mano horadada Copy (D) In *Doce Comedias nuevas*, Barcelona, 1630 Academy, VIII.

Hijo (El) sin Padre. Copy (D). Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640. (*El Hijo de si mismo* of P and P^2?)

Honra (La) por la Muger. Copy, dated 1622. (O) Parte XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633 [Though Sr. Paz y Melia says it is not in this volume, I find that it is in my copy]

Infanzon (El) de Illescas; El Rey D. Pedro en Madrid. Copy (O), with license of 1626. The play is here ascribed to Fr. Gabriel Tellez. Printed in *Doce Comedias de Lope y otros autores*, Barcelona, 1630; and in Parte XXVII (*extravagante*), Barcelona, 1633, under Lope's name. Academy IX.

Labrador (El) del Tormes. Copy. [Duran says it is identical with *Lo que puede un Agravio.*] *Suelta* (Duran, Holland, J. R. C.).
Laura perseguida. Copy. Parte IV. See p. 470.
Leal (El) Criado. Copy. Parte XV.
Lealtad (La) en la Traycion, y el Honor en el Agravio. Copy. (D). [La Barrera asserts that there was a MS. of this play dated Nov. 22, 1617, in the Duran collection If so, it never reached the B N.]
Ley (La) ejecutada (?). [There is a MS of this play noted in the Index of the Cat. B. N. It may save trouble if I refer the reader to the Appendix of that work, p 606.] Parte XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633
Libertad (La) de Castilla por el Conde Fernan Gonzalez. Copy. Printed in Seis Comedias de Lope y otros, Lisboa, 1603
Lo que pasa en una Tarde Autograph. (O). Inedited. Dated, Madrid, November 22, 1617.
Loco (El) por fuerza Copy. [Mentioned by Medel and Huerta.]
Locos (Los) de Zaragoza. Copy It is *Los Locos de Valencia* of Parte XIII.
Llegar en ocasion. Copy [No. 1937 of Cat B N No. 1936 is a different play.] Parte VI.
Madre Teresa de Jesus (La), Fundadora del Carmen (O) [Part of Act II is in Lope's hand] *Doce Comedias*, Tortosa, 1638, Acad. V.
Maestro (El) de danzar Copy. [The original was dated Alba, January, 1594] Escog III
Marmol (El) de Felisardo. Copy. (O). Parte VI
Martires (Los) del Japon. Copy [Herein the play is ascribed to Lope with the exception of Act 3, which is attributed to Mescua Duran says it is by Lope]
Mas pueden Zelos que Amor. Copy (incomplete). [With some autograph pages] Escog III.
Mas valeis vos, Antona, que la Corte toda Copy (modern) of the *suelta* in Duran's possession [with the added title *La Duquesa de Bretaña*]
Mayor Corona (La) Copy (O), incomplete
Mayor Dicha (La) en el Monte y la Gloria en el Martirio. Copy. (O) [Inedited.]
Mayor Hazaña (La) de Alejandro Magno. Copy. (O). [Inedited.]
Mayorazgo (El) dudoso Copy. (O) Parte II.
Mejor Enamorada (La), la Magdalena Copy (O). See Cat B N Nos 2120, 3979.
Merito (El) en la Templanza, y Ventura por el Sueño Copy, made by Duran from Casal's *suelta.*
Montañesa famosa (La), (La Amistad pagada). Copy (O). Parte I.
Mudanzas (Las) de Fortuna, y Sucesos de D Beltran de Aragon. Copy (O), dated 1610. Rocamora says this is an autograph. *Parte III. de las Comedias de Lope y otros*, 1612.
Muertos vivos (Los). Copy (D). Parte XVII.
Necedad (La) en el Discreto. Copy. (O). Attributed to Calderon. [This cannot be Lope's *La Necedad del Discreto* of Parte XXV, to judge by the opening and closing lines.] It is ascribed to Lope in Rocamora's Catalogue, No. 909.

Niñez (La) del Padre Rojas (Primera parte de su Vida). Autograph (O), dated at Madrid, January 4, 1625. Escog. XVIII.

Niño Diablo (El) Primera Parte. Copy. (O).

Nobles (Los) como han de ser Copy (D)

Noche (La) toledana Copy. (O) *Parte III de Lope y otros*, 1612.

Novios (Los) de Hornachuelos. Copy. (O) Acad. X. [But see *post*, p. 466]

Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria y sus Milagros y Guanches de Tenerife. Copy (O) Parte X as *Los Guanches de Tenerife y Conquista de Canaria*

Nueva victoria (La) de D Gonzalo de Córdoba Autograph, signed at Madrid, October 8, 1622 Printed in Parte XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641, and in the Vega del Parnaso, 1637, with the title La Mayor Vitoria de Alemania de D Gonzalo de Cordoua [It has nothing to do with the Great Captain. See text, p 299 and *n* 1]

Nuevos (Los) Sucesos del Gran Duque de Moscovia Copy. (O). Parte VII

Nunca mucho costó poco Copy (O) Parte XXII, Zaragoza, 1630.

Obediencia (La) laureada y Primer Carlos de Ungria Copy. (O). Parte VI

Ocasion perdida (La) Copy. (O) Parte II

Paloma (La) de Toledo Copy (O) Dif XXIX, Huesca, 1634. Acad X

Pastoral albergue (El) Copy Printed in Comedias inéd. 1873

Pastoral (El) de Jacinto Copy, also called *La Pastoral de los Celos* Printed in *GL*, 1607, as *El Celoso de si mismo ó Los Jacintos* It also occurs with the titles *La Pastoral de Albania*, and *La Selva de Albania* Parte XVIII and Academy, V.

Pérdida honrosa (La), ó Los Caballeros de San Juan Copy (D) Academy, XII

Pérdidas (Las) del que juega Copy (O) Aut accord to Rocamora, 1021

Piadoso Aragonés (El) Autograph (O), dated Madrid, August 17, 1626 Parte XXI, Acad X

Pleito (El) por la Honra, ó El Valor de Fernandico Copy. (O) Printed in *Doce Comedias nuevas*, Barcelona, 1630 [It is the second part of Lope's *La desdichada Estefania*, which precedes it in the volume of Barcelona]

Poder (El) en el Discreto Autograph (O), dated at Madrid, May 8, 1623 Inedited?

Porfia (La) hasta el temor Copy (O) Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640, Dif XXVIII (1634); and Parte XXVIII (*extravagante*), Zaragoza, 1639

Príncipe (El) despeñado Autograph, dated November 27, 1602 Parte VII Acad VIII

Príncipe (El) perfecto (Primera Parte) Autograph [?] (O), dated December 23, 1614. Paz y Melia says this is a copy Parte XI

Príncipe (El) perfecto. (Segunda Parte), also called Como ha de ser un buen Rey. Copy (O), license dated October 14, 1621. Parte XVIII.

Acad. X. [Both these comedias are given as autographs by Rocamora.]
Prueba (La) de los Amigos. Autograph, dated Toledo, September 12, 1604 Printed in Comedias inéd. 1873. [From the Olózaga collection : see p 467.]
Querer su propia Desdicha (ó la Muger singular). [A re-cast of Lope's play.]
Quien ama no haga fieros Copy. (O). Parte XVIII.
Quien bien ama tarde olvida. (Primer Duque de Calabria). Copy. (O), dated 1624. Parte XXII, Zaragoza, 1630.
Quien todo lo quiere. Copy. (O) Parte XXII, Madrid, 1635
Ramirez (Los) de Arellano. Copy (modern) Parte XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641
Rey (El) por su semejanza Very doubtful. [By Juan de Grajales (?).]
Rey (El) por trueque. Copy (D).
Robo (El) de Dina. Copy. Parte XXIII Acad. III.
Rosario (El) de los Hijos de Maria. Copy (O) [Not cited by Duran or La Barrera]
Ruiseñor (El) de Sevilla Copy (D). Parte XVII.
San Agustin (El divino Africano). Copy (D). Parte XVIII.
San Isidro labrador de Madrid (y Victoria de las Navas de Tolosa por el Rey D Alfonso). Copy Parte VII. Escog. XXVIII. Acad IV
San Julian de Alcalá de Henares, ó El saber por no saber (La Vida de San Julian, lego de Alcalá) Copy. (O) Parte XXIV. Acad. V.
San Segundo de Avila Copy, Alba, August 12, 1594. Acad. IV
Santa Casilda Copy Doubtful. [Perhaps by Phelipe de Medina Pores, for whose name Lope's has been substituted on the title-page.]
Santiago el Verde. Copy (O) Parte XIII.
Santo (El) Niño de la Guardia Segundo Cristo. Copy, with censura of 1638. Parte VIII (El Niño inocente de la Guardia).
Secretario (El) de si mismo Copy. (O). Acts I and II only. Parte VI [Rocamora does not note that it is by Lope]
Sembrar (El) en buena Tierra. Copy. (O). Parte X.
Si no vieran las Mugeres. Copy. (O). *Vega del Parnaso*; *Obras Sueltas*, X.
Sin Secreto no ay Amor. Copy. (D)
Suerte (La) de los Reyes, ó Los Carboneros. Copy (D), of Acts II and III.
Terceros (Los) de San Francisco. (La Tercera Orden de S. Francisco). Copy (D). [This play was written by Lope and Montalvan.] Acad. V.
Toledano (El) y Zeloso vengado. Copy. (O).
Trabajos (Los) de Jacob (Sueños hay que verdad son). Copy. Parte XXII (see Schack, Vol. II, p 321)
Valiente (El) Juan de Heredia. Copy. (O).
Valor (El) de Malta. Copy. (D). Acad. XII.
Vargas (Los) de Castilla. Copy. Acad. X.
Veneno (El) saludable (El cuerdo Loco), q.v.

Ventura (La) sin buscarla. [Parody on Lope's play.]
Ver y no creer. Copy, with *aprobacion* of August 25, 1619. Parte XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633.
Vida (La) de San Pedro Nolasco. Copy. Parte XXII. Acad. V.
Vida y Muerte de Santa Teresa de Jesus. Copy.
Viuda (La) valenciana. Copy. Parte XIV.

Besides those mentioned in the above list there are several manuscript Comedias ascribed to Lope de Vega in the following work: *Catálogo abreviado de los Manuscritos de la Biblioteca del Excmo. Señor Duque de Osuna é Infantado*, por D. José María Rocamora. Madrid, 1882.

I give the numbers in the Catalogue

356. El Caballero de Olmedo, Lope de Vega (with a *censura*).
[For this manuscript, see the text, p. 165.]

367. El Capitan Belisario Lope de Vega.
[No. 521 of the same catalogue reads "Ejemplo mayor de la Desdicha, Mira de Amescua, con la censura de Lope de Vega (autógrafo)" This explains the matter. Mescua's play has two titles.]

416. El Conde D. Pedro Velez. Lope de Vega.
[This is a copy: the autograph, signed by Luis Velez de Guevara, is in the Bib. Nac.]

475. La despreciada Querida. Lope de Vega.
Copy. [The autograph, signed by Juan Bautista de Villegas on May 15, 1621, is in the Bib. Nac.]

487. Dios hace Justicia á Todos. Lope de Vega.
[This comedia is by D. Francisco de Villegas, and is printed in Escog. XLII.]

574. La famosa Montañesa. Lope de Vega.
[This comedia, which is mentioned in P. as *La Montañesa*, and by Huerta (see Lope de Vega, *Comedias escog.* Vol. IV. p 548), apparently never passed into the custody of the Bib. Nac., and its present resting-place is unknown to me.]

671. La ilustre Fregona. Lope de Vega.
[This is a burlesque by Cañizares on Lope's comedia printed in Parte XXIV. (Zaragoza, 1641).]

950. Los Novios de Hornachuelos. Velez de Guevara (autograph).
[This is registered by Paz y Melia, Cat. B N. under No. 2391, but not a word is said about its being an autograph. There are two copies in the Bib. Nac. The first bears a license dated Valencia, Oct. 15, 1629, and is ascribed to Luis Velez de Guevara and Medrano. The second (Osuna) copy, also ascribed to Guevara, bears the date 1627. The play occurs as a *suelta* with Lope's name, but on the authority of these manuscripts it has often been attributed to Guevara. Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo, however, has published it as Lope's in Acad. X.]

1214. El Santo Negro Rosambuco, ó sea el Negro del Serafin Santo Negro (sic). Lope de Vega (with a *censura*).
[This is by Luis Velez de Guevara. See Paz y Melia, Cat. B. N., No. 2290.]
1346. El Valor de Fernandico. Lope.
[This is Lope's *El Piesto por la Honra*. See p. 464.]

IN THE COLLECTION OF SALUSTIANO DE OLÓZAGA.

La prueba de los amigos.—September 12, 1604. autograph. (P².) MS. copy Duran
Carlos Quinto en Francia.—November 20, 1604 autograph. (P².) Parte XIX. MS. copy Rubí.
La batalla del honor —April 18, 1608 autograph. (P².) Parte VI.
El Bastardo Mudarra.—April 27, 1612 autograph. Parte XXIV, 1641.[1]

IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MARQUES DE PIDAL.

La encomienda bien guardada.—April 16, 1610 autograph. (Parte XV. La buena guarda)

IN THE COLLECTION OF CAYETANO ALBERTO DE LA BARRERA[2]

El Maestro de danzar —January 1594 Copy. (P Escog. III)
El Esclavo fingido —Undated. Copy (S. Osuna Tomo 132)
Los hechos de Garcilaso de la Vega, y Moro Tarfe.—Undated. (?P. Garcilaso de la Vega)

BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION.[3]

La hermosa Ester.—April 5, 1610 (Parte XV)
El Galan de la Membrilla —April 20, 1615 (Parte X.) P²
Santiago el Verde (Parte XIII) Autograph Act II is missing.
[See *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1893]

[1] Reproduced in facsimile at Madrid in 1864

[2] This particular section was drawn up by La Barrera, who stated that his MSS of *El Maestro de danzar* and *El Esclavo fingido* were autographs. He repeated the assertion in his *Catálogo*, p 437 However, in a letter to Chorley, dated April 1866, he admitted that both were merely copies, though he believed (so he said) that *El Maestro de danzar* was copied directly from the autograph These manuscripts of La Barrera were evidently transferred after his death to the Biblioteca Nacional

[3] In two quarto volumes Egerton MSS 547 and 548.

Vol I (5 comedias)	Vol. II (5 comedias).
1 La hermosa Ester	1 Lo que ha de ser.
2 La Niña de Plata y burla vengada [?].	2 ¡Ay, verdades!
3. El Galan de la Membrilla.	3 Sin secreto no ay amor
4. Santiago el Verde	4 La competencia en los nobles
5. Sembrar en buena tierra.	5. El Argel fingido

Las hazañas de Belisa is bound by itself in a separate volume (Additional MSS. 10,329).
As regards the second piece in Vol I, which has been hitherto confounded with *La Niña de Plata* in Parte IX, see p 210, *n* 2, of text.

Sembrar en buena tierra.—January 6, 1616: autograph. (Parte X.) P².
Lo que ha de ser.—September 2, 1624. Copy: see p. 311. (Parte XXV.)
¡Ay, verdades! que en amor.—November 12, 1625: autograph. (Parte XXI.)
La competencia en los Nobles.—November 1625. S. J. R. C.
[A copy, often stated to be corrected by Lope personally, is in the Brit. Mus see p. 318, n. 1.]
Sin secreto no ay amor —July 18, 1626: autograph. Copy. (Duran.)
Las bizarrias de Belisa —May 24, 1634 autograph (Vega del P.)
El Argel fingido (P. Parte VIII.)
[According to Schack the play is dated 1610, but this is impossible, for the piece is mentioned in P The last leaf is missing in the Brit. Mus copy.]

TICKNOR COLLECTION (BOSTON).

El castigo sin venganza.—August 1, 1631 · autograph. (Parte XXI.)
[See text, pp 339 and foll.]

HOLLAND COLLECTION

El Cuerdo loco —November 11, 1602. autograph (P. Parte XIV.)
El Caballero del Sacramento —April 27, 1610 autograph. (P² Parte XV.)
Barlan y Josafá.—February 1, 1611 · autograph. (Parte XXIV. Zaragoza, 1641.)
El Marques de las Navas —April 22, 1624 · autograph (Parte XXII. Zaragoza, 1630.)
Antonio Roca. P [? Copy.]
Peribañez y el Comendador de Ocaña (P². Parte IX.)
Copy with corrections which seem to be in Lope's hand.
La Villana de Getafe —Copy. (Parte XIV.)
Las pérdidas del que juega Copy. [According to Paz y Melia, Cat. B. N. No. 2576, the Osuna MS. was only a copy.]
El valor de Malta, Copy. [Another copy was in Duran's collection. See Cat B N. No 3409.]
San Basilio.—Copy [Another copy in Duran's collection. *La gran columna fogosa.* See Cat. B. N. No. 1412.]
El Duque de Berganza. (Parte VIII. *El mas galan Portugues.*)
Fuente Ovejuna.—Copy (Parte XII.)
La Noche de San Juan.—Copy. (Parte XXI.)
[Copied, says the first draft of this bibliography, in 1635. Lope wrote the play in June 1631. see text, pp. 337-339.]
La honra por la Mujer.—Copy. (Parte XXIV. Zaragoza, 1633.) S. J. R. C.
La humildad y la soberbia.—Copy. (P². Parte X.)
+Lo que es un coche en Madrid —Copy. [This is Hurtado de Mendoza's piece: *Los ruegos que tiene un coche.*]

Al pasar del arroyo. Copy. (Parte XII.)

[Dated January 23, 1616. The following are said to be copies of plays by Lope. so far as I could judge, when I was able to examine them, I thought they were not his. J. R. C.]

+ La soberbia de Nembrot, y primero Rey del mundo.

[Played at the Prado Theatre by F. Martinez de Mora, August 5, 1635 Probably the work current as a *suelta* (J. R. C) with the name of Enriquez Gomez attached to it.]

La Orden de Redencion, y Virgen de los Remedios.—[Chorley appends the query "By Calderon, or by F. Villegas and José Rojo?" However, it does not appear in the list given in Calderon's *Verdadera Quinta Parte* The play by Villegas and Rojo (Escog. XXV) is entitled: *La Esclavitud mas dichosa y Virgen de los Remedios.*]

Amar por ver amar.—Dated 1659 License dated 1651. [This is *El Perro del hortelano*]

El Paraiso de Laura, y florestas del amor.—Dated 1680

+ El sol en el Nuevo Mundo Nuevo mundo en Castilla, ó descubrimiento de las Batuecas, por Juan de la Hoz y Lope de Vega.

[Hoz was probably born in the third decade of the seventeenth century: he is said to have survived till 1709. He re-cast Lope's comedia *Las Batuecas*, Parte XXIII In Duran's collection there was a MS (no doubt of this same work) entitled *El Descubrimiento de las Batuecas del Duque de Alba* por Juan Claudio de la Hoz: see Cat B N No 869. Another re-cast by Matos Fragoso is given in Escog. XXXVII under the title *El nuevo mundo en Castilla.*]

In the Library of Mr John Murray.

Quien mas no puede.—September 1, 1616: autograph.

In the Sancho Rayon Collection. (La Barrera, p. 437.)

Los melindres de Belisa. (P². Parte IX.) Fragment of autograph consisting of the First Act only.

El Vaso de Eleccion, S Pablo (MS. of the beginning of the XVII^th Century.) Medel · *S Pablo* · *Vaso de Eleccion.*

In the Gayangos Collection. (La Barrera, p. 436.)

La mejor enamorada = La Magdalena. P². La Magdalena. [MS. of the XVII^th century, incomplete Cat. B. N No. 3979.]

In the Condesa de Torre-Isabel's Collection.

El Príncipe despeñado.—November 27, 1602: autograph.

IN THE LIBRARY OF TOMAS RODRIGUEZ RUBI, Madrid.

Hartzenbusch, Comedias de Lope, IV, p xvi "Me ha remitido hoy, 13 de Oct de 1860, un grueso tomo en 4° MS —cuyo titulo es· 'Libro de Comedias antiguas no impresas de Lope de Vega . . . escritas y firmadas de su propia mano y letra *sacadas de sus Tomos originales* . que se hallan en el Archivo del Duque de Sessa —por D. Miguel Sanz de Pliegos, su archivero'" The copy was made in 1781 and is styled *Tomo II* This volume is described in Cat B N. No 371 for a description of volume VI see *ibid* No 1750 Are volumes I, III and V lost? This gives an idea of the wealth of the Sessa Archives. Vol II contains the following copies

El Blason de los Chaves. (P Parte X Los Chaves de Villalba.) Dated at Chinchon, August 20, 1599
Laura perseguida (P Parte IV) Dated at Alba, October 12, 1594
El leal criado (P Parte XV) Dated at Alba, June 24, 1594
Carlos V en Francia (P² Parte XIX) Dated at Toledo, November 20, 1604 [The original is in the Olozaga collection]

IN THE CHORLEY COLLECTION (All these are copies)

Amar por ver amar (P² El Perro del Hortelano Parte XI) Dated 1659
Engañar a quien engaña (S Duran, Osuna, and Tomo 132)
Españoles (Los) en Flandes (Parte XIII)
Grandezas (Las) de Alexandro (Parte XVI)
Lo que está determinado (Escog III)
Llave (La) de la honra (Escog III)
Maestro (El) de danzar (P Escog. III. MS. copy La Barrera, 1594)
Mas pueden zelos que amor (Escog III)
Portuguesa (La) y dicha del forastero (Escog III)
Prados (Los) de Leon (P² Parte XVI)
Serrana (La) de Tormes (P Parte XVI)
Trabajos (Los) de Jacob (Parte XXII Madrid, 1635.)
Discreta enamorada (La) (P² Escog III S. Holland)

CITED BY DURAN IN AN UNPUBLISHED CATALOGUE. (La Barrera, p 436)

AUTOGRAPHS IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE ASTORGA FAMILY. [Of these MSS. a copy of *El cuerdo loco* is in the above mentioned Vol VI described in Cat B N No 1750]

⊙El cuerdo loco y veneno saludable (P. Parte XIV.) Dated Madrid, November 11, 1602.
[This would seem to be the autograph already noted as being now in the Holland collection.]

La Corona merecida (P. Parte XIV) Dated 1603.

⊙La Corona de Ungria, ó la injusta venganza. Dated December 23, 1633, with a *censura* of January 1, 1634

[Schack quotes this as among the autographs belonging to Duran himself, but, according to Cat B. N. No 716, Duran's was simply a copy.]

Las persecuciones de David. Ancient MS (S Brit Mus. J. R. C. *David perseguido*) [La Barrera merely says that this MS. was "cited by Duran": he unfortunately omits the owner's name.]

CITED IN SALVÁ'S CATALOGUE, Paris, 1829-34 (La Barrera, p. 437.)

Los Comendadores de Cordoba. MS contemporary with the author. (Parte II. [?] P. Los Comendadores)

El Enemigo engañado MS contemporary with the author. (P. Dif. XXXII S Duran.)

El Verdadero Amante (P Parte XIV) y gran Pastoral Belarda. Ancient MS.

Of the autographs in the list on pp. 472-473, the following are inedited, or at least are not known to have been printed as yet.

1 Del monte sale, etc (1627)
2 La discordia en los casados (1611).
3 Lo que pasa en una tarde (1617).
4 El Poder en el discreto (1623)[1]

[1] The following, though not autographs, are of interest as being ancient and (mostly) dated copies —(1) *El Maestro de danzar*, P, Escog III, La Barrera, January 1594, (2) *El leal criado*, P, XV, Rubí June 24, 1594; (3) *San Segundo*, P., Acad IV, August 12, 1594, (4) *Laura perseguida*, P, IV, Rubí, October 12, 1594, (5) *Belardo el Furioso*, P, Acad V [undated], (6) *El Blason de los Chaves*, P, X, Rubí, August 20, 1599 [with a *figura del donayre*], (7) *La Contienda de Garcia de Paredes*, P, Acad XI, Duran, February 15, 1600, (8) *El Principe desheñado*, [?P], VII, Torre-Isabel, November 27, 1602; (9) *El Cordobes valeroso*, P, IV, Bib Nac, August 26, 1603, (10) *Argel fingido*, P, VIII, Brit. Mus [undated, assigned to 1613], (11) *La Burgalesa de Lerma*, P[a] X, Osuna, November 30, 1613, (12) *El Principe perfeto*, Part II, XVIII, Osuna, January 16, 1616, (13) *Al pasar del arroyo*, XII, Holland, January 23, 1616, (14) *La lealtad en la Traycion*, S, Bib Nac., November 22, 1617, (15) *Ver y no creer*, XXIV [Zaragoza, 1633], Bib Nac., August 25, 1619, (16) *En los Indicios la Culpa*, XXII [Zaragoza, 1630] Osuna, 1620 [?], (17) *La Aldeguela*, S, and Escog, XLII, Osuna, November 9, 1622, (18) *Lo que ha de ser*, XXII [Zaragoza, 1630], Brit. Mus, September 2, 1624, (19) *La Competencia en los Nobles*, S., Brit Mus., November 16, 1620, (20) *La Noche de San Juan*, XXI, Holland [undated, played on June 24, 1631], *La Corona de Ungria*, Ined, Astorga-Duran, December 23, 1633.

Extant Autographs of Lope de Vega's Comedias.

[The pieces marked (Om.), though written before 1618, are omitted from the *Peregrino* list of that date.]

	Year.	Title.	Mentioned in *Peregrino* of 1604 or of 1618.	First Printed in	Possessor	Date of Autograph.
1.	1593.	*El Favor agradecido.*[1]	P.	Comedias XV.	Duran.	December 19, 1593.
2.	1602.	*El Cuerdo loco.*	P.	Comedias XIV.	Holland.	November 11, 1602.
3.	1602.	*El Príncipe despeñado* (Om.).	[(?) P. *El Despeñado.*]	Comedias VII.	Torre—Isabel.	November 27, 1602.
4.	1603.	*La Corona merecida.*	P.	Comedias XIV	Astorga Archives.	1603.
5.	1604.	*La Prueba de los Amigos*	P[2].	Com inéd., 1873	Bib Nac (Olózaga)	September 12, 1604.
6.	„	*Carlos V. en Francia.*	P[2].	Comedias XIX.	Olózaga, Rubí	November 20, 1604.
7.	1608.	*La Batalla del Honor*	P[2].	Comedias XV	Olózaga.	April 18, 1608.
8.	1610.	*La hermosa Ester* (Om.).		Comedias XV	Brit. Museum.	April 5, 1610.
9.	„	*La buena Guarda* (Om.).		Comedias XV.	Pidal.	April 16, 1610.
10.	„	*El Caballero del Sacramento.*	P[2]	Comedias XV	Holland	April 27, 1610.
11.	1611	*Barlan y Josafá* (Om.).		Comedias XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641	Holland.	February 1, 1611.
12.	„	*La Discordia en los Casados* (Om.)		Inédited (?)	Bib. Nac (Osuna.)	August 2, 1611.
13.	1612	*El Bastardo Mudarra.*	[P[2] as *Los Siete Infantes de Lara*]	Comedias XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641	Olózaga	April 27, 1612.
14.	1613.[2]	*La Dama boba.*	P[2]	Comedias IX	Bib Nac. (Osuna.)	April 28, 1613.
15.	1614.	*El Príncipe perfeto*, Parte I (Om.)		Comedias XI.	Osuna	December 23, 1614
16.	1615.	*El Galan de la Membrilla*	P[2]	Comedias X	Brit. Museum.	April 20, 1615.
17.	„	*Santiago el Verde*		Comedias XIII.	Brit Museum	1615.[3]
18.	1616.[4]	*El Sembrar en buena Tierra* (Om.).	P[2].	Comedias X	Brit. Museum.	January 6, 1616.
19.	„	*Quien mas no puede.*	P[2].	Comedias XVII.	Murray	September 1, 1616.
20.	1617.	*El Desden vengado* (Om.).		Escogidas XVI.[5]	Bib. Nac. (Osuna.)	August 4, 1617.

21.	1617	*Lo que pase en una Tarde* (Om.).		Inedited (?)	Bib Nac. (Osuna.)	November 22, 1617 [6]
22.	1621.	*Amor, Pleito y Desafio*	Pt.	Com inéd., 1873	Duran.	November 23, 1621.
23.	1622.	*La nueva Victoria de Don Gonzalo de Córdoba*		Vega del Parnaso.	Bib. Nac. (Osuna.)	October 8, 1622.
24.	1623.	*El Poder en el Discreto.*		Inedited (?)	Bib. Nac. (Osuna.)	May 8, 1623
25.	1624.	*El Marqués de las Navas.*		Comedias XXII, Zaragoza, 1630.	Holland.	April 22, 1624.
26.	1625.	*La Niñez del Padre Rojas*		Escogidas XVIII.	Bib. Nac (Osuna.)	January 4, 1625.
27.	„	*El Brasil restituido*		Academia XIII	Rich.[7]	October 23, 1625.
28.	„	*¡Ay Verdades! que en Amor.*		Comedias XXI	Brit Museum	November 12, 1625.
29.	1626	*Sin Secreto no ay Amor.*		S. ed. H. A Rennert, Baltimore, 1894	Brit Museum.	July 18, 1626.
30.	„	*El piadoso Aragonés.*		Comedias XXI	Bib. Nac (Osuna)	August 17, 1626.
31.	„	*Amor con Vista.*		Com. inéd., 1873.	Bib. Nac. (Osuna.)	December 10, 1626.
32.	1627.	*Del Monte sale quien el Monte quema.*[8]		Inedited.	Bib. Nac. (Osuna.)	October 20, 1627.
33.	*1631.*	*El Castigo sin Venganza*		Comedias XXI.	Ticknor.	August 1, *1631.*
34.	1633	*La Corona de Ungria*		Inedited.	Astorga Archives.	December 23, 1633.
35.	1634	*Las Bizarrias de Belisa.*		Vega del Parnaso	Brit. Museum	May 24, 1634.

[1] Act I only: and it seems doubtful whether this is really an autograph, or not

[2] For the MS. of *La Niña de Plata y Burla vengada*, dated January 29, 1613, see *ante*, p. 210, *n.* 2

[3] Assigned conjecturally to 1615 the last leaf is missing.

[4] An *auto sacramental*, entitled *La Isla del Sol*, existed in the Osuna collection it was dated April 6, 1616

[5] In this volume the play bears Rojas Zorrilla's name.

[6] The autograph of Lope's *auto sacramental* entitled *Las Hazañas del segundo David* is dated April 28, 1619, an autograph of Lope's *auto sacramental* entitled *Obras son Amores* is dated 1620. But see *ante*, p. 281.

[7] The date of Duran's copy. About 1840 the original was in the possession of Rich, who sold some Lope autographs to the British Museum and to Lord Holland. I do not know who the present owner of *El Brasil restituido* may be.

[8] The *auto sacramental* entitled *El Pastor ingrato* is dated 1628

SUMMARY OF UNDATED MANUSCRIPTS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

The titles of inedited plays, or plays not known to be in print, are given in italics Manuscripts only known through the statements of Salvá and Duran are marked O and are not taken into numerical account All the pieces mentioned by Salvá and Duran are in print

1 Alcalde (El) de Zalamea. (S Holland and J R. C.) Duran.
2 *Alcayde (El) de Madrid* (Medel) Osuna
3. Amar como se ha de amar S (Osuna Tomo 131.) Osuna and Parma
4 *Amar por burla* (Medel) Osuna
5. Amar por ver amar (Perro del hortelano) (P^2 Parte XI.) Holland J R C
6 *Antonio Roca* Ined Holland Osuna
7 Argel fingido Brit Mus
8 *Armında celosa* [See text, p. 304, *n* 1]
9 Audiencias del rey D Pedro (Medel) Anon Osuna
10 *Casamiento (El) por Christo* (Medel and Fajardo) Osuna.
O Comendadores (Los) de Córdoba (P^2 Parte II *Los Comendadores.*) Quoted by Salvá
O David perseguido (S. J R C Under the title of *Persecuciones de David*) Quoted by Salvá
11 Discreta enamorada (La) (Escog. III) .. J R. C.
12 *Divina vencedora (La)* Ined Osuna
+13 *Don Gil de la Mancha* Ined Doubtful Osuna
O Enemigo engañado (El) (Dif XXXII S J R. C) Quoted by Salvá
14 Engañar a quien engaña. (S Osuna. Tomo 132) Osuna and J R C.
15. *Esclavo fingido (El)* (Osuna Tomo 132 Fajardo, Comedias de Sevilla) La Barrera See Cat B N No 1160
16 Españoles (Los) en Flandes (Parte XIII) J R C
17 *Fray Diablo* Ined Duran
18 Fuente Ovejuna (P^2) (Parte XII) Holland
+19 *Gran Cardenal (El) de España Parte segunda.* (Fajardo, XXVII, *extravagante*) Medel Osuna Cat. B N No. 1409 [By Enriquez Gomez, but La Barrera ascribes to Lope a play entitled *Gran Cardenal de España, D. Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza*]
20 Gran columna fogosa S Basilio Acad IV Duran Holland
21 Grandezas (Las) de Alexandro (Parte XVI) J R C.
22 Hechos de Garcilaso de la Vega Acad XI See text, p. 96.
23 Hijo (El) sin padre (S J R C. Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640) Duran
24. Honra (La) por la muger. Parte XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633. (S. J. R. C.) Holland.

25. Humildad (La) *y la soberbia.* (Parte X) Holland.
+— Lo que es un coche en Madrid. [This is Hurtado de Mendoza's *Los riesgos que tiene un coche*] (S J R. C.) Holland.
26 Lo que está determinado (Escog III) J R. C
27. Llave (La) de la honra. (Escog III) J R. C
28. *Martires* (*Los*) *del Japon.* (Medel "de Mescua") Osuna
29. Mas galan Portugues (El). (Parte VIII.) Holland.
30 Mas pueden zelos que amor. (Escog III.) J. R. C.
31 *Mayor Corona* (*La*). (Medel.) Osuna.
32. *Mayor dicha* (*La*) *en el monte.* (Medel) Osuna
33 *Mayor hazaña* (*La*) *de Alexandro* (Medel) Osuna.
34. *Mejor enamorada* (*La*) (Medel la Magdalena) Imperfect. Gayangos
35 Melindres (Los) de Belisa (Parte IX.) Imperfect Rayon
+36 *Orden* (*La*) *de la redencion* Ined Doubtful Holland.
+37 *Paraiso* (*El*) *de Laura* Medel anon. Doubtful Holland
38 Perdida honrosa (La) Duran Acad. XII *Los Caballeros de S. Juan.*
39. *Pérdidas* (*Las*) *del que juega* (Medel.) Osuna Holland
40 Peribañez (P² Comendador de Ocaña) (Parte IV.) Holland
— Perro del Hortelano see Amar por ver amar
— Persecuciones de David see David perseguido
41. Pleyto (El) por la honra (*Doce comedias de Lope y otros*, Barcelona, 1630) S. J. R. C
42 Prados (Los) de Leon (Parte XVI.) J R. C
43 Quien bien ama tarde olvida (Parte XXIV, Zaragoza, 1630) Osuna
44 *Rey* (*El*) *por trueque* Ined Duran
45 Reyna Doña Maria (La) Acad VIII
— San Basilio see Gran Columna fogosa
46. San Pablo vaso de eleccion Medel. Rayon. Acad. III.
47 *Santa Casilda* Medel Osuna
48. Santa Teresa de Jesus Acad V.
49 Santiago el Verde (Parte XIII.) Brit Mus
50 Serrana (La) de Tormes (Parte XVI) J R C.
51 Tercera orden (La) de San Francisco Acad V
52 *Toledano vengado* (*El*). Medel Osuna
53 Trabajos (Los) de Jacob (Parte XXII, Madrid, 1635.) J. R C
54. Un pastoral albergue Comedias inéd 1873
55 Valiente Juan de Heredia. S. J. R. C Osuna.
— Valor de Fernandico see Pleyto por la honra
56 Valor (El) de Malta Holland Duran. Acad. XII
57 *Ver y no creer* (Parte XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633) Duran.
⊙ Verdadero amante (El) (Parte XIV.) Quoted by Salvá.
58. Villana (La) de Getafe. (Parte XIV) Holland
59 Viuda Valenciana (La). Parte XIV Bibl. Nac.

60. Zelos (Los) de Rodamonte. Ined [unless it be the play ascribed to Mescua in *Doce Comedias de Varios*, Tortosa, 1638.] Osuna [1]

NOTE ON THE LISTS OF PLAYS PUBLISHED BY LOPE DE VEGA IN *EL PEREGRINO EN SU PATRIA*

Princeps: Sevilla, Clemente Hidalgo, 1604. 4to.

[The *Aprobacion* was given at Valladolid on November 25, 1603: the dedication was signed by Lope at Seville on December 31, 1603 I have a copy of this first edition. H A. R.]

Second Edition: Madrid, 1604 12mo
Third Edition Barcelona, Cormellas, 1604 4to
Fourth Edition: Barcelona, Cormellas, 1605 8vo.
Fifth Edition. Bruselas, 1608. 12mo
Sixth Edition Madrid, viuda de Alonso Martin, 1618 8vo
Seventh Edition Madrid, Martinez Abad, 1733 4to.
Eighth Edition. Vol V of *Obras sueltas*, Madrid, Sancha, 1776

In the Prologue to this book the poet says "Para mi lo son [enemigos] los que con mi nombre imprimen agenas obras Agora han salido algunas Comedias, que, *impresas en Castilla*, dicen que en Lisboa" [alluding, apparently, to the volume entitled *Seis Comedias de Lope y otros*, Lisboa, 1603], "y assi quiero advertir á los que leen mis escritos con aficion que no crean que aquellas son mis comedias, aunque tengan mi nombre. y para que las conozcan, me ha parecido acertado poner aqui los suyos [?títulos] " Upon this there follows a list (P) of 219 titles to which was added afterwards in the Sixth Edition of 1618, a supplementary list (P^2) of 113 more, making a total of 332 which Lope recognized as his own.

Until La Barrera, in revising the present Catalogue, called attention to the edition of 1618—which, as he stated afterwards in his *Catálogo general* (Madrid, 1860, p 423), "el propio Lope repitió"—the supplementary list was only known from its being included in the Madrid edition of 1733. and as it was erroneously supposed to have been published for the first time almost a hundred years after the poet's death, its authority was ranked below that of the original list. It should be noted that Cerdá y Rico, when publishing the fifth volume of the *Obras sueltas de Lope* in 1776, cited the editions of 1604, 1605, 1608 and 1733 as the First, Second, Third and Fourth Editions respectively; and, so far as I am aware, until La Barrera drew attention to the matter, in no other work was there any description of the Seville *princeps* (1604), or of the more important 1618 edition of Madrid We are indebted to him for restoring to the supplementary list the authority

[1] At this point Chorley inserts a Table of Manuscript comedias in the Library formerly belonging to D Agustin Duran, according to the *Inventario* published in 1865 by Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch. I omit it, as all of Duran's MSS. are now in the Biblioteca Nacional see pp. 459-466.

which it lacked so long as it was not proved to have been published during Lope's lifetime and—so La Barrera implies—with his revision

Thus we now have two authentic lists of comedias written by Lope—219 previous to the year 1604, and 113 others previous to the year 1618. But neither list includes the titles of all the pieces which he had written up to these dates respectively As to the original list, in the very Prologue which contains it, Lope resumes his remarks after giving the list, and speaks of 230 comedias—instead of 219—"*sin muchas de que no me acuerdo.*" And at the same point, in the Prologue to the edition of 1618, where the titles amount to 332, he speaks—not of this number, but—of 462.

(1) But even the latter number does not reach the total of comedias which he had composed as far back as 1609. for, in the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*, published in that year, he says that he had already written 483 comedias.

(2) Nor does it greatly exceed *half* the number of those which he had actually written up to 1618 for in the Prologue to Parte XI of his Comedias, the *Aprobacion* to which is dated February 1618, he says that the number had already reached 800. [See text, p. 269]

Moreover, it should be remarked.

(3) That in Parte IX, which he himself published in 1617, there are 7 plays, the titles of which do not figure in the 1618 list —

La prueba de los Ingenios.
La Doncella Teodor
El Hamete de Toledo.
El Ausente en el lugar
El animal de Ungria.
Del mal lo menos [1]

And again, in Parte XI (published, as already noted, in 1618,) are two others —

El Príncipe perfeto
and
La Fortuna merecida—

which are not given in the supplementary list of 1618.

(4) That, among the scanty surviving number—some 21—of his autograph comedias which bear dates previous to 1618, a third will be sought in vain in the *Peregrino* lists. These are :—

(1) Barlan y Josafá. Holland. 1611.
(2) El Bastardo Mudarra Olózaga. 1612.

[1] There are others which, as they do not contain any *figura del donayre*, were probably written before the end of the sixteenth century, though not cited in the 1603 list.

El desposorio encubierto Parte XIII, 1620.
El exemplo de Casadas. *Flor de Comedias*, V, 1616
Las famosas Asturianas. Parte XVIII, 1623
La Imperial de Oton Parte VIII, 1617
El Casamiento en la muerte (P[a]) Parte I, 1604.
Lo fingido verdadero. (P[a] El mejor representante.) Parte XVI, 1621.
La amistad pagada. Parte I, 1603
El niño inocente de la Guardia. (P[a]) Parte VIII, 1617.

(3) El Desden vengado. Osuna. 1617.
(4) La Discordia en los casados. Osuna. 1611.
(5) La buena Guarda. Pidal. 1610.
(6) El Príncipe despeñado Torre—Isabel 1602.
(7) La Hermosa Ester. Brit. Mus. 1610.
(8) Lo que pasa en una tarde. Osuna. 1617.
(9) El Príncipe Perfeto *Parte Primera* Osuna. 1614

Whatever may have been the cause of the difference between the lists and the Prologues, and of the deficiencies of the lists as regards the actual number of Lope's works prior to 1618—whether due to the author's own carelessness or to neglect on the part of the printers—it is certain that no exclusive authority can be ascribed to these lists. It is absurd to appeal to them—unless supported by other reasons—as justifying the rejection of any piece attributed to Lope. We are not entitled to deprive him of a play merely because he does not quote it in the *Peregrino* lists. Nevertheless La Barrera has done this more than once, as will appear from the appended Index of Titles

ORIGINAL LIST (1603) OF THE *PEREGRINO* ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Plays marked ○ have no *figura del donayre*·[1] plays marked × have a *figura del donayre*

A

1 Abderite (La).
× 2 Abindarraez y Narvaez. (Parte XIII El remedio en la desdicha)
3 Adonis y Venus Parte XVI.
4 El Africano cruel
5 Alcayde (El) de Madrid Medel. MS (Osuna)
6 Alfonso el afortunado
× 7. Amantes (Los) sin amor Parte XIV.
8. Amatilde (La)
× 9 Amazonas (Las) (Parte XVI Las mugeres sin hombres)
○ 10 Amigo (El) por fuerza Parte IV
11 Amor constante (El)
12 Amor desatinado (El)
13. Amores (Los) de Narciso
○ 14 Angelica en el Catay Parte VIII
15 Antonio Roca Medel MS (Osuna)
× 16 Arenal (El) de Sevilla Parte XVI
⊙ 17. Argel fingido (El) Parte VIII Copy (Brit Mus.).

B

18 Bárbara (La) del Cielo Medel. anon
19 Bárbaro Gallardo
20. Basilea (La)
⊙ 21. Batalla naval (La). (Parte XV. La Santa Liga.)

[1] The *figura del donayre* was first introduced by the author in *La Francesilla* which, as appears from the Dedication (Parte XIII), was written before 1602.

22. Belardo furioso.
23. Bella Gitana (La).
⊙24. Bella mal maridada (La). Parte II.
⊙25. Benavides (Los).
26. Biedmas (Los).
27. Bosque amoroso (El).
28. Buen agradecimiento (El).
29. Burlas (Las) de amor.

C

⊙30 Caballero (El) de Illescas Parte XIV.
×31. Caballero (El) del milagro. Parte XIV. [This has more than one *figura del donayre*.]
32. Caballero mudo (El)
33 Cadena (La)
⊙34. Campana (La) de Aragon. Parte XVIII.
35 Capitan Juan de Urbina (El). (Contienda de Garcia de Paredes y el Capitan Juan de Urbina.)
36 Casamiento (El) dos veces
×37 Catalan valeroso (El). ([?] Parte II. El gallardo catalan.)
×38. Cautivos (Los). ([?] Parte XXV Los cautivos de Argel.)
×39. Cegries y Bencerrages (Parte XXIII. La Embidia de la nobleza)
40 Cerco (El) de Madrid.
41 Cerco (El) de Oran.
42 Cerco (El) de Toledo. Medel. anon
×43 Chaves (Los) de Villalba Parte X.
44 Circe Angelica (La)
45 Cirujano (El)
×46 Comendadores (Los). ([?] Parte II. Los Comendadores de Córdoba)
47. Competencia engañada (La)
48. Conde Dirlos (El)
49 Conde D. Thomas (El)
○50 Condesa (La) ([?] Parte II. La Condesa Matilde.)
51 Conquista (La) del Andalucia
52 Conquista (La) de Tremcen.
○53 Corona merecida (La) Parte XIV Autog (Astorga), 1603.
54. Cortesano (El) en la aldea
⊙55 Cuerdo loco (El). Parte XIV Autog. (Holland), 1602.

D

56 Dama desagraviada (La).
57. Dama estudiante (La)
58. Degollado fingido (El)
59. Desdichado (El)
⊙60. Despeñado (El). ([?] Parte VII El Príncipe despeñado.)
(?)⊙61. Difunta pleyteada (La) [Chorley takes this to be the piece ascribed to Rojas in Escog. XX in which work there is no *gracioso*.]

62. Divina vencedora (La). MS. Duran.
(?)⊙63. Domine Lucas (El). Parte XVII.
[Chorley doubts whether the character of Decio can be called a *gracioso*.]
64. Duque (El) de Alba en Paris.

E

65. Embidia (La) y la privanza.
⊙66. Embustes (Los) de Fabia. Parte XXV.
⊙67. Enemigo engañado (El) S J R C. Duran. Dif. XXXII
× 68. Engaño (El) en la verdad. S. (J. R C. Osuna. Duran)
⊙69. Enredos (Los) de Celauro. Parte IV Embustes de Celauro.
⊙70. Esclavo (El) de Roma Parte VIII
71. Esclavo (El) por su gusto
× 72. Esclavos libres (Los). Parte XIII.
⊙73. Escolastica celosa (La) Parte I
74. Espiritu fingido (El)

F

75. Faxardos (Los).
[This may be, though the matter is open to doubt, the play in Parte VII, *El primer Faxardo*, which has no *figura del donayre*]
⊙76. Favor (El) agradecido. Parte XV [?] Autog. (Duran), 1593.
⊙77. Fe rompida (La) Parte IV
⊙78. Ferias (Las) de Madrid. Parte II
79. Firmeza (La) de Leonarda.
⊙80. Francesilla (La). Parte XIII
81. Fray Martin de Valencia.
82. Fregosos y Adornos
⊙83. Fuerza lastimosa (La). Parte II.

G

84. Galan agradecido (El).
85. Galan escarmentado (El).
⊙86. Galiana (La). ([?] Parte XXIII Palacios de Galiana)
⊙87. Gallarda toledana (La) Parte XIV.
88. Gallardas Macedonias (Las).
89. Ganso (El) de oro.
⊙90. Garcilaso de la Vega (*Hechos de Garcilaso de la Vega* or Parte I, *Cerco de Santa Fe.*)
91. Ginovesa (La).
92. Gobernadora (La).
93. Gran pintora (La).
94. Grao (El) de Valencia
95 Guelfos y Gibelinos.
96. Guerras civiles (Las).
97. Guzmanes de Toral.

H

⊙98. Hermosura (La) de Alfreda. Parte IX. La Hermosa Alfreda.

99 Hero y Leandro
O 100 Hijo (El) de Reduan Parte I.
101 Hijo (El) de si mismo
102 Hijo venturoso (El)
O 103 Horacios (Los) Parte XVIII El honrado hermano

I

104 Imperial (La) de Toledo
105 Inclinacion natural (La)
106 Infanta desesperada (La)
107 Infanta labradora (La)
× 108 Ingratitud vengada (La) Parte XIV
× 109 Ingrato arrepentido (El) Parte XV

J

O 110 Jacintos (Los) Parte XVIII Pastoral de Jacinto
111 Jardin (El) de Falerina
O 112 Jorge Toledano Parte XVII
113 Jueces (Los) de Ferrara

L

O 114 Lacayo fingido (El) GL
O 115 Laura perseguida Parte IV
O 116 Leal criado (El) Parte XV MS Rubi, 1594
O 117 Locos (Los) de Valencia Parte XIII
O 118 Locos (Los) por el cielo Parte VIII
O 119 Lucinda perseguida Parte XVII

M

(?) O 120 Maestro (El) de danzar MS Duran, 1594 (?) Fscog III
× 121 Marmol (El) de Felisardo Parte VI
O 122 Marques (El) de Mantua Parte XII
O 123 Matico (El) Parte I Donayres de Matico
124 Matrona constante (La)
O 125 Mayorazgo dudoso (El) Parte II
126 Medico enamorado (El)
127 Meson (El) de la Corte
O 128 Mocedad (La) de Roldan Parte XIX
O 129 Molino (El) Parte I
130 Monstruo (El) de Amor
131 Montañesa (La) Medel *Montañesa famosa*
132 Monteros (Los) de Espinosa
133 Mudable (La)
134 Muerte (La) del maestre
135 Muerto vencedor (El)
× 136 Muertos vivos (Los) Parte XVII
137 Muza furioso.

N

⊙ 138 Nacimiento (El) ([?] Parte XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641, *Nacimiento de Christo*—which contains *figuras del donayre*)

O 139. Neron cruel. ([?] Parte XX. Roma abrasada)
⊙ 140. Nuevo mundo (El) ([?] Parte IV Nuevo mundo descubierto por Cristóbal Colon)

O

× 141 Ocasion perdida (La) Parte II
142 Otomano famoso (El)

P

143. Padres (Los) engañados
O 144. Padre desposado (El) Parte II
145 Paje (El) de la reyna
146. Palabra (La) mal cumplida
147 Pastoral (La) de Albania
148 Pastoral (La) de los Zelos
149 Pastoral (La) encantada
150 Pastoral (La) de la Siega
× 151 Pedro Carbonero Parte XIV
152 Peraltas (Los)
153 Perdicion (La) de España [La Pérdida de España ?]
154 Peregrina (La)
O 155 Perseguido (El) Parte I Carlos el perseguido
O 156 Pimenteles y Quiñones Parte XVIII La piedad executada
O 157 Pleyto (El) de Inglaterra Parte XXIII
O 158 Pobreza estimada (La) Parte XVIII
O 159 Pobrezas (Las) de Reinaldos Parte VII.
160 Poncella (La) de Francia
⊙ 161 Primer rey (El) de Castilla Parte XVII
O 162 Primero Medicis (El) Parte II La Quinta de Florencia
163 Príncipe inocente (El) [? Medel *El Príncipe ignorante*]
164 Príncipe melancolico (El)
O 165 Príncipe (El) de Marruecos ([?] Parte XI El Bautismo del Príncipe de Marruecos)
166 Prision (La) de Muza [See No 137]
⊙ 167 Prision (La) sin culpa Parte VIII
168 Psiques y Cupido

Q

× 169 Quinas (Las) de Portugal ([?] Parte XXII, Zaragoza, 1630, La lealtad en el agravio)

R

170 Rey (El) de Fristia
O 171 Rey Vamba (El) Parte I Vida y muerte del Rey Vamba.
172 Reyna (La) de Lesbos
173 Reyna loca (La)
174 Rico avariento (El)
175 Roberto (El)
176 Romulo y Remo

177 Roncesvalles.
⊙178. Rufian Castrucho (El). Parte IV Galan Castrucho.

S

179 Salteador agraviado (El)
180 San Andres Carmelita
181 San Julian de Cuenca
182 San Roque
183 San Segundo de Avila
184 San Tirso de España
185 Saracines y Aliatares
186 Semiramis (La)
[?]O187 Serrana (La) de Tormes Parte XVI [Cp the character of Tarreño Capigorron]
× 188 Serrana (La) de la Vera Parte VII.
189 Sierra (La) de Fspadan
O190 Sol parado (El) Parte XVII
O191 Soldado amante (El) Parte XVII
192 Suerte (La) de los tres reyes Medel
193 Sufrimiento premiado (El) Parte I

T

O194 Testimonio vengado
195 Toma (La) de Alora
196 Tonto (El) de la aldea
O197 Torneos (Los) de Arigon Parte IV
198 Torneos (Los) de Valencia
199 Torre (La) de Hercules
[?]O200 Traicion (La) bien acertada Parte I
201 Tragedia (La) de Aristea
O202 Tres diamantes (Los) Parte II.
203 Triunfo (El) de la limosna
204 Triunfos (Los) de Octaviano
205 Turco (El) en Viena ([?]S Cerco de Viena.)
O206 Tyrano castigado (El) Parte IV

U

O207 Urson y Valentin Parte I Nacimiento de Urson y Valentin.
208 Urson y Valentin, *Segunda Parte*

V

209 Valeriana (La)
× 210 Vaquero (El) de Morafia Parte VIII.
× 211 Varona Castellana (La) Parte IX
212 Venganza (La) de Gayferos
O213. Verdadero amante (El) Parte XIV
214. Viage (El) del hombre
215 Villanesca (La)
216 Viuda valenciana (La) Parte XIV.
217. Vizcayna (La)

Z

218 Zelos (Los) de Rodamonte. MS. Osuna.
219. Zelos satisfechos (Los).

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST (P² 1618) OF THE *PEREGRINO* ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

Pieces marked * are repeated here from the first list.

A

1. Abanillo (El) Medel.
2. Acero (El) de Madrid. Parte XI
3. Achaque quieren las cosas.
4. Alcázar (El) de Consuegra.
*⊙ Amantes (Los) sin amor. Parte XIV.
5 Amigo (El) hasta la muerte Parte XI.
*⊙ Amigo (El) por fuerza Parte IV
6. Amor soldado (El)
7. Arminda celosa MS (Duran)
8. Asalto (El) de Mastrique Parte IV
○9. Asturianas (Las). ([?] Parte XVIII Las famosas Asturianas.)
10. Atalanta (La)

B

11. Batalla (La) del honor Parte VI Autog. Olózaga, 1608.
12. Batuecas (Las) Parte XXIII.
13 Bobo (El) del colegio Parte XIV
14. Boda (La) entre los maridos Parte IV
15 Burgalesa (La) de Lerma Parte X MS. (Osuna), 1613

C

*⊙ Caballero (El) de Illescas Parte XIV
16 Caballero (El) del Sacramento Parte XV. Autog. (Holland), 1610
17 Carlos V en Francia Parte XIX Autog. (Olózaga), 1604.
⊙18. Casamiento (El) en la Muerte Parte I
19 Casta Penelope (La)
20 Castelvines y Monteses Parte XXV
21 Castigo (El) del discreto Parte VII
22 Comendador (El) de Ocaña ([?] Parte IV Peribañez y el Comendador de Ocaña)
23. Con su pan se le coma. Parte XVII.
24. Conquista (La) de Cortés
25 Conquista (La) de Tenerife. Parte X. Los Guanches de Tenerife
26. Cuerdo (El) en su casa. Parte VI.

D

27. Dama boba (La) Parte IX Autog Osuna, 1613.
28. De donde diere

29. Despertar á quien duerme. Parte VIII.
30 Dicha (La) del forastero Escog. III
31 Discreta enamorada (La). Escog III
32 Don Beltran de Aragon Parte III de Lope y otros
33 Don Juan de Castro, Parte primera } Parte XIX
34. Don Juan de Castro, Parte segunda }
35 Don Lope de Cardona Parte X
36 Doña Inés de Castro
37 Duque (El) de Viseo Parte VI
38 Duques (Los) de Saboya

E

*⊙ Embustes (Los) de Fabia Parte XXV
39 Enemigos (Los) en casa Parte XII
40 Espada pretendida (La).

F

41 Firmeza (La) en la desdicha Parte XII.
42 Flores (Las) de Don Juan Parte X
43 Fortunas (Las) de Beraldo ([?] Belardo).
44 Fuente ovejuna Parte XII

G

45 Galan (El) de la membrilla. Parte X Autog (Brit Mus), 1615
46 Gallardo Jacobin[1] (El)
47 Ginoves liberal (El) Parte IV
48 Guia (La) de la Corte
49 Gran Duque (El) de Moscovia Parte VII

H

50 Hermosura aborrecida (La) Parte VII
*○ Hijo (El) de si mismo
51 Hombre (El) de bien. Parte VI
52 Hombre (El) por su palabra Parte XX
53. Honrado perseguido (El)
54 Humildad (La) y la soberbia Parte X

I

55 Imperio (El) por fuerza.

J

56 Jueces (Los) de Castilla [Chorley suspects that this is the play ascribed to Moreto in his First Part.]
57 Juez (El) en su causa Parte XXV, and Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640

[1] Chorley conjectures this should read Jacimin, the alternative title of *El Hidalgo Abencerrage* in Parte XVII

L

58. Laberinto (El) de Creta. Parte XVI.
59 Lazarillo de Tormes
60 Llegar con ocasion Parte VI
61 Locura (La) por la honra Parte XI.

M

62 Madre (La) Teresa de Jesus Medel and MS (Osuna). *Santa Teresa de Jesus*
63. Magdalena (La) Medel and MS copy Gayangos. *La mejor enamorada la Magdalena*
64. Martyr (El) de Florencia
65 Mayordomo (El) de la Duquesa de Amalfi Parte XI
66 Mejor representante (El) Parte XVI. Lo fingido verdadero, San Gines Representante
67 Melindres (Los) de Belisa Parte IX
*O Muerto vencedor (El)

N

68 Necedad (La) del discreto Parte XXV.
O69 Niño inocente (El) Parte VIII El niño inocente de la Guardia
70 Noche toledana (La). Parte III de Lope y otros.

O

71 Obediente laureada (La) Parte VI
72 Obras son amores Parte XI
73 Octava maravilla (La) Parte X

P

74 Paces (Las) de los reyes. Parte VII.
*O Padrino desposado (El). Parte II
75 Pedro de Urdemalas S Duran [Las Burlas de Pedro de Urdemalas ?]
*O Peraltas (Los)
76. Perro (El) del hortelano. Parte XI.
77. Piadoso Veneciano (El) Parte XXIII.
78 Poder (El) vencido Parte X.
79 Ponces (Los) de Barcelona. Parte IX
80 Porceles (Los) de Murcia Parte VII.
81 Postrer Godo (El) de España Parte VIII and Parte XXV. El último Godo
82 Prados (Los) de Leon
83. Príncipe Carbonero (El).
84. Prueba (La) de los amigos. Medel. Autog. (Olózaga), 1604.

Q

85. Quien mas no puede Parte XVII. Autog (Murray) *1616.*
*⊙ Quinta (La) de Florencia [This appears to be the same as *El Primer Medicis* in Parte II]

R

86. Ramilletes de Madrid. Parte XI.
87 Ruiseñor (El) de Sevilla Parte XVII.

S

88. San Adrian y Santa Natalia.
89 San Agustin Parte XVIII. El divino africano
90 San Angel Carmelita.
91 San Antonio de Padua
92 San Isidro de Madrid Parte VII
93 San Juan de Dios ([?] Parte X Juan de Dios y Anton Martin)
94 San Martin.
95 Santo negro (El). Parte III de Lope y otros. El Santo Negro Rosambuco
96 Santo Tomas de Aquino.
97 Secretario (El) de si mismo. Parte VI.
98 Secreto (El) bien guardado
99 Sembrar en buena tierra Parte X Autog (Brit. Mus.), *1616.*
100 Serrana (La) de Burgos, Parte primera
101. Serrana (La) de Burgos, Parte segunda
102 Servir á señor discreto Parte XI
103 Servir con mala estrella Parte VI
× ⊙ 104 Siete Infantes (Los) de Lara Parte XXIV, Zarazoga, 1641 El Bastardo Mudarra. Autog (Olózaga), 1612.

T

105 Testigo (El) contra si Parte VI
106 Toma (La) de Longa por el Marques de Santa Cruz. Parte XXV Vitoria del Marques del Santa Cruz
*⊙ Tyrano castigado (El) Parte IV

V

*⊙ Vaquero (El) de Morafia. Parte VIII
*⊙ Veneno saludable. (Another title of *El cuerdo loco* which is in the first list MS Holland, 1602)
107 Venganza venturosa (La). Parte X
108 Ventura (La) sin buscalla. Parte XX.
109. Villano (El) en su rincon Parte VII
110. Virtud, pobreza y muger. Parte XX.
111. Vitoria (La) de la honra. Parte XXI
112. Viuda, casada y doncella. Parte VII.
113. Zelos (Los) sin ocasion.

SUMMARY OF THE LISTS IN THE *PEREGRINO*

Of the 219 pieces named in the original list (P) of 1603 (including some which probably exist under other titles, but omitting those which, though noted by Medel,[1] have not reached us) there survive in print or in manuscript - - -	101
Of the 113 pieces named in the supplementary list (P2) of 618, there survive in print or manuscript - - - - -	93
	194
Of the 332 pieces named in the two lists there are inedited, or lost - - - - - - - - -	138
	332

NOTE ON THE COMEDIAS WHICH CONTAIN NO *FIGURA DEL DONAYRE*

The poet first introduced the *figura del donayre* in *La Francesilla* (Parte XIII) This play, as he tells us in the dedication, was written before 1602, and perhaps even before the end of the sixteenth century The character was received with so much applause that it subsequently became almost indispensable Of the comedia played from the first third of the seventeenth century till the downfall of the National Theatre, none is without this *role*, and it is practically certain that not only Lope, but also all the dramatists of his time, introduced the *figura del donayre* into the comedias which were written after *La Francesilla* Thus, speaking generally, we may presume (with a high degree of probability) that the comedias (by Lope or others) in which this character is absent date from before the year 1602 As appears from the foregoing list of the comedias by Lope, issued in his Special Collection, there are at least 72 without a *gracioso*, and of these we may assign the majority (if not the whole) to his first period—the closing decade of the sixteenth century

The comedias of this class—the titles of which are given in the original list of the *Peregrino*—do not include all those in print, and hence it may be conjectured that they precede *La Francesilla* in point of time In the Special Collection of Lope's Comedias, for example, we find the following—all without a *figura del donayre*—and their style and construction are not characteristic of Lope in his maturity —

Amistad pagada (La) Parte I 1604
Casamiento (El) en la muerte P2 Parte I
Desposorio encubierto (El) Parte XIII 1620
Exemplo (El) de casadas *Flor de Comedias*, Parte V 1616
Famosas Asturianas (Las) P2 Parte XVIII 1623
Fingido verdadero (Lo) P2 El mejor representante Parte XVI. 1621
Niño inocente (El) P2 Parte VIII[1]

[1] The Comedia *La Lealtad en la traycion* has no *figura del donayre*, though the MS. noted by Hartzenbusch and La Barrera (see *ante* p 463) is said to be dated 1617. But there may be some mistake as to the year

It is not, however, to be understood that Lope, after inventing the *gracioso*, introduced this character into all his subsequent pieces Proof to the contrary is afforded by *El Bastardo Mudarra* which exists in an autograph dated 1612, and has no *figura del donayre* And I imagine that in other plays which Lope wrote towards the beginning of the seventeenth century—plays on historical subjects, and the plays which he called *tragicomedias*—the not unfrequent omission of the comic personage is deliberate Perhaps among this class were

Las famosas Asturianas.
La Imperial de Oton.
Lo Fingido verdadero

Moreover, it should be observed that even when *graciosos* are introduced into plays of this kind, Lope presents these characters most discreetly He never allows them to degenerate into impertinence, as did the other dramatists of his period in their serious plays and as Calderon, and his contemporaries, did in still greater measure As examples of Lope's fine judgment in this matter, take the comedias entitled

El Conde Fernan Gonzalez, Parte XIX
and
Las Batuecas, Parte XXIII

Here the jests are few in number, and are allotted to plebeians His good taste is further illustrated by his assignment of comic passages to the servants in such pieces as

Las Cuentas del Gran Capitan
and
La Inocente Sangre

In the following plays, which have no comic *rôle*, there were probably special reasons for its omission

El Premio de la hermosura, Parte XVI We learn from the dedication that this piece was written—not for the public theatre, but—by command of the Queen (Philip III's wife, Doña Margarita of Austria) who died in 1611 It was destined to be played in the Palace before the royal family and court, and we are expressly informed—"*que la traza fue de las damas*" It would appear that this comedia was written very shortly before 1611, for the dedication implies that the Infantes acted in the play

Dios hace reyes, Parte XXIII The author inaugurated the Alcázar Theatre (Casiano Pellicer, I, p 161) with this play on July 28, 1621, the *corrales* having been closed from March 31 on account of Philip III's death Pellicer adds "the representation was such that there was no dancing in it." This was probably due to the fact that the period of mourning was not yet over, and, for the same reason, it may be presumed that Lope purposely refrained from presenting a *gracioso* in a play written for the occasion [J R. C.]

COMEDIAS OF LOPE DE VEGA:

THE TITLES ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

For the convenience of readers who may wish to have a conspectus of the plays ascribed to Lope de Vega, the following alphabetical list of titles has been drawn up In cases where the ascription is admittedly mistaken, the fact is noted, and the name of the real author has been given when it was possible to do so. Appended is the key to the abbreviations used in this table

Abbreviations

Acad = Obras de Lope de Vega, publicadas por la Real Academia Española Madrid, 1890—to date Twelve volumes

Arl Brit Mus = Collection of the Earl of Arlington, now in Brit. Mus.

Bib Nac = Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

Brit Mus = British Museum

Cat B N = Catálogo de las Piezas de Teatro que se conservan en el departamento de manuscritos en la Bib Nac Por A Paz y Melia. Madrid, 1899

Com inéd 1873 = Comedias inéditas de Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio Tomo primero (y unico) Madrid, Rivadeneyra 1873 [Coleccion de Libros Españoles raros ó curiosos Tomo sexto.] Contains 4 plays

Dif = Comedias de Diferentes (or Varios) Autores. La Barrera, *Catálogo*, pp 683 and foll

Duran = Formerly in Agustin Duran's collection (now in the Bib Nac)

Escog = Comedias escogidas de los mejores Ingenios de España (1652-1704), forty-eight volumes The contents of these volumes are given in Schack, *Geschichte*, Vol III pp 523-544, and in La Barrera, *Catálogo*, pp 687-705

Fajardo = MS Index of Comedias by Juan Isidro Fajardo M 53 in Bib Nac

Gayangos = In Pascual de Gayangos's collection

GL 1617 = Cuatro Comedias famosas de D Luis de Góngora y Lope de Vega, recopiladas por Antonio Sanchez Madrid, 1617.

H = Noted in the catalogue of Vicente Garcia de la Huerta (1785), when followed by a Roman numeral = the Comedias Escogidas de Lope de Vega, ed Hartzenbusch.

H A R = In Hugo Albert Rennert's collection

Holland = In Lord Holland's collection

Hoz y Mota = Juan de la Hoz y Mota.

J R C. = In John Rutter Chorley's collection.

M = Noted in the catalogue of Medel del Castillo (1735)

Mes. Rom. = Mesonero Romanos, XLV and XLVII of Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.

MS. aut = Autograph manuscript.

MS. copy = Copy of original manuscript

Obr suelt = Coleccion de las Obras sueltas, assi en Prosa come en Verso de Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio Madrid, 1776-79 Sancha 21 vols

Osuna = Formerly in the Duke of Osuna's library (now in the Bib Nac).

P and P^2 = The lists of Lope's comedias which precede *El Peregrino en su Patria*, in the editions of 1604 and 1618 respectively

Parma = In the Biblioteca Palatina at Parma [A Restori, *Una Collezione di Commedie di Lope de Vega*, Livorno, 1891]

Rocamora = Catálogo abreviado de los Manuscritos de la Biblioteca del Excmo Señor Duque de Osuna é Infantado, por Don José Maria Rocamora Madrid, 1882

S = *Suelta*

Vega del P = Vega del Parnaso Por el Fenix de España, Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio Madrid, 1637

The Roman numerals refer to the large collection of Lope's Comedias, consisting of twenty five Parts, which are described in the text and Appendix B, and which appeared between 1604 and 1641

*An asterisk indicates that nothing is known of the play except that it is mentioned in the works indicated by the letters that follow

A

Abanillo (El) —P^2, M, H, MS. copy (Parma)

*Abderite (La) —P

*Abindarraez y Narvaez —P (See El Remedio en la Desdicha)

Acero (El) de Madrid —P^2, XI, H I, 365. MS copy (Parma). This is the First Part only

Acertar errando —MS copy Bib Nac, Parma S (J R C)

According to Schack it is the same as *El Embajador fingido*, printed for the first time in Lisboa or Sevilla, about 1603 In the Cat B N No 420 we read the same statement, but this is mere conjecture It is not in the *Seis Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, Lisboa, Pedro Crasbeeck*, 1603 See La Barrera, *Catalogo*, p 679, and text, p 157 *n* Chorley thinks that Schack is mistaken, and that this play is later than *La Francesilla* He bases his opinion on the maturity of the style and on the fact that a *figura del donayre* is introduced in the person of Tarquino He points to *Acertar errando* as a play which alone suffices to refute the assertion that the Spanish drama is weak in the drawing of character, and notes that the expedient employed by Aurora to get speech with Carlos is appropriated by Calderon in *El mayor encanto amor* Invention apart, Chorley ranks Lope's play much above Calderon's performance, and bestows warm praise on the First Scene of the Second Act The *suelta* ends thus

Carlos Y ya que se acaba, senado,
el Embaxador fingido
Aurora Y aqui el acertar errando

*Achaque quieren las Cosas —P^2, M

Achaques de honor —Mes Rom Doubtful [La Barrera gives this title as *Achaques de Leonor.*]

Adonis y Venus —P, M, XVI; H IV., 417, Acad VI, also called simply *El Adonis* see text, p 290 According to the dedication, this is a *Fiesta real* Frondoso, the *pastor gracioso*, is a *simple*, but not a true *figura del donayre.*

Adúltera penitente —S (Gayangos) Doubtful. Medel mentions an *Adúltera penitente*, and there is an auto by Lope (MS) in the Osuna Collection entitled *La Adúltera perdonada* [The comedia is probably by *tres ingenios* Moreto, Matos, and Cancer. Cat B N No 50 It is printed in Escog IX The *auto* is in Acad III]

Adversa Fortuna (La) de D Bernardo de Cabrera —H In Part XXIX of Lope y otros Doubtful By Mescua? [According to Duran, the author of this play uses the pseudonym *Lisardo*, so, too, in *Arminda celosa*]

Adversa Fortuna (La) del Infante D Fernando de Portugal —H Osuna. Tomo 132 ff 95.

La Barrera says the story is the same as Calderon's *El Príncipe constante* Fajardo states that this comedia is contained in *Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio y otros Autores Sevilla* (?) La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p 683 Very doubtful

*Africano cruel (El) —P, P²

Agraviado leal (El) —(See La Firmeza en la Desdicha)

Alcaide (El) de Madrid —P, M, H (anon), MS copy (Osuna), Cat B N No 74 Rocamora, 229

Alcalde de Zalamea (El) —H, S (Holland and J R C), MS (Duran and Parma), Cat B N No 420

Printed together with Calderon's play of the same title in Max Krenkel, *Klassische Bühnendichtungen der Spanier* 3 Vols Leipzig, 1887, Acad XII Calderon's comedia is based upon Lope's

Alcalde mayor (El) —XIII, H IV, 25

Alcazar (El) de Consuegra —P², M

Aldehuela (La) y El Gran Prior de Castilla —MS copy (Osuna), dated November 9, 1622, Cat B N No 95 Rocamora, 231. "En Toledo por Martin Navarrete, en 6 de Mayo de 1623." Printed in Escog Part XLII (1676) in the name of D Francisco de Villegas, with the title *El Hijo de la Molinera*, and *suelta*, as Lope's, under the title *Más Mal hay en la Aldegüela de lo que se suena*, Acad XII

Alexandro el segundo, César el primer Traidor —MS Cat B N No 97 MS aut according to Duran, though the handwriting differs from Lope's Only the marginal note on the last leaf of Act I seems undoubtedly in Lope's hand Duran says that the title is altogether inappropriate to the play

Alfonso el afortunado —P

Alla darás, rayo —H Osuna Tom 133 ff. 1-146

According to Fajardo this is in Part XXVII of Lope and other (Barcelona, 1633), one of the *extravagantes.*

Almenas (Las) de Toro —XIV, Acad VIII, S (Gayangos) MS; Cat B N No 104 Rocamora, 232 "Acts 1 and 2 autog"

A lo que obliga el ser Rey Ascribed to Lope in the fragment of a volume of collected Comedias, ff 21 39 (J R C) The play is by Guevara, Escog X It is attributed to him in the Osuna MS (Rocamora, 233) see also Cat B N No 7 and Restori, p 115

Al pasar del Arroyo —XII, MS. copy (Holland and Parma), H I, 387. Chorley attaches the date January 23, 1616 to the Holland MS

Alvaro de Luna (Don) —(See El Milagro por los Celos)

Amante agradecido (El) —X MS copy (Parma)

Amante al uso (El) —(See La ilustre Fregona)

Amantes (Los) sin Amor —P, P², XIV

Amantes y Celosos todos son Locos —MS copy Cat B N No 120 Comedia of Lope adapted by D Dionisio Solis

Amar como se ha de amar —H, S (Osuna), MS copy (Parma, Osuna), Cat B N No 121 Rocamora, 240 According to Fajardo this is in Part V printed at Seville

Amar por Burla —H, MS copy (Parma, Osuna), Cat B N No 123. Rocamora, 243 Perhaps another title for *Burlas veras*

Amar por ver Amar —P², MS copy (Holland and Chorley) both copies are dated 1659, XI

It is *El Perro del Hortelano* (entitled *La Condesa de Belflor* in a *suelta*)

Amar, servir y esperar —XXII, Madrid, 1635, MS copy Cat B N No 124

Amar sin saber a quien —XXII, Zaragoza, 1630, and Madrid, 1635, H II, 443

Amatilde (La) —P

Amazonas (Las) —P La Barrera says it is probably *Las Mugeres sin Hombres*, XVI A MS in the Cat B N No 128, ascribes the play to Lope, but the opening line shows that the MS in question is the comedia of the same title by Solis, which has likewise been printed anonymously, with the title *Las Amazonas de Escitia* This play has also been attributed to Calderon, though in the *Verdadera Quinta Parte de Comedias de D Pedro Calderon*, Madrid, 1694, the editor mentions *Las Amazonas* as one of the comedias which Calderon did *not* write, and says, moreover, that it was written by Solis *con tantos aciertos* See the *Advertencia* to the above volume I do not know who was the author of the *Bruchstück* translated by Schlegel, under the title of *Die Amazonen* In his *Parte cuarta*, Madrid, 1635, Tirso de Molina has a comedia *Las Amazonas en las Indias* (the Second Part of the *Hazañas de los Pizarros*), of which a fragment is reprinted in his *Comedias* (ed Hartzenbusch), Vol XII Madrid, 1841

Amigo (El) hasta la Muerte —P², XI, H IV, 323 MS copy (Parma, Osuna), Cat B N No 132 Rocamora, 248

Amigo (El) por Fuerza —P, P², IV S. (Brit Mus, J R C, Gayangos, London Library) This play has no *figura del donayre*

Amigos enojados (Los), y verdadera Amistad —Printed in *Seis Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio y de otros*, etc, Lisboa, 1603 In his *Catálogo*, p 679, La Barrera says this comedia is not Lope's, and remarks that it does not appear in the *Peregrino* lists Chorley, however, observes that this objection is not to the point and refers to his note on p 478

Amistad pagada (La) —I, Acad VII MS copy Cat B N No 2200. It bears the additional title *La famosa Montañesa* In Chorley's opinion *La Amistad pagada* is one of Lope's early pieces See text, p 157 *n*

Amistad (La) y Obligacion —XXII Zaragoza, 1630, S (J R C and Gayangos), MS copy Cat B N No 140 Duran and Mes Rom assert that this is (with some variations) the same play as Montalvan's *Lucha de Amor y Amistad*, but Chorley notes that Montalvan's is an *obra divina* I have the latter work and find that the first line agrees with the MS, though the closing line does not The characters are the same

Amor Bandolero (El) —XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633, MS copy Bibl. Nac. No 145

Amor con Vista —M, Comedia 1873 MS autog (Osuna), Cat B N No 149, signed by Lope at Madrid, December 10, 1626, with licenses to represent, dated Madrid, 1627, and Lisbon, 1630 Copy (Parma)

*Amor constante (El) —P La Barrera questions whether this may not be the play of the same name by Guillen de Castro, published in *Doce Comedias famosas*, Valencia, 1608 Mesonero Romanos suggests that the title should be *El verdadero amor*

*Amor desatinado (El) —P

Amor enamorado (El) —Vega del P, Obras sueltas X, Escog XXXI, as of Juan de Zavaleta Acad VI In his Catalogue, La Barrera also gives this play with the additional title *Jupiter y Dafne* and attributes it to Lope La Barrera was of opinion that the title should be *Febo y Dafne*

Amor (El) inventionero —Fajardo Apparently an error for this is the alternative title of *La Española de Florencia*, which is not by Lope See *Burlas de Amor*

Amor, Pleito y Desafio —MS aut Cat B N No 171, dated Madrid, November 23, 1621 The play bearing this title in Partes XXII and XXIV of Lope is Alarcon's *Ganar Amigos* Printed in Comed inéd 1873 See p 294 of text

Amor secreto hasta Zelos —XIX, MS copy (Parma) and Cat B N No 174 Adaptation by D Dionisio Solis

*Amor soldado (El) —P

Amores de Carlos —(See Palacios de Galiana)

*Amores (Los) de Narciso —P

Angélica en el Catay —P, VIII MS copy (Parma) This play has no *figura del donayre*

Animal (El) de Hungria —IX S (Brit Mus, J R C, and Gayangos.)

Animal Profeta (El), San Julian —H ; S (Brit Mus and Holland), where *y dichoso Patricida* is added to the title ; MS (Osuna), dated 1631 I also have a *suelta* which attributes this play to Lope In the Osuna MS (Rocamora, 271), it is ascribed to Mescua See Schack, III p 553, and *Nachtrage*, p 57, Acad IV Fajardo alleges that this play was in Parte V published at Seville

Antecristo (El) —MS copy (Parma), Acad III ; entirely different from the *Antecristo* of Alarcon See Restori, p 18

Antonio Roca —P (La Muerte mas venturosa), H, MS [copy?] (Holland) and copy (Osuna) The MS of this play (Cat B N No 220), is in four acts, the last act being in the hand of Lanini Sagredo

Anzuelo (El) de Fenisa —VIII, H III, 363 MS copy (Parma).

Arauco domado —XX, Acad XII

Arcadia (La) —XIII, H III, 155, Acad V S (J R C) This play has no true *figura del donayre* for, though Bato is a *simple* and Cardenio a *rústico*, neither is a *gracioso* Chorley thinks that *La Arcadia*, though (in its present form) it is much later than *La Francesilla*, was among the earlier pieces of the author, who retouched it before publication in 1620

Arenal (El) de Sevilla —XI, H III MS copy (Parma) This play has a *figura del donayre* Chorley points out that the piece dates after January 1601, for in Lucinda's speech (Act III) there is a reference to the removal of the Court to Valladolid

Argel fingido (El) y Renegado de Amor —VIII MS copy (Parma) and Brit Mus (undated and incomplete) Chorley believes that the play was written soon after Philip III's marriage at Valencia (April, 1599) We have seen (text, p 141) that Lope visited Valencia on this occasion

Argolan, Rey de Alcalá, is *El Padrino desposado*, II, P, P², H, M.

Armindа Celosa —P², H, MS copy (Duran), Cat B N No 252 According to Duran the author is Lope, and this MS is copied from what La Barrera describes as the autograph of 1622 see text, p 304, *n* 1 The play has been attributed also to Mescua

Arrogante español (El) —(See El Caballero del Milagro)

Asalto (El) de Mastrique por el Principe de Parma —P², IV, Acad XII.

Ascendencia de los Maestres de Santiago y Calatrava —Fajardo (See El Sol Parado)

Asturianas (Las) —P² (Las famosas Asturianas) M, H, XVIII

*Atalanta (La) —P², H, M

Audiencias del Rey don Pedro —H (anon), Acad IX, MS copy (Osuna), Cat B N No 278 (anon), attributed to Lope by Schack and Menéndez y Pelayo Rocamora, 299

Auenturas de don Juan de Alarcos —XXV This is the Second Part of Don Juan de Castro slightly altered

Ausente (El) en el Lugar —IX, H I, 249 MS. copy (Parma)

¡Ay verdades! que en Amor —XXI, MS aut Brit Mus dated November 12, 1625 Printed also in Dif XXIX, Valencia, 1636.

B

Bárbara (La) del Cielo —P, M, H (anon) Perhaps *La Santa Bárbara* attributed as a *suelta* (Brit Mus and J R C) to Guillen de Castro. See also *Autos Sacramentales, con quatro comedias nuevas*, etc, Madrid, 1655, where the play is entitled *El Prodigio de los Montes, y Martir del Cielo*

*Bárbaro gallardo (El) —P

Barlan y Josafá (Los dos Soldados de Cristo) —MS aut, Holland, dated February 1, 1611, MS copy (Osuna), Cat B N No 336, Rocamora, 319, XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641, Acad IV S (J R C) According to the last verses this is the Second Part

*Basilea (La) —P

Bastardo Mudarra (El) —XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641, P² (Los siete Infantes de Lara, and this title is repeated in the *Aprobaciones* of the autograph), MS aut formerly in the possession of Sr Olozaga, dated April 27, 1612, facsimile reproduction Madrid, 1864, Acad VII Although written in 1612, it has no *gracioso*

Batalla (La) de dos —M, H, very doubtful Fajardo gives it as anonymous

There is a MS copy of *Batalla de los dos o San Luis Bertran*, by don Francisco de la Torre y Sevil, in the Cat B N No 346

Batalla (La) del Honor —P², VI, MS autog (Olózaga), dated April 18, 1608, Escog XV, where it is ascribed to Fernando de Zárate; it is attributed to Lope in *Comedias de los mejores y mas insignes Ingenios de España, Lisboa*, 1652 (La Barrera, *Catalogo*, p 708)

Batalla naval (La) —P, (See La Santa Liga)

Batuecas (Las) del Duque de Alba —P², XXIII, "en lenguage antiguo", Acad XI MS copy Cat B N No 351

Matos Fragoso's *El Nuevo Mundo en Castilla*, Escog XXXVII, is a re-cast of this play, there is a Holland MS entitled *El Sol en el Nuevo Mundo*, by Juan Claudio de la Hoz y Mota and Lope de Vega This alleged collaboration is incredible, as Hoz was a mere boy when Lope died It is extremely improbable that Lope had any share in *El Sol en el Nuevo Mundo* See page 469

Bautismo (El) del Príncipe de Marruecos —(See La Tragedia del Rey don Sebastian)

Belardo el Furioso —P, MS copy (date ?), see Acad V

Bella Andromeda (La) —S (J R C, Holland, and Vienna), (See El Perseo, La Fabula de Perseo)

Bella Aurora (La) —XXI, Acad VI

*Bella Gitana (La) —P

Bella mal maridada (La) —P, II, MS Cat B N No 357, it is a re-cast of the play, with the added title *La Escuela de las Casadas*

Benavides (Los) —P, II, Acad VII In later impressions of Part II, Chorley notes that there is a curious omission in the Third Act In the Third Scene between Lisbella and the bawd Mariela, after the verse—*Vete y bolveras despues*—the rest of the

passage is missing Again, something is omitted when Leonardo surprises his wife with the Count's letter in her sleeve; and there is also wanting the beginning (at least) of the scene of which the verse—*Al fin qualquiera me agrada*—forms part

Bernardo del Carpio, *Segunda Parte* —"Representóla Avendaño": S. (J. R. C), a very rare copy, perhaps unique This differs completely from Lope's other two plays on the same hero. *Las Mocedades de Bernardo del Carpio* and *El Casamiento en la Muerte*. Judging from internal evidence, Chorley suspects this play to be a re-cast by some *autor de comedias* of two pieces by Lope which are now unknown In its present form Chorley cannot accept the whole play as authentic, but some passages may (he thinks) be by Lope.

*Biedmas (Los) —P

Bizarrias (Las) de Belisa —Vega del P; MS aut Brit Mus dated May 24, 1634. According to Fajardo, it is in Parte V. of Lope, Seville; Obr suelt IX, H II, 557 S (Brit Mus and J R C)

Blason de los Chaves de Villalba —H; Acad XI MS copy (Rubí), dated August 20, 1599. Cat B N No 371 (See Los Chaves de Villalba)

Boba discreta (La) —S (J R C and Duran) (See Dama boba)

Boba (La) para los otros y discreta para si —XXI, S (Brit Mus., J R C, and Gayangos), H II. 523 MS copy (Osuna), Cat. B N No 375, Rocamora, 333, *La Boba fingida ó Engañar para Reinar*, MS copy Cat B N No 374, is noted as a comedia by Lope, re-cast in 1806

Bobo (El) del Colegio —P², XIV, H I, 179

Boda (La) entre dos Maridos —P², IV

Bohemia convertida (La) —(See El Hijo piadoso)

*Bosque amoroso (El) —P Cervantes wrote a play of the same title, which is also unknown

Brasil restituido (El) —MS copy Cat B N. No 407 The original autograph, dated October 23, 1625, was formerly (about 1840) in the possession of the bookseller Charles Rich, London

Buen Agradecimiento (El) —P

Buen Vecino (El) —H, MS copy Cat B N. No 420, Tomo 132 (Osuna), Dif XXXIII (J R C Fragment of Dif XXXIII.)

Buena Guarda (La) —(Entitled in the closing verses La Encomienda bien guardada), MS aut dated April 16, 1610, in the Pidal collection; XV, H III, 325, Acad. V See text, p 193 and *n*

Burgalesa (La) de Lerma —P², X MS copy (Osuna), dated November 30, 1613 See Cat B N No 422 Rocamora, 344. There is also a copy at Parma

Burla vengada (La) —(See La Niña de Plata.)

*Burlas (Las) de Amor —P See *Nuevos datos*, p. 37. Three different plays are quoted with this title.

1. *Burlas veras* —S. (J R. C., Duran and Holland). This is unquestionably by Lope.

2. *Burlas y enredos de Benito.*—GL. Madrid, 1617 which Gayangos quotes under the title of *Burlas* [*?veras*] *y enredos de Benito.* It is anonymous in GL (1617), as also in the Córdoba edition of 1613 La Barrera states that it is not by Lope. On the other hand, Chorley says he thinks it possible that Lope is the author, though he would not venture to affirm it positively. The play, which has no *figura del donayre*, is in Lope's first manner, and is not unworthy of him

3. *Burlas veras* or *El Amor inventionero. y Española de Florencia.*—Fajardo This comedia is ascribed to Calderon in Escog XII and in a *suelta* (J R C) With the title of *Española de Florencia*, Vera Tassis cites it among the apocryphal plays which pass under Calderon's name A passage in Lucrecia's speech (Act I) contains an allusion which seems sufficient to prove that Lope cannot have written this comedia —

> Huyó de todo estremo como vicio.
> Entre Góngora y Lope, decir puedo,
> ni mui facilidad, ni mui enredo.

C

Caballero (El) de Illescas —P, P², XIV. This play has no *figura del donayre*

Caballero (El) del Milagro (Entitled in the closing verses 'y arrogante Español') —P, XV

Caballero mudo (El) —P There is a *suelta* of the same title attributed to Guillen de Castro

Caballero (El) de Olmedo —XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641; S (Gayangos); H II., 367; Acad X See text, p 165 *n*, the Osuna MS is ascribed to Lope Rocamora, 356

Caballero (El) del Sacramento —P², XV; Acad VIII MS aut. (Holland), dated April 27, 1610 Also called *El Blason de los Moncadas* (La Barrera) Different from Moreto's *El Eneas de Dios, y Caballero del Sacramento*

Caballeros (Los) de San Juan —(See La Pérdida honrosa.)

Caballo (El) vos han muerto —S (J R C) "Representóla Luys Lopez." The play is really by Velez de Guevara S. (Brit Mus) entitled *Si el caballo vos han muerto*

Cadena (La) —P

Campana (La) de Aragon —P XVIII; S (J R C), H III., 35, Acad. VIII MS copy (Parma) This play has no *figura del donayre*

Capellan (El) de la Virgen (San Ildefonso) —XVIII MS. copy (Parma).

Capitan Belisario (El) —Escog VI, Zaragoza, 1653. S (J. R. C.) with the title *El exemplo mayor de la desdicha.* Also ascribed to Lope in *Comedias de los mejores y mas insignes Ingenios de España*, Lisboa, 1652. La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p 708 According to the autog. (Osuna), this play is by Mescua. see Schack, *Nachtrage*, p. 57

Capitan Diego de Paredes. Mes. Rom. Probably a mistake for *La Contienda de Garcia de Paredes.*

Capitan Juan de Urbina.—(La Contienda de Garcia de Paredes, y el Capitan Juan de Urbina); Acad XI. MS. copy (Duran), dated February 15, 1600 See Cat. B N. No. 1750, and below, La Contienda de Garcia de Paredes.

Carbonera (La).—XXII Madrid, 1635; Acad IX. S. (Arl. Brit. Mus, Duran, J R. C.) entitled *Doña Leonor de Guzman, hermana de D. Pedro el cruel* The incomplete autograph of *La Carbonera* (Third Act only) is stated to have been in Duran's collection It is not given, however, by Paz y Melia in the Cat B. N.

Carboneros (Los)—(See La Suerte de los Reyes.)

Cardenal (El) de Belen, San Jerónimo—XIII; H. III, Acad. IV. MS. copy Cat. B. N No 499

Carlos el perseguido—P (El Perseguido). I (Valladolid, 1604); also in *Seis Comedias de Lope de Vega y otros*, Lisboa, Pedro Crasbeeck, 1603, simply as *El Perseguido.* This play has no *figura del donayre.*

Carlos V en Francia—P²; XIX, Acad. XII. MS aut (Olózaga), dated November 20, 1604; MS Cat. B N No. 371.

Carvajales (Los)—(See La inocente Sangre.)

*Casamiento (El) dos veces—P

Casamiento (El) en la Muerte, y Hechos de Bernardo del Carpio—P²; M (La Peña de Francia), I; Acad VII S. (Brit Mus. and J R C) According to Fajardo, the play was printed at Seville (Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio y otros autores) under the title of *Nuestra Señora de la Peña de Francia* Tomo 132 (Osuna). See La Barrera *Catalogo*, p 683 and text, p 438

Casamiento (El) por Cristo—H; Mes Rom; MS copy (Osuna), Cat B N No 527 Rocamora, 379 Duran says it is identical with *Santa Justa*, referring to *Auroras de Sevilla* by three wits Fajardo gives it as anonymous

*Casta Penelope (La)—P², H, M

Castelvines y Monteses—P², XXV, H IV, 1

Castigo (El) del Discreto—P², VII

Castigo (El) sin Venganza—XXI, S Barcelona, 1634; MS. aut in Ticknor Library, dated August 1, 1631, see *Zeitschrift f Rom. Phil.* XXV p 411 In some impressions, such as the Second Part of *Varios*, Lisboa, 1647, it is entitled *Quando Lope quiere, quiere.* Chorley possessed this, as a fragment Obras Suelt VIII

Castros y Andradas (See La Desdichada Estefanía.)

Catalan Valeroso (El)—P Also entitled *El gallardo Catalan* and *El Valeroso Catalan*, q v

Cautivo coronado (El)—(See El Leon apostolico)

*Cautivos (Los)—P, (Los Cautivos de Argel ?).

Cautivos (Los) de Argel—XXV; on some leaves of Act I, it is entitled *Los Esclavos de Argel* Though there is a *gracioso* in this play, Chorley was inclined to believe that it was written not long after Philip III's marriage (1599), mentioned in Act III.

Cegries y Bencerrajes.—P; (see La Envidia de la Nobleza); XXIII. Acad. XI

Celos (Los) de Rodamonte.—P; MS. copy (Osuna), Cat. B. N. No 568; Rocamora, 394; it is probable that the play with this title, ascribed to Mescua in *Doce Comedias de varios Autores*, Tortosa, 1638, is by Lope; Huerta cites one by Rojas, of which there is a *suelta* in the Imp. Lib at Vienna A play of this title was certainly written by Rojas, and is in Parte I. of his Comedias, Madrid, 1640 A piece entitled *Rodamonte Aragones* was played by the company of Olmedo in 1622 Schack, *Nachtrage*, p 67.

*Celos (Los) satisfechos —P

*Celos (Los) sin Ocasion —P², M

Celoso (El) de si mismo —(See La Pastoral de Jacinto.)

*Cerco (El) de Madrid —P

*Cerco (El) de Oran —P

Cerco (El) de Santa Fe y Ilustre Hazaña de Garcilaso de la Vega.—P. (Garcilaso de la Vega ?) I, Acad XI. This play has no *figura del donayre*.

Cerco (El) de Toledo —P, M and H (anon)

Cerco de Tunis por Carlos V Mes Rom This is probably a mistake. A play of somewhat similar title ascribed to Miguel Sanchez is in the *Doce Comedias de Varios Autores*, Tortosa, 1638.

Cerco (El) de Viena y Socorro por Carlos V —P. (El Turco en Viena); H, S. (J R C, Holland, Parma and Vienna), Acad XII

Chaves (Los) de Villalba —P, (see El Blason de los Chaves). H, X. MS copy (Parma) The character of the servant Toledo amounts, so Chorley thinks, to a *figura del donayre*

Cierto (Lo) por lo Dudoso —XX, H I, 453, Acad IX.

*Circe Angélica (La) —P

Cirro, hijo de la perra (or Zirro Medel anon) According to Fajardo, this is identical with *Contra Valor no hay Desdicha*, q.v.

*Cirujano (El) —P

Ciudad (La) sin Dios —H, S (J R. C and Duran); MS copy Cat. B N No 420 Printed in Escog II, as *El Inobediente, ó La Ciudad sin Dios*, by Claramonte, it is attributed to Lope in Parte XXVI, *extravagante*, 1632-1633 It is a re-cast by Claramonte of Lope's play; Acad III

Comendador (El) de Ocaña —P², (See Peribañez)

Comendadores (Los) de Córdoba —P; II, Acad XI A MS autog. by Claramonte entitled *Los Comendadores de Córdoba* is noted in Cat B N No. 635 (see also p 721) Duran mentions a play by Cubillo, with the same title Lope's play has a *figura del donayre*. It is not later than 1593 see *Nuevos datos*, p 36

Como han de ser los Nobles —S (Duran), S (J R. C.) entitled *Los Nobles como han de ser* and so mentioned by H A MS. in Duran's collection bore this second title. Cat B N No. 2366.

Como se vengan los Nobles —M La Barrera asserts that this is *El Testimonio Vengado*, P; I. But Chorley inclines to think that this

view may be mistaken. In *El Testimonio Vengado* Ramiro avenges—not himself, but—his step-mother (consort of Don Sancho el Magno), whose three children bear false witness against her.

I have a *suelta* by Moreto entitled *Como se vengan los Nobles*; with this title it is given in Part III of his Comedias (Valencia, 1703, is my copy), and in Escog XXIX. This play of Moreto's is founded on *El Testimonio Vengado*

Competencia (La) en los Nobles.—H. The incomplete autograph was alleged to be in Duran's collection. S and MS. copy in Cat. B N. No 420; MS (copy) Brit. Mus. dated November 16, 1628. There is also an ancient *suelta* (J R. C and Parma). See p 318 *n.* 1, of text.

*Competencia engañada (La) —P.

Conde de Yrlos (El) —P There is a comedia by Guillen de Castro with this title in Part I of his comedias A *suelta* by Cubillo (J R. C and Vienna) bears the same title, but is otherwise quite distinct from Castro's play.

Conde Fernan Gonzalez (El), y Libertad de Castilla —XIX; Acad VII MS copy (Parma)

This differs wholly from another play upon the same subject —*De la Libertad de Castilla por Fernan Gonzalez*, "en lengua antiga,"—by Hurtado de Velarde, printed in *Seis Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio y de otros*, Lisbon, 1603, Lifian de Riaza also wrote a comedia entitled *El Conde de Castilla*.

Conde (El) Don Pedro Velez —H, S (Osuna) This so-called *suelta* seems to be a fragment of the volume of Comedias by Lope and others, printed at Seville, and recorded by Fajardo There was also a MS. in the Osuna collection Rocamora, 416. Paz y Melia, Cat B. N No 670, says that this play is by Luis Velez de Guevara.

*Conde don Tomas (El) —P.

*Condesa (La) —P (La Condesa Matilde ?)

Condesa de Belflor (La).—(See El Perro del Hortelano.)

Condesa Matilda (La) perseguida, y Capuchin escoces. H. S. (Brit. Mus) "de un Ingenio" This play is almost certainly not by Lope, La Barrera ascribes it to Felix de Adsaneta who was not born till 1691, more than half a century after Lope's death

Condesa Matilde (La) y la Resistencia honrada —H MS Copy (Parma). It has no *figura del donayre* Not later than 1605 see *Nuevos datos*, p 90.

Confusion (La) de Ungria —Fajardo asserts that this was printed in the volume of Lope's Comedias published at Seville. The play appears to be by Mescua, Escog XXXV.

Conquista (La) del Andalucia —P, P^2.

Conquista (La) de Canaria —P^2, (See Los Guanches de Tenerife) P^2. (Conquista de Tenerife.)

*Conquista (La) de Cortés —P^2

*Conquista (La) de Tremcen —P Perhaps the same as *El Cerco de Tremcen*, attributed to Guillen de Castro, in the *Doce Comedias de Varios*, Tortosa, 1638.

Con su Pan se lo coma.—P²; XVII. MS. copy (Parma).

Contienda (La) de Garcia de Paredes y el Capitan Juan de Urbina. (See El Capitan Juan de Urbina)—Acad. XI Duran had a copy which was made from the autograph. This autograph was in the Sessa archives as late as 1781.

Contra Valor no hay Desdicha, y Primero Rey de Persia.—XXIII; Dif XXXI; H III, 1, Acad VI S (Brit. Mus. and J. R C.). According to Fajardo, the alternative title is *Ciro, hijo de la perra* Medel mentions an anonymous play called *Zirro*. [It should be *Ciro* See *Com Escog de Lope*, ed. Hartzenbusch, Vol IV p xxxi]

Cordobes (El) Valeroso, Pedro Carbonero—XIV, MS aut Cat B. N. No 714, signed at Ocaña, on Aug 26, 1603 Lope calls it a Tragi-comedia.

Corona (La) de Ungria, y la injusta Venganza—MS copy Cat B N No 716 The autograph, dated December 23, 1633, is stated to be in the Archives of the Marquis of Astorga

Corona (La) derribada y Vara de Moisés—Acad III MS. copy (Parma) See Restori, p. 19

Corona (La) merecida—P, XIV, H I, 227; MS. autog. (Astorga), dated 1603, Acad VIII This play has no *figura del donayre*.

*Cortesano (El) en su Aldea—P (El Cortesano embustero?) See Restori, p 20

Cortesia (La) de España—XII MS copy (Parma)

Creacion (La) del Mundo y primera Culpa del hombre—XXIV, Madrid, 1640 (according to Nicolas Antonio), *Comedias nuevas*, etc, Amsterdam, 1726, Acad III S. (Arl. Brit. Mus., J R. C., and Vienna).

Cuando Lope quiere, quiere—(See El Castigo sin Venganza)

Cuentas (Las) del Gran Capitan—XXIII, Acad XI.

Cuerdo (El) en su Casa—P², VI, H III, 443

Cuerdo loco (El), y veneno saludable—P, P², XIV; MS autog. (Holland), dated November 11, 1602, MS copy (Duran) in Cat B N No. 1750 See also No 3438, and *post*, *El Veneno saludable*. This play has no *figura del donayre*

D

Dama boba (La)—P², IX; H I, 297, S (J R. C La dama discreta). MS autog (Osuna), Cat B N No. 810. Rocamora, 450. It is dated at Madrid, April 28, 1613 MS. copy (Parma). Cañizares wrote a play with the same title

Dama comendador (La)—(See Mas pueden zelos que amor.)

*Dama desagraviada (La).—P

*Dama Estudiante (La).—P.

Dama melindrosa (La)—H; S. (Brit. Mus and J R C.) (See Los Melindres de Belisa).

David perseguido, y Montes de Gelboe.—H, S (J. R. C and Vienna). The MS. copy (Duran) is entitled *Persecuciones de David*.

De Cosario á Cosario.—XIX ; H. III., 483 ; a MS. is indicated in the Index to the Cat B. N., and will be found noted, somewhat out of place, on p. 584. MS. copy (Parma).

De cuando acá nos vino.—XXIV, Zarag. 1633 ; H III., 199, written by Lope and Fr Alonso Remon in collaboration. A so-called *suelta* is merely a fragment of XXXIII, Zaragoza MS (Osuna), Cat B N No 825 Rocamora, 457. The first and third acts are in Lope's hand, the second in that of Remon. Moreto's *De fuera vendrá* is taken from this play

De donde diere.—P².

Defensa (La) en la Verdad —H, M (anon), S (J. R. C Duran, Holland, and Parma) According to the *suelta* "Representóla Olmedo"

Defensor (El) de las Mugeres —(See El Premio del bien Hablar)

*Degollado fingido (El) —P

Del Mal lo menos —IX In addition to Lope's comedia, there is a play of this title by Tirso de Molina (more generally called *Averiguelo Vargas*), and another by Antonio de Cardona, Escog XXXVIII

Del Monte sale quien el Monte quema —H, M, MS autog Cat B. N. No 848 (Osuna), dated October 20, 1627, with licenses as late as 1636 Rocamora, 461

Desconfiado (El) —XIII

Descubrimiento (El) de las Batuecas —(See El Sol en el Nuevo Mundo)

Desden Vengado (El) —MS autog (Osuna), Cat B N No 871, signed by Lope at Madrid, August 4, 1617, with licenses of that year and of 1622 Rocamora, 466 There is a play of this title in Escog XVI, under Rojas Zorrilla's name See text, p 254 and *n*

Desdichada Estefanía (La) —XII Also printed in the *Doce Comedias de Lope y otros*, Barcelona, 1630, with its second part *El Pleito por la Honra, ó El Valor de Fernandico*, see Acad VIII In the closing verses the play is entitled *Castros y Andradas* The same story is used by Guevara in *Los zelos hasta los cielos* S (J R C). See also, as belonging to this series of plays, *Servir con mala estrella*

*Desdichado (El) —P

*Despeñado (El) —P (El Príncipe despeñado in Parte XII ?) This play has no *figura del donayre*

Despertar á quien duerme —P², VIII According to Fajardo it is also in Parte XXVI, *extravagante*, Zaragoza, 1645, H. III., 345. MS copy (Parma)

Desposorio encubierto (El) —XIII This play has no *figura del donayre*.

Despreciada querida (La) —XXIV, Madrid (according to Nicolas Antonio), Dif. XXVIII ; H II, 327 MS. copy (Osuna), dated 1628 But Hartzenbusch states (II, 593) that the true author of this comedia is Juan Bautista de Villegas whose autograph of Act III (dated Valencia, May 15, 1621) was said to be in Duran's collection [Both MSS are now in the Bib Nac. (Cat. No. 888). See also La Barrera, *Catálogo*, p 495.]

Desprecio agradecido (El).—XXV ; Vega del P ; Escog. XXXIX, with the

title *La Dicha por el Desprecio*, and ascribed to Matos Fragoso ; H. II., 251 Fajardo asserts that it was in Parte V published at Seville.

Devocion (La) del Rosario —MS copy (Duran), in Cat B N. No 899, ascribed to Lope, and different from Diamante's play of the same title.

Di Mentira, sacaras Verdad —XXII, Zaragoza, 1630 S (J R C) It is practically certain, however, that this play is—not by Lope, but —by Matias de los Reyes see text, p 344

Diablo niño (El) —M , H , S (Duran and Holland) Chorley possessed a *suelta* of this play entitled *El Niño diablo*

Dicha (La) del Forastero —P², (See La Portuguesa)

Dichoso Patricida (El) —H , (See El Animal Profeta)

*Difunta Pleiteada (La) —P According to La Barrera, the play of this title in Escog XX, to judge by its style, may well be Lope's It is there ascribed to Rojas, but, as Chorley observes, in his authentic plays Rojas introduces a *gracioso* There is no such character in the present comedia, which is probably a re-cast of Lope's piece

Dineros son calidad —XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633 , Escog VI, Zaragoza, 1653 , it is also ascribed to Cancer in a *suelta* , MS copy (Osuna), Cat B N No 928 Rocamora, 486 H III , 59 S (Brit Mus and J R C) The play is unquestionably Lope's, though portions show the hand of another It has been imitated by Cáncer, Zabaleta and Martinez, in *La Razon hace Dichosos*, and *Merecer de la Fortuna Ensalzamientos dichosos*, and it suggested a scene in *El Burlador de Sevilla* (Schaeffer)

Dios hace Justicia a todos —M , H , doubtful , Escog XLII, as by Villegas, to whom, so La Barrera thinks, it probably belongs See Cat B N No 929 , Rocamora, 487

Dios haze Reyes (y Los Hombres las Leyes) —XXIII S (J R C). This play has no *figura del donayre*, but see p 489

Discordia (La) en los Casados —H (1non), MS autog (Osuna), Cat B N No 933, dated Madrid, August 2, 1611, with licenses to 1618 Rocamora, 488 Printed anonymously

Discreta Enamorada (La) —P², Escog III , H I , 155 , MS modern, Cat B N No 934 Copy (Parma) This play is one of the sources of Moliere's *Ecole des Maris* S (Holland)

Discreta Venganza (La) —XX , Escog XXXIX, where it is ascribed to Moreto H III , 303

Divina Vencedora (La) —P , MS copy (Duran), Act III only, Cat B N. No 947 MS copy (of first two Acts only), dated 1624, at Parma. See Restori, p 21

Divino Africano (El) San Agustin —P² San Augustin , XVIII , Acad IV MS copy (Parma)

Domine Lucas (El) —P , XVII , H I , 43 MS copy (Parma) This is an early play written, as the dedication states, at Alba Chorley does not think that the character of Capigorron Decio can fairly be called a *figura del donayre*.

Donaires (Los) de Matico —(P El Matico)—I.

Don Beltran de Aragon —P². (See Las Mudanzas de la Fortuna.) S. (Holland.)

Don Gil de la Mancha —Almost certainly not by Lope, H. cites it as being by Rojas, to whom it is also attributed in a MS. copy, Cat. B. N. No. 983

Don Gonzalo de Cordoua —XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641; it appears in the Vega del P as *La mayor Victoria de Alemania de don Gonçalo de Cordoua*; (see La Nueva Victoria de D Gonzalo de Córdoba) The victory was won in 1622, and the autograph MS (Osuna), is dated October 21, of that year Cat B N No 2409

Don Juan de Austria en Flandes —MS copy (Parma). (See Restori, p 22); Acad. XII Not later than 1604 · see *Nuevos datos*, p. 354.

Don Juan de Castro, Parts I and II —P², XIX, H IV, 371 and 395. The second part of this comedia also appears in Parte XXV, with the title *Las Aventuras de don Juan de Alarcos* There is no change in the play—except that the name Clarinda is altered to Lucinda. MS copy (Parma)

Don Lope de Cardona —P², X, MS copy (Osuna and Parma), Cat. B N No 985 Rocamora, 506

Don Manuel de Souza —M (See El Naufragio prodigioso)

Doña Ines de Castro —M, H, P². Doubtful The play in *Parte III de Lope y otros*, is by Mejia de la Cerda

Doncella Teodor (La) —IX, S (Brit Mus and J R C) MS autog. (Duran), without date, Cat. B N No 996 MS copy (Parma).

Doncella, viuda y casada —M S. (Brit Mus. and J. R. C) "de un Ingenio" (See Viuda, casada, y doncella)

Doncellas (Las) de Simancas —H, S (Brit. Mus.), Acad. VII. This play has a *figura del donayre*

Dos Agravios sin Ofensa —M, H, S (J R C and Duran) According to Fajardo this appeared in Parte XXVI, *extravagante*, Zaragoza, 1645. Chorley thinks that this play can scarcely be by Lope In the closing lines the poet styles himself *un ingenio primerizo*. A *suelta* entitled *Dos agravios sin ofensa* was in the Osuna collection with Gaspar de Alarcon's name attached to it, and he may, in Chorley's opinion, be the real author.

Dos Bandoleras (Las) y Fundacion de la Santa Hermandad de Toledo. According to Fajardo this play was printed in Part II of *Doze Comedias nuevas de Lope de Vega y otros*, Barcelona, 1630 (La Barrera, p. 707), Acad IX. Fajardo gives the title as *Hermanas Bandoleras*.

Dos Estrellas trocadas (Las) y Ramilletes de Madrid —P², XI, H IV., 303

Dos Soldados (Los) de Cristo —(See Barlan y Josafá.) XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641.

*Duque de Alba (El) en Paris —P Not later than 1606 see *Nuevos datos*, p. 94.

Duque de Berganza (El) —MS copy (Holland) (See El mas galan Portugues)

Duque de Viseo (El).—P²; VI; H. III, 431; Acad. X.

E

El saber por no saber, y Vida de San Julian de Alcalá —XXIII
El saber puede dañar —XXIII, H III, 113
Ello dirá.—XII MS copy (Parma)
Embaxador fingido (El) —M, H (See Acertar errando)
Embustes (Los) de Celauro —P (Enredos de Celauro), IV, H I, 89 This play has no *figura del donayre*
Embustes (Los) de Fabia —P, P², XXV MS copy (Parma) This play has no *figura del donayre* Chorley notes that the text of Act III is so corrupt as to be almost unintelligible Some scenes appear to be missing, while others are introduced awkwardly
Encomienda (La) bien guardada —(See La Buena Guarda)
Enemigo engañado (El) —P, H, S (Duran), Dif XXXII, Zaragoza, 1640, MS copy (Duran), Cat B N No 1090 This comedia has no *figura del donayre* Chorley considers it to be an early play
Enemigos (Los) en casa —P², XII MS copy (Parma)
Engañar á quien engaña —H, Osuna, Tomo 132, S (Duran), MS copy (Osuna) Cat B N No 420 The style of this play is so extravagant and obscure that Chorley inclines to reject the ascription to Lope
Engaño (El) en la Verdad —P, H, S (J R C, Duran, and Osuna) MS copy (Osuna) "Representola Vallejo" Cat B N No 420 There is a MS comedia different from this, but bearing the same title, *Ibid* No 1103 This play has a *figura del donayre*
Engaño (El) venturoso —Mes Rom Doubtful
En la mayor Lealtad mayor Agravio, y Favores del Cielo en Portugal —H, S (J R C and Osuna) According to La Barrera this play was printed in Parte XXII, Zaragoza, 1630 under the title of *La Lealtad en el agravio* It figures in P as *Las Quinas de Portugal*
En los Indicios la Culpa —XXII, Zaragoza, 1630 The MS of this comedia (dated 1620), like many others formerly in the Osuna collection, never reached the Bib Nac MS copy (Parma)
Enmendar un Daño á otro —H, S (Brit Mus Arl, Duran and Parma) MS copy (Duran), Cat B N No 1109 This play is so much in the manner of Calderon's school that Chorley doubts the validity of the ascription to Lope
Enredos (Los) de Benito —GL 1617, where it is anonymous Its proper title is *Las Burlas y Enredos de Benito* See note to *Burlas de Amor*
Envidia (La) de la Nobleza —XXIII Acad XI (See Cegries y Bencerrages)
*Envidia (La) y la Privanza —P
Esclava (La) de su Galan —XXV, H II, 487 S (Brit Mus and J R C) There is a re cast of this called *La Esclava por Amor*, MS in the Cat B N No 1150
Esclavo (El) de Roma —P, VIII, Acad VI This play has no *figura del donayre* The *Androuio* is the Androcles of Aulus Gellius

Esclavo fingido (El) —M ; H, Tomo 132 (Osuna), taken from a volume of comedias (ff. 171 et seq.) by Lope and others, printed at Seville ; MS. copy in the library of La Barrera ; MS. copy Cat. B. N. No. 1160

Esclavo (El) por su Gusto —P. La Barrera thinks this may be the same as the preceding comedia, but Chorley doubts it.

Esclavos (Los) de Argel.—(See Los Cautivos de Argel)

Esclavos libres (Los).—P , XIII. The Moor Zulema, though valiant, has the part of a *gracioso*

Escolastica celosa (La) —P , I ; MS copy Cat. B N No 1166. This play has no *figura del donayre.*

Españoles (Los) en Flandes —XIII ; Acad XII

*Espiritu fingido (El) —P

Estrella (La) de Sevilla —H ; S (J. R. C and Holland) ; H. I., 137 ; published in Boston, 1852, by F Sales, the first Spanish comedia printed in the United States, Acad IX

Excelente Portuguesa (La), Doña Beatriz de Silva. (See Milagro por los zelos.)

Exemplo (El) de Casadas, y Prueba de Paciencia —Printed in *Flor de Comedias de España de diferentes Autores Quinta Parte.* Alcala, *1615*, Barcelona, *1616* Chorley suspects that this play, though not mentioned in P or P², may have been written before the close of the sixteenth century The absence of the *figura del donayre* and (still more) the style tend to confirm the suspicion Chorley notes the piece as a very good one of that period.

F

Fábula (La) de Perseo —XVI ; (El Perseo), S. entitled *La bella Andrómeda* (J R. C , Holland and Vienna), Acad VI

*Fajardos (Los).—P This may be *El primer Fajardo* printed in Part VII, but Chorley doubts it

Famosas Asturianas (Las) —P² ; XVIII , H III , 465 ; Acad VII

Favor agradecido (El) —P ; XV , MS. autog of first act only ? (Duran), dated at Alba de Tormes, October 29, 1593 Cat B N No 1241.

Felisarda (La) —XVI

Ferias (Las) de Madrid —P ; II MS copy (Parma) This play has no *figura del donayre*

Fernan Mendez Pinto —H. (Parts I and II). S (J R C and Holland). The author of this play is Antonio Enriquez Gomez who, in the Prologue to *El Sanson Nazareno*, Rouen, 1652, gives a list of his comedias, and observes that—"á todas ellas, ó las mas que imprimen en Sevilla, les dan los impresores el título que quieren, y el dueño que se les antoja." Among these are four pieces which have been wrongly ascribed to Lope : (1) *El Cardenal Albornoz* (Two Parts) ; (2) Fernan Mendez Pinto (Two Parts), (3) *Las Soberbias de Nembrot* ; (4) *El trono de Salomon*

Fe rompida (La).—P , IV. This play has no *figura del donayre.*

Fianza satisfecha (La)—H, S. (Brit. Mus., J. R. C., and Holland); Acad. V; MS. copy Cat. B N No 1265, attributed to Calderon. This is the Osuna MS. In Rocamora's Cat 583, it is ascribed to Lope.

Fingido verdadero (Lo), San Gines Representante—XVI; Acad IV. In the closing verses the alternative title is given as *El mejor representante*. A comedia with the same theme, and also entitled *Lo Fingido verdadero*, is printed in Escog XXIX as the work of three *ingenios* (Cáncer, Martinez de Meneses and Rosete Niño). It is an independent piece, though the second scene of Act III is derived from Lope's penultimate scene This play has no *figura del donayre*.

*Firmeza (La) de Leonarda—P

Firmeza (La) en la Desdicha, y Agraviado leal—P² (Agraviado leal.) XII. MS copy (Parma)

Flores (Las) de don Juan, y Rico y Pobre trocados—P²; XII; H I, 409, MS copy (Parma, Osuna), Cat. B N No 1307 Rocamora, 591 This play is imitated by the brothers Figueroa in *Pobreza, Amor, y Fortuna*, Escog XIII

Fortuna del Cielo (La)—(See En la mayor Lealtad, mayor Agravio)

Fortuna merecida (La)—XI, Acad IX MS copy (Parma) and Cat B N No 1318 According to the closing verses this is the First Part only The play is not mentioned in P² (1618) though Parte XI appeared the same year With the same title, and also with the alternative title of *Merecer para alcanzar*, there is a play by Moreto

Francesilla (La)—P, XIII In the dedication to "Juan Perez" (de Montalvan) "en la Universidad de Alcalá," Lope states that this was the first play in which he introduced the *figura del donayre*, adding:—"Quando la escribi, no avia nacido" [Montalvan]. Montalvan was born in 1602 Speaking generally, those of Lope's pieces in which the said *figura* does not appear may perhaps be taken as being written earlier than 1594, and possibly even a good deal earlier for in the *Maestro de danzar*, composed not later than 1594, the character of the servant Belardo suggests the *gracioso* type At the same time, though no doubt the *figura del donayre* appears in most of Lope's comedias subsequent to *La Francesilla*, there are notable exceptions in the case of plays dealing with serious or historical themes Among such pieces is *Las Doncellas de Simancas* which, judging by the style, must belong to a more recent period, and *El Bastardo Mudarro* which was signed in 1612 On the other hand, the comic character appears in *Los Chaves de Villalba* (the MS. of which, in Rubí's collection, is dated 1599), and again in *El Arenal de Sevilla* (which is assigned to 1601) For the circumstances attending the production of *Dios hace reyes*, and for the question of the *figura del donayre* in general see pp 488-489

Fray Diablo (El Diablo Predicador)—MS. copy Cat B N No 1324. Inedited. The MS. contains emendations in the hand of Francisco de Rojas. Signed by Diego de Anunzibay, and dated Oct 1, 1630

*Fray Martin de Valencia.—P.
*Fregosos (Los) y Adornos.—P.
Fuente Ovejuna.—P²; XII; H. III., 633; Acad X. MS. copy (Parma, Holland)
Fuerza lastimosa (La)—P; II; *Comedias nuevas de los mas celebres Autores. Amsterdam*, 1726, H III, 257; S. (Brit Mus. and J. R. C.). MS copy (Osuna), Cat B N No 1339. Rocamora, 602. This play has no *figura del donayre* The subject is taken from the history of the Conde Alarcos. From the ballad on this subject, Guillen de Castro derived his comedia *El Conde Alarcos*, and Mescua his piece of the same title, which is identical with that attributed to Rojas (Duran)
Fundacion (La) de la Alhambra de Granada—(In *Seis Comedias de Lope de Vega y otros, Lisboa*, 1603; MS copy Cat B N Nos. 895 and 1341) Chorley does not think that Lope is the author.
Fundacion (La) de la Santa Hermandad de Toledo—(See Las dos Bandoleras)

G

Galan agradecido (El)—P
Galan Castrucho (El)—IV P (El Rufian Castrucho) This play has no *figura del donayre*
Galan (El) de la Membrilla—P², X, Acad IX. MS. autog. Brit. Mus, dated at Madrid, April 20, 1615 MS copy (Parma).
Galan (El) de Meliona—Mes Rom (See Hamete de Toledo)
Galan escarmentado (El)—P
Galiana (La)—(Very probably Los Palacios de Galiana, q v)
Gallarda Toledana (La)—XIV This play has no *figura del donayre*
Gallardo Catalan (El)—II, S (J R C and Holland), Acad VIII. (See El Valeroso Catalan) This piece has a *figura del donayre*. It was played by Pinedo in the *sala de ayuntamiento* of Toledo at the feasts to celebrate the birth (April 8, 1605) of Philip IV
Gallardo Jacobin (El)—P² This is probably a misprint for *Gallardo Jazimin*.
Gallardo Jazimin (El)—(El Hidalgo Abencerraje) Under the latter title it appears in Parte XVII of Lope; MS copy (Osuna), Cat. B N No 1358, with the double title Rocamora, 608.
Ganso (El) de Oro—P.
Garcilaso de la Vega—P See the note to *El Cerco de Santa Fe*, the MS copy of which (says La Barrera) differs from *El Cerco de Santa Fe* in Parte I, "y el original inédito de aquella." (See Hechos de Garcilaso de la Vega)
Gata (La) de Mari Ramos (El Jardin de Vargas)—M (anon); S. (Duran); MS. copy (Duran) of first two acts, Cat. B N. No 1374.
Ginoves liberal (El)—P²; IV.
*Ginovesa (La)—P.
Gloria (La) de Nápoles—Mes Rom. (anon) Doubtful.
Gloria (La) de San Francisco.—H. (See El Serafin humano, XIX, which is called the Second Part. can the *Gloria* be the First Part?)

Gobernadora (La).—P.

Gran Capitan (El) de España.—M. H. quotes a play of this name by Aguayo, but this is a slip he has accidentally transposed the order of the titles as given by Medel. See Cat B. N No 1408.

Gran Cardenal (El) de España, D Gonzalo de Mendoza (Gran Cardenal D. Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza) Fajardo gives this as being in Parte V published at Seville see p. 474.

Gran Columna fogosa (La) ; San Basilio Magno —MS. (Duran, Holland); MS copy Cat B N No 1412, containing original *Aprobaciones*, dated Plasencia, 1629. Acad IV

Grandezas (Las) de Alejandro —XVI ; Acad VI.

Gran Duque (El) de Muscovia, y Emperador Perseguido.—VII ; H IV, 225 ; Acad VI

*Gran Pintora (La) —P M. gives this comedia as by Villegas.

Gran Prior (El) de Castilla —(See El Hijo de la Molinera)

*Grao (El) de Valencia —P

Guanches (Los) de Tenerife, y Conquista de Canaria —P² (Conquista de Tenerife) M and H give the play with the title of *Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria* X ; Acad XI. MS copy (Parma)

Guante (El) de Doña Blanca —H , Vega del Pr , XXX (Zaragoza, 1636) ; Dif XXIX (Zaragoza, 1636) ; XLIV (Zaragoza, 1652) ; Obr Suelt IX , H II , 17 , Acad IX MS copy Cat B N. No 1429 According to Fajardo this play was printed in Parte V, published at Seville

Guardar y Guardarse —XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641 , H II , 385 , MS copy (Osuna), Cat B N No 1433 Rocamora, 626

*Guelfos y Gibelinos —P H notes a play of this name by Malaspina ; it is the alternative title of his comedia *La Fuerza de la verdad*, Escog XIV

*Guerras civiles —P

Guerras de Amor y Honor —H , S (Brit Mus Arl., Duran, and Parma) It is stated in the closing verses that this is the First Part

Guia (La) de la Corte —P² , M , H

Guzmanes (Los) de Toral —P , (o Como ha de usarse del Bien y ha de prevenirse del Mal), published by Dr Antonio Restori, Halle, 1899

H

Halcon (El) de Federico —XIII , reprinted by R Anschütz, *Boccaccios Novelle vom Falken*, etc Erlangen, 1892

Hamete (El) de Toledo —IX Mes Rom gives *El Galan de Melsona* as the alternative title of this play Another *Hamete de Toledo*, entirely different in substance, bears the names of Belmonte and Martinez, Escog I

Hazañas (Las) del Cid y su Muerte, con la Toma de Valencia —Printed in Lisbon, 1603 , MS copy in Cat B N Nos 1476 and 895. Chorley does not believe that Lope is the author

Hechicera (La) de Argel —(See La mayor Desgracia de Carlos V)

Hechos de Bernardo del Carpio —(See El Casamiento en la Muerte).

Hechos (Los) de Garcilaso de la Vega y Moro Tarfe.—Acad. XI, MS. copy in Cat. B. N. No 1477 See p 96 of text.

Hermosa Alfreda (La).—P. La Hermosura de Alfreda. IX. MS. copy (Parma). See text, p. 145. This play has no *figura del donayre*

Hermosa Ester (La), (La Soberbia de Aman y Humildad de Mardoqueo) —XV; Acad III, MS. autog (*La bella Ester*) Brit. Mus., dated April 5, 1610, the S. (Holland and Duran) with the title: *La Horca para su Dueño* is by Godinez There is said to have been an autog MS of it, signed by Godinez in the Osuna library. See Rocamora, 1115, where it bears the title *La Reina Esther* On the other hand, Paz y Melia (Cat B N No 2849) states that this MS. is in various hands and is dated 1613

Hermosa Fea (La) —XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641; H II, 349; S (Brit Mus and J R. C)

Hermosura aborrecida (La), y Desdichada firme —P², VII; MS copy Cat B N No 1491 According to the closing verses this is the First Part

*Hero y Leandro —P The only known play with this title is by Mira de Mescua

Hidalgo Abencerraje (El), (El Hidalgo Jacimin) —XVII; Acad. XI MS. copy (Parma) M notes *El Gallardo Jacimin* This is probably meant for *El Gallardo Jacobin*, given in P²

Hidalgos (Los) de la Aldea —XII MS copy (Parma)

Hierros (Los) por amor S (J. R. C and Duran) M gives the title as *Yerros por amor*

Hijo (El) de la Molinera, y el gran Prior de Castilla. (Mas Mal hay en la Aldegüela de lo que se suena) —Escog XLII, under the name of Francisco de Villegas, with only the first title The play is by Lope.

Hijo (El) de los Leones —XIX; S (Brit Mus Arl), H II., 217. See Restori, p. 13

Hijo (El) de Reduan —P, I, Acad XI This play has no *figura del donayre*

*Hijo (El) de si mismo —P, P² Chorley does not think that this can be *El Hijo sin Padre*

Hijo piadoso (El) y Bohemia convertida —M; H Fajardo states that this play was in the volume of Comedias by Lope and others, published at Seville. La Barrera originally asserted that a fragment of the volume, containing this piece, was in the Osuna collection (Tomo 132), but this appears to be a mistake. See the contents of these *tomos colecticios*, pp 437-438

Hijo (El) por Engaño, y Toma de Toledo.—M, H (anon); printed in *Doce Comedias Nuevas de Lope y otros autores; Segunda Parte.* Barcelona, 1630; Acad VIII; MS copy, with the additional title *y Rey don Alfonso de la Mano horadada*, Cat. B N No 1522

Hijo (El) sin Padre.—Nicolas Antonio says that this play was in Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640; S. (J R. C. and Vienna) MS copy (Duran) in Cat. B. N. No. 1525. Chorley does not think that

this comedia can be identical with *El Hijo de si mesmo* of P and P². The subject matter is in contradiction with such a title.

*Hijo (El) venturoso —P

Historia (La) de Maragatos —M, H; Fajardo alleges that this play was printed in Parte V of Lope and others, published at Seville. M and H both give the last word of the title as *Mazagatos*, but this is probably a misprint Cf the Second Act of *El pleyto por la honra* where, in the antepenultimate scene, the servant asks—

¿Si ha de aver
la de Maragatos?

Historia (La) de Tobias —XV, Acad III

Hombre de bien (El) —P², VI, H IV., 187 S. (Brit. Mus. and J R C)

Hombre (El) por su Palabra —P², XX

Honra (La) por la Muger —XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633, S. (J. R. C.) MS. copy (Parma, Holland, Osuna) and Cat B N. No. 1543, the date of the latter is 1622 Rocamora, 662 Paz y Melia alleges that it is not contained in the above edition of Zaragoza, 1633; nevertheless, I find it in my copy of that edition.

Honrado (El) con su Sangre --According to Nicolas Antonio this play was in Part XXIV, Madrid, 1640 A *suelta* of this title in the Osuna library bore Claramonte's name It is likely to be a re-cast —perhaps of Lope's play

Honrado Hermano (El) —XVIII, Acad VI MS copy (Parma). This play has no *figura del donayre*. Chorley classes it as an early composition

Honrado Perseguido (El) —P²

*Horacios (Los) —P It is probably *El honrado Hermano*.

Horca (La) para su Dueño —(See La hermosa Ester) S (Duran and Holland) It is by Godinez

Humildad (La) de Mardoqueo —(See La hermosa Ester)

Humildad (La) y la soberbia —P⁹ X, MS copy (Holland). The play bears this title in the *Tabla*, but in the body of the volume it is headed *El Triunfo de la humildad y soberbia abatida*.

I

Ilustre Fregona (La), y Amante al Uso —XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641 The MS of this play in the Osuna Library is ascribed to Lope in Rocamora's Cat 671 Paz y Melia, however, says (Cat N B No 1570) that the Osuna MS is a burlesque upon Lope's play, and is by Cañizares

Ilustre Hazaña (La) de Garcilaso de la Vega —(See El Cerco de Santa Fe)

Imperial (La) de Oton —VIII; Acad VI MS copy (Parma)

*Imperial (La) de Toledo —P

Imperio (El) por fuerza.—P².

*Inclinacion natural (La) —P.

*Infanta desesperada (La) —P
*Infanta Labradora (La) —P
Infanzon (El) de Illescas, El Rey don Pedro en Madrid —Printed in *Doce Comedias de Lope y otros autores*, Barcelona, 1630 La Barrera asserts that it likewise appeared in *Parte XXVII (extravagante)*, Barcelona, 1633, under Lope's name, but, as Chorley points out, this Part does not now exist It survives solely in fragments, and *El Infanzon de Illescas* is not among the fragments which have been saved At the end of a copy of Part XVII (1621) *El Infanzon de Illescas* is substituted as the twelfth play in place of *El Hidalgo Abencerraje* A MS copy of this play, ascribed to Gabriel Tellez, is given in the Cat B N No 1593, with a license dated Zaragoza, December 30, 1626 Acad IX
Ingratitud vengada (La) —P, XIV
Ingrato (El) —According to Nicolas Antonio this play was in Part XXIV, Madrid, 1640 S (Brit Mus and J R C) with Calderon's name
Ingrato arrepentido (El) —M, P, XV This play has no *figura del donayre*
Injusta Venganza (La) —(See La Corona de Hungria)
Inocente Laura (La) —XVI, H IV, 475 The closing verses of this play discloses an alternative title *Las Traiciones de Ricardo*
Inocente Sangre (La) —XIX, H IV, 349, Acad IX MS copy (Parma) In the dedication and in the closing verses the alternative title is given as *Los Carvajales* Chorley notes that this is an old play Lope himself says so in dedicating it to Sebastian de Caravajal "años ha que escrivi este suceso" Yet, despite the early period of composition and the fact that the author calls the piece a *tragedia*, a *figura del donayre* is introduced
Intencion castigada (La) —XXII, Zaragoza, 1630 MS copy (Parma)
Isla Barbara (La) This play bears Lope's name in the volume entitled *Doce Comedias de varios Autores*, Tortosa, 1638, but it was really written by Miguel Sanchez It has been reprinted by me (Boston, 1896) with the true author's name attached to it

J

Jacintos (Los) —(See La Pastoral de Jacinto)
Jardin (El) de Vargas —H, (La Gata de Mari Ramos), S (Chorley and Duran) The incomplete autograph, bearing the second title, and formerly in Duran's collection, is now in the Bibl Nac See Cat No 1374
*Jardin (El) de Falerina —P Calderon wrote a play with the same title, published in Parte V of his Comedias, Madrid, 1694
Jorge Toledano —P, XVII MS copy (Parma) The play has no *figura del donayre* Lope informs us in the dedication that it is an early piece
Juan de Dios y Anton Martin —P[2] (San Juan de Dios) X, Acad V MS copy (Parma)

Judia (La) de Toledo.—(See Las Paces de los Reyes.)

Jueces de Castilla (Los) —P^2, M A comedia with this title figures in Part I of Moreto's collected pieces, and his name is attached to it in a *suelta*. La Barrera considers it to be an authentic play by Moreto. "es legítima suya" But Chorley is not convinced, and inclines to the belief that it may merely be a re-cast of Lope's piece.

*Jueces (Los) de Ferrara —P

Juez (El) de su misma Causa —According to Nicolas Antonio this play appeared in XXIV, Madrid, 1640

Juez (El) en su Causa P XXV, Zaragoza, 1647; Dif XXVIII. Chorley thinks that this may be identical with *El Juez de su misma causa*

Julian Romero —H; Osuna, Tom 133, f. 1-146. Apparently a fragment of Parte XXVII *extravagante*, quoted by Fajardo

Juventud (La) de San Isidro —H, *Relacion de las Fiestas*, etc, Madrid, 1622, Obr sueltas, XII, Acad IV

L

Laberinto de Amor (El) (See Prueba de los Ingenios)

Laberinto (El) de Creta —P^2; XVI, Acad VI, also called simply *El Laberinto* see text, p 113

Labrador (El) del Tormes —H; S (J R C, Duran, and Holland), MS. copy Cat B N Nos 420 and 1718 The closing verses give an alternative title *Lo que puede un Agravio*

Labrador venturoso (El) —XXII, Madrid, 1635, Dif XXVIII, Acad. VIII. According to Nicolas Antonio, this play was contained in Part XXIV, Madrid, 1640 Fajardo repeats this statement, and adds that the piece likewise appeared in XXVIII *extravagante*. It was written at least as early as 1622 See Schack, *Nach* p 67.

Lacayo fingido (El) —P, M (anon); GL 1617 MS copy (Parma). This play has no *figura del donayre*

Lágrimas (Las) de David —M, H There is a play with this title by Godinez, but the entry in Medel and Huerta may be merely a slip for *David perseguido*

Lanza por Lanza, la de Luis de Almansa (Parts I and II); Acad IX, Tom 131 (Osuna) Fajardo alleges, and La Barrera repeats the statement of his predecessor, that the last-named is a fragment of Parte XXVII, *extravagante*, Barcelona, 1633

Laura perseguida —P, IV, MS copy (Rubí), dated Alba de Tormes, October 12, 1594 Cat B N No 371

Lazarillo de Tormes —P^2

Leal Criado (El) —XV; MS copy (Rubí), dated Alba de Tormes, June 24, 1594. Cat. B. N No. 371 This play has no true *figura del donayre* The *criado leal* of the title is Uberto, and not the servant or *criado* Julio who is also one of the personages. Julio has some few witticisms allotted to him, but the *gracias* are soon abandoned.

Lealtad, Amor y Armistad.—M; H; Part XXVI, *extravagante*, Zaragoza, 1645, which is generally said to have been published between 1632 and 1633. Chorley is somewhat sceptical as to this early issue [But Lope's *El Desprecio agradecido* (1637) goes to show that it must have appeared before 1645.]

Lealtad (La) en el Agravio.—XXII, Zaragoza, 1630; Acad VIII. MS. copy (Parma) (See En la mayor Lealtad.)

Lealtad (La) en la Traicion —H; S. (J R. C.) La Barrera says there was a MS of this play, dated [November 22,] 1617, in the Duran collection. There is a copy by Duran of a *suelta* in the Bib. Nac., which copy bears the additional title *El Honor en el Agravio* See Cat. B N No 1734. This alternative title is also given in the closing verses.

Leon apostólico (El), y Cautivo coronado —H. La Barrera states that this play is found in a *suelta* (Osuna), described by him as a fragment of the volume *de Lope y otros*, Sevilla The comedia is in Tom. 132, Osuna, ff 171 et seq, and this *tomo colecticio* is thought to represent the *Comedias de Sevilla* in which, according to Fajardo, the piece originally appeared

Ley ejecutada (La) —XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633, H III., 181, there is a MS. of this play noted in the Cat B N No 3910

Libertad (La) de Castilla por el Conde Fernan Gonzalez —Lisboa, 1603; MS in the Cat B N No 895, ascribed to Lope Chorley rejects the attribution

Libertad (La) de San Isidro —M, H This would seem to be *La Juventud de San Isidro*

Limpieza no manchada (La), Santa Brígida —XIX; Acad V. MS copy (Parma)

Lindona (La) de Galicia —M, H A *suelta* with this title bears Montalvan's name Chorley thinks that this may be the play ascribed to Lope La Barrera (*Catálogo*, p 268 and 456) would identify it with Moreto's *Rica-hembra de Galicia* he omits this piece from the long list of Moreto's productions (*ibid*, pp 276-281). This is particularly unfortunate, I have not met with any mention of the *Rica-hembra* elsewhere.

Llave (La) de la Honra —Escog. III, H. II, 117. MS copy (J R. C).

Llegar (El) en Ocasion.—P², VI, MS copy Cat B N No 1936, see also No 1937

Loco (El) por Fuerza.—M; H; MS copy Cat B. N. No 1900, attrib to Lope.

Locos (Los) de Valencia.—P, XIII, H I, 113, the MS. in the Cat B N. No 1905, entitled Los Locos de Zaragoza, is this same comedia The alternative title in the final verses is given as *El Hospital de los locos* · the play has no *figura del donayre*.

Locos (Los) por el Cielo —P; VIII, Acad IV MS. copy (Parma)

Locura (La) por la Honra —P²; XI MS copy (Parma). There was formerly in the Osuna Library an *auto* with this title. See Rocamora, 739; Cat B N No 1906. In the closing verses the alternative title of the comedia is given as *El Agravio dichoso*.

Lo que está determinado.—Escog. III. MS. copy (J. R. C.). The play has no *figura del donayre*.

Lo que es un coche en Madrid.—H.; S (J. R. C.); also said to be in Part XXVI *extravagante*, Zaragoza, 1645. The play is really Mendoza's comedia, *Los riesgos que tiene un coche*

Lo que ha de ser —XXII, Zaragoza, 1630, XXV; H. II., 507; MS. copy in Brit. Mus, dated September 2, 1624.

Lo que hay que fiar del Mundo —XII MS. copy (Parma).

Lo que pasa en una Tarde.—H; M. (anon); inedited, MS. autog (Osuna) in Bib Nac, dated Novbr. 22, 1617, Cat. No. 1772. Rocamora, 749.

Lo que puede un Agravio.—M, H, *suelta* (Duran, Holland). It is *El Labrador del Tormes*. See above MS. with former title in Cat. B. N No 1780

Lucinda perseguida.—P; XVII MS. copy (Parma). This play has no *figura del donayre*. Lope, in the dedication, speaks of it as one of his early pieces.

M

Madrastra mas honrada (La) —Osuna, Tom. 133.

Madre (La) de la mejor —XVII, Acad III The play entitled *El Nacimiento del Alba* is, so far as concerns Acts I and II, simply an abbreviation of the present piece. Act III is entirely different, and Chorley thought it good enough to pass as Lope's work, were it not so unlikely that he should re-cast an old play for insertion in Part XVII Restori has since pointed out that this Act III of *El Nacimiento del Alba* is in fact Act III of *Santa Ana y el Nacimiento de Maria* see text, p 347

Madre Teresa de Jesus (La), fundadora del Carmen —With this title there is a MS in the Bib. Nac partly autog. Cat. B. N. No. 1941 (See Santa Teresa)

Maestro (El) de danzar —P, Escog III; H II., 71, the autog. written in 1594, has apparently disappeared There is a copy in the Cat. B N. No. 1951. Calderon wrote a play with this title In a letter to Chorley, dated April 22, 1866, La Barrera admitted that his MSS. of *El Maestro de danzar* and *El Esclavo fingido* were merely copies.

Magdalena (La) —P[2]. (See La Mejor Enamorada.)

Mal Casada (La).—XV, H II.

Mal pagador (El) en pajas. Mes Rom Doubtful. Fajardo states that it was in the *Comedias de Sevilla*. Elsewhere he ascribes it to Calderon, and Medel concurs; but according to Vera Tassis the play is supposititious

Marido mas firme (El), Orfeo.—XX; Acad VI

Marmol (El) de Felisardo.—P; VI; MS. copy (Osuna), Cat. B. N. No. 2023. Rocamora, 792. This play has a *figura del donayre*.

Marques (El) de las Navas —XXII, Zaragoza, 1630; Escog. VIII. (as of Mira de Mescua); H. IV; MS. autog. dated April 22, 1624 (Holland), and S. (J. R. C. and Holland). MS copy (Parma).

Marques (El) de Mantua.—P; XII. MS. copy (Parma). In the final verses is given the alternative title of *Baldovinos y Carlota* The play has no *figura del donayre.*

Marques (El) del Valle.—M. H.

Mártir (El) de Florencia.—P².

Martires (Los) del Japon —MS copy Cat B N No 2034; this MS. ascribes the play to Lope except in the title to the Third Act, where it is attributed to Mescua Duran says it is Lope's: Medel and Huerta assign it to Mescua See *Nuevos Datos*, p 75.

Martires (Los) de Madrid —H, Dif XXIX; Acad V, S (J R C.). Schack says there was formerly in the Osuna Library a play *El Martir de Madrid* by Mescua This MS, autograph for the greater part, is noted in Cat. B N No 2029. A play with this title, written by Cáncer, Villaviciosa and Moreto, appears in Escog. XLIV.

Mas galan Portugues (El), Duque de Berganza —VIII; Acad X, MS. copy (Holland, Parma)

Mas mal hay en la Aldegüela de lo que se suena —(See El Hijo de la Molinera y el Gran Prior de Castilla) S (Brit Mus and J R C). The incomplete autograph (Act II only) was said to be in Duran's collection The play bears the second title in Escog. XLII where it is ascribed to Francisco de Villegas to whom it is also attributed by M. under the third title See Cat B N. No. 95.

Mas pueden Celos que Amor.—H, Escog III; H II, 175, MS. partly autog. Cat B N No 2057 MS copy (Parma) The final verses give an alternative title. *La Dama comendador*

Mas vale Salto de Mata que Ruego de Buenos —M; H; Fajardo states that it was in Part XXVI, *extravagante.* S (J R C). See Restori, p 13.

Mas valeis vos, Antona, que la Corte toda —H; S. (J R C, Duran); MS. modern copy of the *suelta*, Cat B N. No. 2061, with the added title *ó Duquesa de Bretaña* This supplementary title is also noted by Fajardo.

Matico (El).—P (Los Donaires de Matico)

Matrona constante (La) —P.

Mayorazgo dudoso (El).—P, II, MS copy (Osuna), Cat. B N. No. 2099. Rocamora, 815 This play has no *figura del donayre.*

Mayor Corona (La) —H, MS copy (Osuna, Parma), Bibl Nac. Cat. No 2080 Rocamora, 818.

Mayor Desgracia (La) de Carlos V. Fajardo notes the additional title *y Hechicera de Argel.*—XXIV, Zaragoza, 1632 and 1633. MS. copy (Parma) With regard to this play, there is some confusion. La Barrera regards it as doubtful, and states that it is ascribed to Jimenez de Enciso in Dif. XLIII, Valencia, 1660. The existence of this volume is uncertain, and we know of it only

through a casual mention by Fajardo. No such piece as *La Mayor Desgracia de Carlos V* appears in the true Dif. XLIII, Valencia, 1650, nor does Jimenez de Enciso seem to have written a play with this title. La Barrera has evidently reproduced the entry in Fajardo who mistook *La Mayor Desgracia de Carlos V* for *La Mayor Hazaña de Carlos V*. The latter is by Jimenez de Enciso, and is correctly attributed to him in Dif. XXXIII and in a *suelta* (Brit. Mus., J R C and Rennert) Luis Velez de Guevara is the author of a comedia entitled *La Jornada de Argel, y mayor desgracia de Carlos V* This exists in a *suelta*, but it differs altogether from the play with which we are concerned here. The ascription to Lope is maintained by Menéndez y Pelayo who reprints the piece in Acad. VII On the event which forms the subject of *La Mayor Desgracia* Lope writes as follows in Act I of *Los Cautivos de Argel* Part XXV) —

> Cercóle Carlos, y fue
> el mar con Carlos tan bravo,
> de una hechicera famosa,
> segun dicen conjurado,
> que fue la primer conquista
> que perdió en el mundo Carlos,
> porque contra el mar no ay armas,
> experiencia, ni soldado.

Mayor Dicha (La) en el Monte —H; MS copy (Osuna), Cat B N No 2084, with the additional title *y La Gloria en el Martirio*. Rocamora, 820.

Mayordomo (El) de la Duquesa de Amalfi —XI. MS. copy (Parma). There is a play by Diego Muxet de Solis entitled *La Venganza de la Duquesa de Amalfi* in the writer's *Comedias humanas y divinas y Rimas Morales*, Bruselas, 1624. The author admits that he follows this piece of Lope's It may be remarked in passing that La Barrera (*Catálogo*, p 282) gives *La mas dichosa venganza* as an alternative title to *La Venganza de la Duquesa de Amalfi*. But they are really two distinct works by Muxet de Solis.

Mayor Hazaña (La) de Alejandro Magno —H, MS. copy (Osuna), Cat B N. No 2087; Rocamora, 823; inedited

Mayor Imposible (El) —XXV; H II., 465.

Mayor Prodigio (El), ó El Purgatorio en la Vida —M; H, S. (Duran).

Mayor Rey (El) de los Reyes —M, H. (El mayor de los Reyes). Fajardo cites it as being by Calderon to whom it is also ascribed in a *suelta* (Duran) Schack mentions a manuscript in the Osuna collection which bore this title and the name of Claramonte, to whom La Barrera attributes the present play. But, as Chorley notes, so many of Claramonte's pieces are mere re-casts that the fact of his name appearing on a *suelta* is far from deciding the question of authorship See Cat B. N. No 2091.

Mayor Victoria (La).—XXII, Madrid, 1635, XXIV, Zaragoza, 1632, 1633 H III., 221 S. (Brit Mus. and J. R. C.).

Mayor Victoria (La) de Alemania —Vega del P XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641 (See Don Gonzalo de Córdoba) Fajardo asserts that it is in Parte V, Seville

Mayor Virtud (La) de un Rey —Vega del P Fajardo states that it is in Parte V, Seville, Obras suelt IX, H III, 77 It is ascribed to Matos Fragoso in Escog XXXVII where it bears the title of *El mejor Casamentero*

Mazagatos (Los) —H (See Historia de Maragatos) The title in H is a misprint

Médico (El) de su Honra —H, Osuna, Tom 133, ff 1 146 Fajardo states that it is in Part XXVII, *extravagante*, Barcelona, 1633, Acad IX Calderon's comedia is a re-cast of this

*Medico enamorado (Ll) —P

Mejor Alcalde (Fl) el Rey —XXI, H I, 475, Acad VIII S (Brit. Mus and J R C) Mes Rom gives this under the title of *El Tyrano de Galicia* In Escog XX there is a play by Martinez de Meneses entitled *El Mejor Alcalde el Rey, y no hay cuenta con Serranos*, but, as is noted in the *Tabla* to the volume, this piece differs from Lope's

Mejor Enamorada (La) la Magdalena —P², M, H, MS copy (Osuna), Cat B N No 2120, see also No 3979 One of these was probably the seventeenth century copy formerly in the Gayangos collection Rocamora, 832

Mejor Maestro (El) el Tiempo —VI

Mejor Mozo (El) de España —XX, H III, 609, Acad X

Mejor Representante (El) —P² (See I o fingido Verdadero) As already noted, the piece on the same subject by Cancer, Martinez de Meneses, and Rosete Niño in Escog XXIX, is an independent work However, Lope's penultimate scene is utilized in Act III, sc 11 where Ginés, on the eve of martyrdom, describes the company of the blessed whose representative he is

Melindres (Los) de Belisa —P², IX, H I, 317, it occurs as a modern *suelta* (J R C) with the title *La Dama melindrosa* The autograph (undated) of the First Act is said to have been in Sancho Rayon's collection

Merced (La) en el Castigo, ó El Premio en la misma Pena — , S (J R C, Holland and Parma) According to Fajardo this was printed in Part XXVI, *extravagante*, Zaragoza, 1645 Chorley questions the statement that Lope is the author Under the title of *El Premio en la misma Pena* the play is attributed in Escog XXX to Moreto wrongly, as Fernandez Guerra holds With some variations towards the close, it is reprinted in Escog XL, and also as a *suelta* In both cases it bears Montalvan's name, and Fernandez-Guerra concurs in this ascription

Merito (El) en la Templanza (H), y Ventura por el Sueño —S (J R C and Duran), MS copy Cat B N No 2151 A feeble work in which Chorley finds no trace of Lope's hand

*Meson (El) de la Corte —P

Milagro (El) por los Celos (H), y Don Alvaro de Luna.—S. (Chorley, Holland), Acad. X. The Osuna MS. of this play is ascribed to Lope Rocamora, 853, while Paz y Melia says that it is by Tirso de Molina Cat B. N No. 2161. The closing verses give the alternative title *La Excelente Portuguesa (Doña Beatriz de Silva), Primera Parte* I have a suelta dated Barcelona, 1770.

Milagros (Los) del Desprecio—Escog X; H. II, 235; S. (Chorley), attrib to *un ingenio*, and to Montalvan, with the title *Diablos son las Mugeres* Fajardo asserts that the play was issued in Part XXVII, *extravagante*, Barcelona, 1633

Mirad á quien alabais—XVI, Escog. VI, Zaragoza, 1653; H IV., 455, S (J R C)

Mocedad (La) de Roldan—P; XIX This play has no *figura del donayre* Chorley calls it a good specimen of Lope's early manner

Mocedades (Las) de Bernardo del Carpio—H; Escog. VI, Zaragoza, 1653, XXIX, *extravagante*, Huesca, 1634. See also La Barrera, p 705 S (Brit Mus, Chorley, Holland and Rennert)

Molino (El)—P, I, H I, 21, S (Brit Mus. and J R. C.). This play has no *figura del donayre.*

*Monstruo (El) de Amor—P

Monstruo (El) de la Fortuna—Escog. VII, where it is ascribed to *tres ingenios* It is Lope's *La Reina Juana de Napoles.*

Montañesa famosa (La)—H, P, La Montañesa—MS copy Bibl Nac. Cat No 2200, with the additional title *La Amistad pagada*, under which heading it is printed in Part I of Lope

Monteros (Los) de Espinosa—P, MS copy (ined), Cat B N No. 2203.

Montes de Gelboé—(See David perseguido)

Moza (La) de Cántaro—H, Dif XXXVII, H I, 549, S (J R C, Holland, Parma, Vienna), MS copy Cat B N No 2211 (anon). The date of composition may be inferred approximately from the statement in the closing verses that the author had already written 1500 comedias. It may be convenient to point out that Dif. XXXVII is the volume indicated by La Barrera (*Catálogo*, p. 708) under the title of *Doze Comedias nuevas de diferentes Autores, las mejores que hasta ahora han salido, cuyos títulos van á la vuelta, Parte XXXXXVII. En Valencia, a costa de Juan Sonzoni.* La Barrera states that he heard of this volume through Gayangos who received his information from Chorley, but La Barrera has omitted to note that XXXXXVII is a misprint for XXXVII Moreover, he classifies the book wrongly under the heading of *Colecciones Sueltas* instead of placing in the series of *Diferentes.* He states that it is in the library of the University of Bologna, but omits to mention that it was discovered there by Ticknor, and that the copy is believed to be unique.

*Mudable (La).—P.

Mudanzas (Las) de la Fortuna y Sucesos de don Beltran de Aragon.—P[8],

Don Beltran de Aragon; S (Holland, with second title only); *Parte III de las Comedias de Lope y otros Autores*, Barcelona, 1612, 1614; Madrid and Seville, 1613, MS. copy (Osuna), 1610, Cat. B. N. No. 2219. Rocamora (881) says it is an autograph MS. copy (Parma). The play has been wrongly ascribed to Calderon.

*Muerte (La) del Maestre.—P

Muerte (La) mas venturosa —(V Antonio Roca)

*Muerto Vencedor (El).—P; P², M

Muertos vivos (Los).—P; XVII; MS. copy (Parma) and Cat B. N. No 2235 The play has a *gracioso* in the character of the gardener Dorisio.

Mujeres (Las) sin Hombres —XVI, Acad VI This play, which Chorley conjectures to be *Las Amazonas*, has a *figura del donayre*

*Muza furioso.—P Mes. Rom. states that this piece is identical with *La Prision de Muza* mentioned in P Chorley, however, thinks that this is unlikely, inasmuch as both plays are given in the same list.

N

Nacimiento (El) de Cristo —P XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641. Acad III. S (Gayangos) This comedia, which somewhat resembles an *auto al Nacimiento*, has *figuras graciosas* in the characters of Inocencia (Act I) and the shepherd Bato (Acts II and III) Chorley ranks the play as one of Lope's masterpieces

Nacimiento (El) del Alba —H, Osuna, Tom 131 S (Brit Mus Arl, J R C, Vienna), Fajardo says that this play was included in Part XXVI, *extravagante*, Zaragoza, 1645 According to the last verses the alternative title is *La Concepcion de la Virgen*. [See the note under Madre de la mejor]

Nacimiento (El) de Urson y Valentin —P (Urson y Valentin) I. (First Part). This play has no *figura del donayre*

Nadie se conoce.—XXII, Madrid, 1635

Nardo Antonio, Vandolero —H Tomo 131, ff. 235-254 (Osuna) Fajardo says that this play was printed in Parte V, Seville

Naufragio prodigioso (El) —M; H, Tomo 131, ff 171 et seq (Osuna), with the title *Don Manuel de Sousa ó El Naufragio prodigioso, y Principe trocado*

Necedad (La) del Discreto —P², XXV, MS (Osuna), Cat B. N No. 2286, with title *La Necedad en el Discreto*, and attributed to Calderon, but in the latter's *Quinta Parte* it is mentioned as existing in MS, and as wrongly ascribed to Calderon

Negro (El) del mejor Amo.—MS copy (Parma) Doubtful Chorley suggests that this may possibly be the alternative title of *El Santo Negro Rosambuco* Mescua wrote a comedia on this theme entitled *El Negro del mejor Amo*, which differs wholly from Lope's play

Neron cruel.—P. (Roma abrasada ?)

Niña (La) de Plata, y Burla vengada.—IX, H. I, 273; S. (Brit. Mus., J. R. C. and Gayangos); Acad IX See Restori, p. 28 and text, p 210 *n* The final verses give the alternative title, *El Cortés galan* I have a *suelta* (Valencia, 1781) much shortened and otherwise changed

Niñez (La) del Padre Rojas —Escog XVIII, Acad V; S. (Holland), MS autog (Parte Primera de su Vida), in Bib Nac (Osuna), dated January 4, 1625 Cat B N No 2304 In the *Tabla* the title reads *Las Niñeces*, etc

Niñez (La) de San Isidro —Pub in *Relacion de las Fiestas*, etc. Madrid, 1622; Obras Sueltas, XII, Acad IV.

Niño Diablo (El) —H, (see El Diablo Niño); MS copy (Primera Parte) Cat B N No 2308 Rocamora, 923 S (J. R C. and Gayangos) By Guevara see Schaeffer, I p 300

Niño inocente (El) de la Guardia —P² (El Niño inocente), VIII; Acad V (See El Santo Niño de la Guardia) MS copy (Parma) The autograph, reported to be in Duran's collection, was entitled *El Santo Niño de la Guardia* See Cat B N No 3041 The play has no *figura del donayre*

Niño pastor (El) —M H

Nobles (Los) como han de ser —M, S. (J R. C), MS copy (Duran), Cat B N No 2366 (See Como han de ser los Nobles.)

Noche (La) de San Juan —XXI, MS copy (Holland) Written (1631) in three days See Casiano Pellicer II, 168 and text, p 338

Noche toledana (La) —P², *Parte III de Lope y otros Autores*, Barcelona, 1612, etc, H I, 203, MS copy (Parma, Osuna), Cat B. N 2379 and 4013 Rocamora, 933

No son todos Ruiseñores —XXII, Madrid, 1635 S (Brit Mus and Gayangos) with Calderon's name attached to it

Novios (Los) de Hornachuelos —M, H III, 387, Acad X, Tomo 133 (Osuna), S (J R C) There are two MSS of this comedia, both copies, in the Bib Nac (see Cat. No. 2391) The Osuna MS contains only the first two Acts, and is dated 1627 the other MS bears a license dated Valencia, October 15, 1629 In the Osuna copy the play is ascribed to Velez de Guevara; in the other, to Guevara and Medrano According to Gallardo's manuscript catalogue, the Osuna MS contained Act I of this play in the handwriting of Luis Velez de Guevara, and with his signature appended

Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria y sus Milagros, y Guanches de Tenerife. —H, (see Los Guanches de Tenerife); X; MS (Osuna), copy Cat B N. No 2398

Nuestra Señora de la Peña de Francia —H, Tomo 133 (Osuna) According to Fajardo this is a fragment of the volume by Lope and others, printed at Seville It has been suggested that this is a play by Tirso de Molina La Barrera, however, identifies it (*Catalogo*, p 683) with *El Casamiento en la muerte*, and Chorley is disposed to concur.

Nueva Victoria (La) de don Gonzalo de Córdoba —Vega del P., where it bears the title: *La mayor Victoria de Alemania; D. Gonzalo de Cordoba*, XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641; Obras suelt. X. (see *Don Gonzalo de Cordoba*); MS autog (Osuna) signed at Madrid, October 8, 1622 Rocamora, 961 See text, p 298 and *n*.

Nuevo Mundo (El) —P. Chorley hesitates to affirm that this is identical with the next play on the present list.

Nuevo Mundo (El) descubierto por Colon —IV, Acad XI This play has no *figura del donayre*

Nuevo Mundo (El) en Castilla —(See Las Batuecas del Duque de Alba. Fajardo gives this play with the latter title

Nuevo Pitágoras (El) Schack, II, 340, apparently otherwise unknown Very doubtful

Nuevos (Los) Sucesos del Gran Duque de Moscovia.—With this title there is a MS in the Cat B N No 2416 Rocamora, 964. (See *El Gran Duque de Muscovia*)

Nunca Mucho costó Poco —XXII, Zaragoza, 1630, MS (Osuna), copy Cat B N No 2422 This is the secondary title of Ruiz de Alarcon's famous comedia, *Los Pechos privilegiados*, in which he retorts upon Lope see the text, pp. 331-333 But, except as regards the title, there is no resemblance between the two plays

O

Obediencia laureada (La) y Primer Carlos de Hungría —P², VI, H. IV, 165; S (Brit Mus, J R C and Gayangos) MS. copy (Osuna), Cat B N No 2426 Rocamora, 968

Obras son Amores —P², XI S (Brit Mus and J R C) with the additional title of *Y no buenas razones*. MS copy (Parma)

Ocasion perdida (La) —P, II, MS copy (Parma, Osuna) Cat. B N No 2436 Rocamora, 974. There is no *figura del donayre* in this play

Octava Maravilla (La) —P², X MS. copy (Parma).

Once mil Virgenes (Las) Santa Ursula Mes. Rom M. (anon). Doubtful

Orden (La) de la Redencion y Virgen de los Remedios MS. copy (Holland). Doubtful La Barrera conjectures that the Holland MS. may be Calderon's lost play, *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* A comedia with a somewhat similar title—*La Esclavitud mas dichosa y Virgen de los Remedios*—is printed in Escog XXV and as a *suelta* with the names of Francisco de Villegas and Jusepe Rojo.

*Otomano famoso (El) —P.

P

Paces (Las) de los Reyes, y Judia de Toledo —P²; VII; H. III., 567; Acad VIII

*Padres engañados (Los) —P

Padrino desposado (El).—P, P²; II MS. copy (Parma). (According to Fajardo, an alternative title of *Argolan, Rey de Alcalá*, q.v.) This play has no *figura del donayre*

*Paje (El) de la Reina —P

*Palabra (La) mal cumplida.—P.

Palacio confuso (El) —Dif XXVIII. (Huesca, 1634). Nicolas Antonio states that it was printed in Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640. It occurs as a *suelta* (Duran), and in Escog. XXVIII (1667), attributed to Mescua It has been further asserted by La Barrera that this play was included in Part XXVIII (*extravagante*), Zaragoza, 1639. Fajardo, however, does not quote it as appearing in Part XXVIII, *extravagante*. He ascribes the comedia to Lope and his entry continues "En su Parte XXIV antigua. Fx" This is meant to convey that Fajardo himself had a copy of the book in his collection, and the volume would appear to be the vanished Part XXIV, Madrid, 1640, mentioned by Nicolas Antonio. Fajardo repeats the title, followed by Mira de Mescua's name, as occurring in "Parte XXVIII Varios"—meaning Escog. XXVIII—where in fact it is found La Barrera would seem to have confused Parte XXVIII, *extravagante*, Zaragoza, 1639, with Escog XXVIII, Madrid, 1667.

Palacios (Los) de Galiana —XXIII. In the last verses the alternative title of *Amores de Carlos* is given This play has no *figura del donayre*

Paloma (La) de Toledo.—H, Dif XXIX, Huesca, 1634; Acad. X; MS copy (Osuna), Cat B N. No 2490. Rocamora, 987. Chorley notes in his collection a fragment of Dif XXIX, Huesca, 1634, ff 121-140

Paraiso (El) de Laura y Florestas de Amor —MS copy (Holland, dated 1680). Doubtful H. gives *El Paraiso de Laura* and *Las Florestas de Amor* as two distinct and separate plays, both anonymous.

Pasar (Al) del Arroyo.—(See Al passar del Arroyo)

Pastor Fido (El) —M; H.

Pastor Soldado (El).—MS copy (Parma). (See Restori, p. 30.)

Pastoral (La) de Albania —P (See Pastoral de Jacinto)

Pastoral albergue (El) —Comedias inéd. 1873 MS. copy Cat. B. N. No 2526

Pastoral (La) de los Celos —P. (See Pastoral de Jacinto.)

*Pastoral encantada (La) —P.

Pastoral (La) de Jacinto.—XVIII (P Los Jacintos; GL. 1617, *El Celoso de si mismo ó Los Jacintos.*) Ticknor says it occurs as a *suelta* with the title *La Selva de Albania y Celoso de si mismo.* MS copy (Parma) and Cat B N No 2527 It is the same as *La Pastoral de Albania* and *La Pastoral de los Celos.* Acad. V. This play has no *figura del donayre.*

*Pastoral (La) de la Siega.—P.

Pedro Carbonero —P; XIV. (See El Cordobes Valeroso.)

Pedro de Urdemalas.—P²; S. (Duran). Assigned by Huerta to Montalvan, and Schack to Lope the *sueltas* bear either name indifferently.

Cervantes wrote a play with this title, also, *un ingenio*, possibly Cañizares. Menéndez y Pelayo attributes the piece to Lope, and has printed it in Acad XI. But perhaps *Las Burlas de P. U.* played by Vallejo's company in 1622 See Schack, *Nachtrage*, p. 67.

Peligros (Los) de la Ausencia.—XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641; H. II., 405. S. (Gayangos).

Peña (La) de Francia.—H; M. Doubtful. Fajardo states that it was printed in the volume of Comedias by Lope and others, Seville. A fragment survives in the Osuna collection, Tomo 133 (See Nuestra Señora de la Peña, etc.)

Peraltas (Los)—P, P²; mentioned by Lope in the dedication of *El Serafin humano*, XIX.

Perdicion (La) de España, y Descendencia de los Ceballos—P. Fajardo mentions it as a *suelta* entitled *Pérdida de España y Descendencia de los Ceballos* [Perhaps *La Pérdida de España* played by Pedro Valdés in 1622. Shack, *Nachtrage*, p 66

Pérdida honrosa (La) ó los Caballeros de San Juan.—Acad. XII; MS. copy Cat. B N No. 2575.

Pérdidas (Las) del que juega.—M (anon); H, MS copy (Osuna), Cat. B. N No. 2576, and (Holland).

*Peregrina (La)—P

Peribañez y el Comendador de Ocaña—P² (Comendador de Ocaña); IV, H. III., 281; Acad X; MS copy (Holland).

Perro (El) del Hortelano—P²; XI, H I., 341, S (Brit. Mus. and J R. C) Escog. XXV It is found as a *suelta*, ascribed to Moreto, with the title *La Condesa de Belflor*. With the title *Amar por ver Amar* it exists in MS dated 1659, in the library of Lord Holland

Perseguido (El)—P, I; and Lisboa, 1603. (See Carlos el Perseguido.)

Piadoso Aragonés (El).—XXI; Acad. X; MS autograph (Osuna), dated Madrid, August 17, 1626, Cat. B N. No. 2607 Rocamora, 1028.

Piadoso Veneciano (El)—P², XXIII, H III, 547.

Piedad ejecutada (La)—XVIII This play has no *figura del donayre*, though two minor characters in Act I—D. Juan Mendoza's page and Bustamente (the *guarda damas*)—approach the *gracioso* type.

*Pimenteles y Quiñones.—P Mes. Rom identifies this with *La Piedad ejecutada*, and Chorley thinks that he may be right.

Pleito (El) por la Honra, ó El Valor de Fernandico—H; Comedias Nuevas, Barcelona, 1630; S (Brit Mus, J. R C, Holland); Acad. VIII; MS. copy (Osuna), Cat B N. No. 2644. It is the second part of Lope's *La desdichada Estefanía*, which precedes it in the volume of Barcelona, 1630. The alternative title is given in the closing verses.

Pleytos (Los) de Inglaterra.—P (El Pleyto de Inglaterra) XXIII. There is no *figura del donayre* in this play.

Pobreza estimada (La).—P; XVIII; H. IV., 137. MS. copy (Parma).

Pobreza no es Vileza.—XX; H. IV., 233; Acad. XII. According to the last verses the alternative title is *Riqueza mal nacida*. Though the play has no *figura del donayre*, it can scarcely belong to Lope's early period, for the writer satirizes *culteranismo* in his dedication to Esquilache

Pobrezas (Las) de Reynaldos.—P; VII This play has no *figura del donayre*

Poder (El) en el Discreto —H. (anon); MS. autog., Madrid, May 8, 1623, Cat B N No 2649 Rocamora, 1045 See text p. 303 and *n*

Poder vencido (El), y Amor premiado —P²; X. MS copy (Parma).

*Poncella (La) de Francia —P

Ponces (Los) de Barcelona —P²; X MS copy (Parma). The closing verses give the title as *El Jardín de Amor*.

Por la Puente, Juana —XXI According to Fajardo this was included in Parte XXVII, *extravagante*, Barcelona, 1633; H. II, 541, S. (Brit Mus and J R C.)

Pórceles (Los) de Murcia —P²; VII, Acad XI

Porfia (La) hasta el Temor —According to Nicolas Antonio this was in Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640, and Fajardo gives it as in Parte XXVIII, *extravagante*, Zaragoza, 1639, Dif XXVIII, H II, 311, MS copy Cat B N No 2674 and No 420 S. (Parma), 'very ancient'. "Representóla Roque de Figueroa"

Porfiando vence Amor —In *Vega del Parnaso*, 1637, Obras Suelt IX, H II, 237. Fajardo gives it as being in Parte V of Lope, printed —not at Seville, but—at Madrid

Porfiar hasta morir (Macías el Enamorado) —XXIII; H. III, 95; Acad X

Portuguesa (La) y Dicha del Forastero —P² (Dicha del Forastero) Escog III, H II, 155; MS. copy (J R C)

Postrer Godo (El) de España —P²; VIII, printed also in XXV, with the title *El último Godo*, Acad VII

Prados (Los) de Leon —P², XVI, H IV, 453, Acad VII

Premio (El) del bien hablar —XXI, H I, 493, S. (Brit. Mus and J R C)

Premio (El) de la Hermosura —XVI Naturally there is no *figura del donayre* in this play a *Fiesta Real* written by command of Philip III's consort, Queen Margarita (d 1611) Among the actors were the Infantes, Ana (b 1601) afterwards wife of Louis XIII, and Philip afterwards Philip IV. (b 1605) "las dos mejores personas en el mundo," as the courtly poet is careful to tell us.

Premio (El) en la misma Pena —M, H According to La Barrera this is *La Merced en el Castigo*, but Chorley is inclined to doubt it. See his note on the latter play

Primer Carlos (El) de Hungría —(See La Obediencia laureada.)

Primer Fajardo (El) —VII. P (Los Fajardos?); Acad. X. Chorley thinks that *El Primer Fajardo* may be a different play from that noted in P, for the piece printed in Parte VII is concerned only

with the first who bore the name. There is an unmistakable *gracioso* in the person of the Moor Zulemilla.

Primer Rey (El) de Castilla.—P ; XVII ; Acad VIII MS. copy (Parma).

Primera Culpa del Hombre (La) —H ; (See La Creacion del Mundo)

Primera Informacion (La) —XXII, Madrid, 1635 ; Acad. IX

Primero Rey de Persia.—(See Contra Valor no hay Desdicha.)

*Primero Medecis (El) —P. (See Quinta de Florencia)

Primeros Mártires (Los) de Japon —Acad. V

Princesa (La) de los Montes —(See Satisfacer callando).

Príncipe Carbonero (El) —M ; H

Príncipe despeñado (El) —VII , Tomo 131 (Osuna), Acad. VIII. MS. autograph, dated November 27, 1602, with *censuras* dated from 1607 to 1611, Cat B N No 2726. There is no *figura del donayre* in this play which, so Chorley thought, may be identical with *El Despeñado* noted in P^2

Príncipe Escanderbeg (El) —Fajardo names Lope as the writer, and states that the comedia appeared "en su Parte XXVIII, *extravagante*" This is apparently the only ground for attributing the play to Lope The authorship of this piece is doubtful, and the ascriptions in print are more than usually confusing Thus in Dif XXVIII, Huesca, 1634 it bears the name of Luis Velez de Guevara ; in a *suelta* it bears the name of Belmonte It also appears in Escog XLVIII under the expanded title of *El gran Jorge Castriote y Príncipe Escanderberg* here it is ascribed to Velez de Guevara in the text, and to Belmonte in the *Tabla.*

Príncipe ignorante (El) —M , Fajardo , H Possibly *El Príncipe inocente* noted in P. Played by Avendaño's company in 1622 Schack, *Nachtrage*, p 67

*Príncipe inocente (El) —P

Príncipe de Marruecos (El) —P , perhaps La Tragedia del Rey don Sebastian y Bautismo del Principe de Marruécos of Parte XI ?

*Príncipe melancólico (El) —P.

Príncipe perfeto (El) ; Parte I —XI —Parte II, XVIII , H II , 93 and 117 ; Acad X MS aut (of Part I), dated December 23, 1614, and license dated *Zaragoza*, November 28, 1616, Cat B N. No. 2733 Part II, with the added title . *Como ha de ser un buen Rey*, MS copy, dated Jan 16, 1616, with a license dated Jaen, October 14, 1621, permitting Alonso Riquelme, *autor de Comedias*, to represent *Como ha de ser un buen Rey, y Principe perfecto* (Osuna) The information given concerning the manuscripts is contradictory. Gallardo asserted that the autographs of both Parts survived, and were dated 1614 and 1616 respectively Rocamora states that the two Osuna MSS (1074, 1075) are autographs. Paz y Melia (Cat. B. N 2733-34) declares that both are copies, and that what purports to be the author's signature in Part I is merely an imitation of Lope's hand, probably by Philipe Conte de Montoya whose writing appears on the title-page of Act III. There are MS. copies of both parts at Parma.

Príncipe trocado (El) —(See El Naufragio prodigioso).

*Prision (La) de Muza —P (See Muza furioso)

Prision (La) sin Culpa —P; VIII MS. copy (Parma). There is no *figura del donayre* in this play

Prodigio (El) de Etiopia —H (Santa Teodora), Tomo 132 (Osuna); S (J R C and Holland), Acad IV According to Fajardo this play was printed in Parte XXVI, *extravagante*, Zaragoza, 1645

Prodigio (El) de India, San Josafat Mes Rom Doubtful. it may possibly be another title of *Barlan y Josafa*

Prospera Fortuna (La) de D Bernardo de Cabrera —M (anon), XXIX, doubtful By Mira de Mescua?

Prudencia (La) en el castigo —M, H, Escog XLIV, with Rojas Zorrilla's name, S (J. R C) with Lope's name. Chorley is strongly inclined to ascribe this play to Lope.

Prueba (La) de los Amigos —P², Comedias inéd 1873, MS. autograph, signed by Lope at Toledo, September 12, 1604, Cat B N No 2762

Prueba (La) de los Ingenios —IX MS copy (Parma), with the added title y Laberinto de Amor This addition is mentioned in the closing verses of the play

Prueba (La) de la Paciencia —(See El Exemplo de Casadas)

*Psiques y Cupido —P

Purgatorio (El) en la Vida —(See El mayor Prodigio)

Pusoseme el Sol, salióme la Luna Santa Teodora —Dif XXIX, Huesca, 1634, S (J R C). In both impressions the play is ascribed to Lope La Barrera follows Medel in attributing it to Claramonte The autograph was alleged to be in Duran's collection

Q

Quando Lope quiere, quiere —H, (see El Castigo sin Venganza)

Querer mas y sufrir menos —Tomo 131 (Osuna), *Parte XXIX de Lope y otros*, Huesca, 1634, S (J R C)

Querer la propia Desdicha —XV, H II, 269, MS re-cast of this play, with the additional title of *La Muger singular*, noted in Cat B N p 618

Quien ama no haga Fieros —XVIII, H I, 433; MS copy (Parma, Osuna), Cat B N No 2797 Rocamora, 1097, gives 'Peros,' instead of Fieros.

Quien bien ama tarde olvida —XXII, Zaragoza, 1630, MS copy (Parma, Osuna), dated 1624, Cat B N No 2798 Rocamora, 1098

Quien mas no puede —P², XVII, MS autog dated Madrid, September 1, 1616, in the possession of Mr John Murray, London. MS copy (Parma)

Quien todo lo quiere —XXII, Madrid, 1635 MS copy (Osuna), Cat B N No 2810 Rocamora, 1103.

Quinas (Las) de Portugal —P, Tirso wrote a play with the same title, a MS of which, signed by him on March 8, 1638, is in the Bib Nac See Cat B N No 2813 (See also En la mayor lealtad)

Quinta (La) de Florencia —P², II MS. copy (Parma)

R

Ramilletes de Madrid —P², (see Las dos Estrellas trocadas) MS copy (Parma)

Ramirez (Los) de Arellano —XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641, S (Gayangos); Acad IX, MS copy Cat B N No 2824

Remedio (El) en la Desdicha —XIII, H III, 133, Acad XI Chorley thinks that *Abindarraez y Narvaez* (P) may be an alternative title It is an early play "saquela en mis tiernos años de la prosa de Montemayor" But Lope apparently retouched it before publication, for the servant Nuño, though a brave soldier, inclines decidedly to the *gracioso* type

Renegado de Amor —(See El Argel fingido)

Resistencia honrada (La) —H, (see La Condesa Matilde)

Rey Bamba (El) —H, I, (see Vida y Muerte del Rey Vamba)

*Rey (El) de Frisia —P

Rey fingido (El), y Amores de Sancha Mes Rom M (anon). Doubtful

Rey (El) por Semejanza —Doubtful, by Juan de Grajales? Cat B N. No 2911

Rey (El) por Trueque —MS copy (Duran), Cat B N No 2912

Rey (El) sin Reino —XX

Rey don Sebastian (El) —H, (see La Tragedia del Rey don Sebastian)

*Reina (La) de Lesbos —P

Reina doña Maria (La) —H, Acad VIII, the MS formerly in the Osuna collection, seems to have disappeared The autog MS was in the possession of Prince Metternich, according to Wolff, but Gallardo writes "no me paració de letra de Lope"

Reina Juana (La) de Nápoles —VI, S (Brit Mus and J R C) Escog VII, with the title *El Monstruo de la Fortuna*, and ascribed to three wits, S (*El Marido bien ahorcado*), Acad VI.

*Reina loca (La) —P

*Rico Avariento (El) —P There is a comedia by Mescua so entitled in the collection of *Autos Sacramentales, con quatro Comedias nuevas y sus Loas y Entremeses*, Madrid, 1655 La Barrera, who admits that he had never seen this work, distinguishes (*Catalogo*, p 709) between *El Rico Avariento* and the *Vida y muerte de San Lazaro*, these are really alternative titles of one and the same play Under the second title the piece is reprinted in Escog IX, and here also it bears Mescua's name

Rico y Pobre trocados —(See Las Flores de Don Juan)

*Roberto (El).—P ; M

Robo (El) de Dina.—XXIII, Acad. III ; MS. copy Cat. B. N. No. 2924.

Roma abrasada —XX; H IV., 279 ; Acad. VI. The last verses give the alternative title of *Las Crueldades de Neron* Possibly this may be identical with the *Neron cruel* noted in P

*Romulo y Remo —P

*Roncesvalles.—P.

Rufian Castrucho (El) —P ; (see El Galan Castrucho)

Ruiseñor (El) de Sevilla.—P², XVII ; MS copy (Parma) Cat. B. N. No. 2948.

Rústico (El) del Cielo (El Santo Hermano Francisco).—XVIII ; Acad V. M S. copy (Parma)

S

Saber (El) por no saber, y Vida de San Julian de Alcalá —XXIII ; Acad V

Saber (El) puede dañar —XXIII ; H III

Salida (La) de Egipto —Schack, Vol II, p 321, says that this drama forms a trilogy with *El Robo de Dina* and *Los Trabajos de Jacob*. (See Los Trabajos de Jacob)

*Salteador agraviado (El) —P Mes. Rom gives the title as *El Salteador agradecido*.

San Adrian y Santa Natalia —P²

San Agustin (El divino Africano) —P², XVIII ; MS copy (Duran), Cat. B N. No 3004 The Duran MS was reported to be an autograph, but this would seem to be an error.

San Andres Carmelita —P

San Angel Carmelita —P². Perhaps identical with the foregoing.

San Antonio de Padua.—P².

San Basilio.—MS (Holland) ; (see La gran columna fogosa)

San Benito de Palermo.—(See El Santo Negro Rosambuco)

San Diego de Alcalá —Escog III, S. (Brit Mus ; J R C and Holland) H IV, 515, Acad V

San Francisco.—(See El Serafin humano).

San Ginés Representante —(See Lo fingido Verdadero.)

San Ildefonso.—(See El Capellan de la Virgen)

San Isidro Labrador de Madrid (y Victoria de Las Navas de Tolosa por el Rey D. Alfonso).—P² ; VII, Escog. XXVIII, Acad. IV ; MS. copy Cat. B N. No. 3013 A play entitled *San Isidro Labrador de Madrid y Victoria de Las Navas de Tolosa por el Rey D. Alfonso : San Segundo* is noted in the *Inventario*, p. 104. Chorley, assuming it to be a different play from that in Escog XXVIII, marks it as doubtful

San Isidro.—(See La Niñez and La Juventud de San Isidro.)

San Jerónimo.—(See El Cardenal de Belen.)

San Josafat, el Prodigio de la India. Mes Rom , H (anon). Doubtful. It may, however, be another title for *Barlan y Josafá*

San Juan de Dios.—(See Juan de Dios)

San Julian —(See El Animal profeta.)

San Julian de Alcalá de Henares (La Vida de San Julian, lego de Alcalá). —(See El Saber por no saber) —Part XXIII , Acad V ; MS. copy (Osuna), Cat B N No 3018

*San Julian de Cuenca —P.

San Martin —P²

San Nicolas de Tolentino —XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641 , Acad IV S (Gayangos) The last verses give the alternative title of *El Santo de los Milagros*

San Pablo, Vaso de eleccion —H Sancho Rayon's MS copy is entitled *Vaso de Eleccion San Pablo*

San Pedro Nolasco —(See Vida de San Pedro Nolasco)

*San Roque —P

San Segundo de Avila —P ; Acad IV , MS copy dated August 12, 1594 Cat B N. No. 545.

*San Tirso de España —P

Santa Brígida —M , H See *La Limpieza no Manchada* —XIX

Santa Casilda —H , MS copy (Osuna), Cat B N No 3029, where the title-page reads "de Phelipe de Medina Pores" This name is erased and Lope's is substituted Rocamora, 1201 The second title of Tirso de Molina's comedia *Los Lagos de San Vicente* (printed in his Parte V) is *Santa Casilda*

Santa Liga (La) —XV , P La Batalla Naval ; Acad XII There is no *figura del donayre* in this play "Representóla Pinedo"

Santa Polonia —M , H

Santa Teodora —M , H. (See El Prodigio de Etiopia)

Santa Teresa de Jesus —H , Acad V ; (see La Madre Teresa de Jesus). With this latter title, and the added one *su Vida y Muerte*, it is noted in P² and there is a MS copy (Osuna) see Cat B N No. 3489 MS copy (Parma) Chorley assumed this to be a different play from that entitled *La bienaventurada Madre Santa Teresa de Jesus* and ascribed to Velez de Guevara in *Doce Comedias de varios Autores*, Tortosa, 1638

Santa Ursula y las once mil virgenes Doubtful. (See Once mil virgenes)

Santiago el Verde.—XIII ; H II , 191 MS. autog. 1615 (of only a portion) See *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1893 MS copy (Osuna), Cat. B N No 3039 Rocamora, 1212

Santo Negro Rosambuco (El) de la Ciudad de Palermo —P². Given with the title of *Vida y muerte del Santo Negro llamado San Benito de Palermo* in the *Tabla* of *Comedias de Lope de Vega y otros Autores, Parte III* Barcelona, 1612, etc Acad IV The Osuna MS. bearing this title is ascribed to Lope in Rocamora, 1214 , Paz y Melia, Cat B. N No 2290, says the play contained in this MS is by Luis Velez de Guevara. A MS copy at Parma ascribes it to Lope.

Santo Niño (El) de la Guardia. Segundo Cristo —MS copy Cat B. N. No. 3041 The autograph was said to be in Duran's collection. (See El Niño inocente de la Guardia)

Santo Tomas de Aquino —P², M.

*Sarracinos y Aliatares —P

Satisfacer callando (S Holland), y Princesa de los Montes, ó Los Hermanos encontrados —Escog VI, Zaragoza, 1653 Doubtful. In Escog XXXVII (1671), it is attributed posthumously to Moreto, and again in his works, Vol III, 1681 But Chorley fails to see any trace of Moreto's manner in this play

Secretario (El) de si mismo —P², VI, MS copy (Osuna), of acts I and II, Cat B N No 3057

Selva confusa (La) —H, Tomo 133 (Osuna) Schack says it is not by Lope, and thinks it may be the lost *El Certamen de Amor y Celos* of Calderon La Barrera believes that this is a mistake, on the ground that the above play appeared in Parte XXVII, *extravagante*, Barcelona, 1633, while Calderon's drama was not written till 1640 But the point cannot, so Chorley thinks, be decided so peremptorily His contention is that the existence of these *Partes extravagantes* is assumed mainly on Fajardo's assertion, and on the corroborative evidence of isolated fragments which formed part of the Osuna collection Fajardo may (or may not) have given the exact date of each of these *Partes extravagantes* Until his absolute accuracy is established in every instance, we can only speak with reserve concerning the year of issue, and, meanwhile, no argument based solely on the current chronology of these *extravagantes* can be accepted as decisive Calderon's *La Selva Confusa*, of which an autograph is mentioned in Cat B N No 3071, is said to be a re cast of *La Selva confusa*

Selva (La) de Albania —(See La Pastoral de Jacinto)

Selva (La) sin Amor —Laurel de Apolo (1630), Acad V

Selvas y Bosques de Amor —XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633 MS copy (Parma)

Sembrar (El) en buena Tierra —P², X, S (J R C), MS autog Brit Mus, dated January 6, 1616, copy (Parma and Osuna), Cat B N No 3073 Rocamora, 1228

*Semiramis (La) —P

Serafin humano (El) —San Francisco XIX, Acad IV MS copy (Parma) This is Part I only possibly Part II was the piece mentioned by Medel—*Glorias de San Francisco*

Serrana (La) de Burgos —P² (Parts I and II)

Serrana (La) de Tormes —P, XVI MS copy (J R C) Lope says that this is an early play, but he would seem to have retouched it before publication, for the character of Tarreño Capigorron might pass as a *figura del donayre*

Serrana (La) de la Vera —P, VII, Acad XII The autograph (dated 1603) of Velez de Guevara's play with this title,—the earliest known of his comedias—is noted in Cat B N No 3096 The discovery of this autograph is a testimony to Chorley's

critical acumen · the extravagance of Leonarda's character, and the irrelevancy of several scenes, led him forty years ago to reject the ascription of the work to Lope.

Servir á Buenos —XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641; H II., 425, S. (Brit. Mus and Gayangos).

Servir á Señor discreto —P²; XI; H IV, 69. MS. copy (Parma).

Servir con mala Estrella —P², VI; H IV, 47 S (Brit Mus and J. R. C). Chorley notes that this play may be regarded as the prelude to *La desdichada Estefanía* · it deals with the loves of King Alfonso VIII (1106-1151) and Doña Sancha, whose daughter Estefanía is

¡Si no vieran las Mujeres!—In *Vega del Parnaso*, and (according to Fajardo) in Parte V of Lope, printed at Seville; *Obras Sueltas*, Vol X; H II, 575, MS copy Cat B N No 3106 S (Brit. Mus and Gayangos)

*Sierra (La) de Espadan—P

Sierras (Las) de Guadalupe —H; Tomo 131 (Osuna), S (J R. C and Parma)

Siete Infantes (Los) de Lara —(See El Bastardo Mudarra) Fajardo says that this play of Lope's appeared "en su Parte IV antigua."

Silencio agradecido (El) —Dif XXXI (anon), fragment of this volume (J. R C) ascribed to Lope by Gamez and Casal, apparently with the assent of La Barrera (*Catálogo*, p 583 and 685) Munch-Bellinghausen suspects it to be the work of Francisco Toribio Jimenez who collected the plays in Dif XXXI A good play; but, in Chorley's opinion, too artificial for Lope

Sin Secreto no ay Amor —H; S (Rennert), ascribed to Montalvan; MS autograph, Brit. Mus, dated July 18, 1626 Published in Baltimore, 1894, by Hugo A Rennert.

Soberbia (La) de Aman —(See La hermosa Ester)

Sol parado (El) —P; XVII; Acad IX According to Fajardo, another title of this play is *Ascendencia de los Maestres de Santiago* Mariana refers to the miracles, V, 120, lib xiii, cap 20 This play has no *figura del donayre*

Soldado Amante (El).—P; XVII MS. copy (Parma)

Sortija (La) del Olvido —XII MS copy (Parma)

Sucesos (Los) de Don Beltran de Aragon —(See Las Mudanzas de la Fortuna)

Sueños hay que son Verdades —H; (See Los Trabajos de Jacob)

Suerte (La) de los Reyes, ó Los Carboneros —P, H, MS copy (Duran) of last two acts in Cat B N. No 3192

Sufrimiento (El) del Honor.—H, Dif XXXII Fragment of this volume (J R. C. and Holland), wrongly described as a *suelta*. This play has no *figura del donayre*

Sufrimiento premiado (El) —P A play with this title appears in the second volume of Montalvan's *Comedias* (1638)

T

Tanto hagas quanto pagues.—H; S. (Brit. Mus. Arl., J. R. C., and Parma). In the third and posthumous volume of Moreto's *Comedias*, Madrid, 1681, this piece is included under the title of *La Traicion Vengada*. As a *suelta*, entitled *No ay Plaza que no se llegue ni Deuda que no se pague*, it is attributed to Jacinto Cordero: see Restori, p. 15. Chorley inclined to favour the ascription to Lope.

Tellos (Los) de Meneses.—XXI; H I., 67, Acad VII. S. (J. R. C.) entitled *Valor, Lealtad y ventura de los Tellos de Meneses*.

Templo (El) de Salomon.—M, H Fajardo likewise notes it, and further mentions a play by Alvaro Cubillo de Aragon entitled *El mejor Rey del mundo, y Templo de Salomon* which he reports as being "en la Parte V de Lope, impresa en Sevilla."

Tercera Orden (La) de San Francisco.—Acad V. Written by Lope in collaboration with Montalvan (see the latter's *Fama póstuma*) MS. copy Cat. B. N. No 3227, entitled *Los Terceros de San Francisco*

Testigo (El) contra si —P²; VI.

Testimonio vengado (El).—P, H III, 403; Acad VII. (See Como se vengan los Nobles.) Chorley, as already observed, does not consider the two plays as identical.

Tirano castigado (El) —P; P²; IV This play has no *figura del donayre*.

Toledano (El) y Celoso vengado —MS copy (Osuna), Cat B. N. No 3270 Huerta cites it as *El Toledano vengado*, and so it stands in Rocamora, 1285. There is a MS. copy at Parma entitled *Trato de Toledo, Toledano vengado*, which may perhaps be the same play.

*Toma (La) de Alora —P.

Toma (La) del Longo por el Marques de Santa Cruz.—P², M. (See La Nueva Vitoria del Marques de Santa Cruz in Parte XXV.)

Toma (La) de Toledo —(See El Hijo por Engaño)

Toma (La) de Valencia —(See Las Hazañas del Cid) This play is almost certainly not by Lope see pp. 157 and 424

*Tonto (El) de la Aldea.—P.

Torneos (Los) de Aragon —P; IV S. (Gayangos). This play has no *figura del donayre*.

*Torneos (Los) de Valencia —P.

*Torre (La) de Hércules.—P

Trabajos (Los) de Jacob, ó Sueños hay que son Verdades —M; H; XXII, Madrid, 1635, Second Part only See Schack, Vol II, p. 321 (See *La Salida de Egipto*) Under the second title it has been ascribed to Calderon MS copy (Osuna) Cat. B. N. No 3294. Rocamora, 1300. Acad III. S. (Brit. Mus).

Tragedia (La) por los celos —According to Nicolas Antonio, this play appeared in the vanished Parte XXIV, Madrid, 1640.

*Tragedia (La) de Aristea.—P.

Tragedia (La) del Rey don Sebastian, y Bautismo del Príncipe de Marruecos —P, XI; Acad XII MS copy (Parma) A few jests are assigned to Zulema and to the villano Alfonso, but there is no true *figura del donayre* in the play The baptism took place in 1593, says Casiano Pellicer, who adds that in 1602 the Prince frequented the Madrid theatres Was it with the object of seeing the representation of his conversion? He died, as Pinelo informs us, while serving with the Spanish army in Flanders.

Traicion bien acertada (La) —P, I

Trato (El) muda Costumbres —M, H According to Fajardo this play appeared in Part XXVIII, *extraordinaria*, Zaragoza, 1639 Mendoza wrote a comedia with the same title, and Chorley believes that this is the piece wrongly ascribed to Lope by Medel and Huerta

Tres Diamantes (Los) —P, II, S (Brit Mus Arl) This play has no *figura del donayre* In impressions of Part II a passage in Act III is transposed It occurs in the scene between Lisardo and Enrique, after the verse—"*En fin ya somos casados*" At this point Crispin comes forward with the question—"¿*Quien llama*?" This scene —as far as the words, "Esté en buen hora"—should be placed earlier, at the end of the colloquy between the Duke and Leonato This closes with Leonato's words—"*ha de la casa, ha gente*"—which give Crispin the cue for his entry and question—"¿*Quien llama*?" Fitzmaurice Kelly and Ormsby indicate a precisely similar transposition of the text in *Don Quixote*, Part I, Chapter XIX see the Introduction to their sumptuous reprint of the *princeps* (London, 1898-1899)

Triunfo (El) de la Humildad, y Soberbia abatida —M, X MS copy (Parma) MS copy (Holland), entitled *La Humildad y la Soberbia* This title is also given in the *Tabla* of Part X (See above, La Humildad y la Soberbia)

*Triunfo (El) de la Limosna —P

*Triunfos (Los) de Octaviano —P

*Truhan (El) del Cielo, y loco Santo —Acad V MS copy (Parma) See Ristori, p 32

Turco (El) en Viena —P (See El cerco de Viena)

U

Ultimo Godo (El) —XXV, (see El postrer Godo de España).

Un pastoral albergue —MS copy (Duran) Cat B N No 2526 A note states that this play ran for eighteen days at Seville Paz y Melia questions the ascription to Lope

Urson y Valentin —P, (see El Nacimiento de Urson, etc)

*Urson (Segunda Parte de) —P

V

*Valeriana (La).—P.
Valeroso Catalán (El).—Acad. VIII.
Valiente Céspedes (El)—XX; S (Brit. Mus. Arl.) Acad XII. S. (Arl. Brit. Mus). This is the First Part only. The closing verses contain a promise to continue the story till the hero's death "en la Guerra de Granada" (1569).
Valiente Juan de Heredia (El).—H, MS. copy (Osuna), Cat. B. N. No 3399. S. (J R C) Rocamora, 1399
Valor (El) de Fernandico.—(See El Pleito por la Honra)
Valor (El) de Malta.—Acad. XII; MS. copy (Duran), Cat B. N. No 3409
Valor (El) de las Mugeres.—XVIII. MS. copy (Parma).
Valor, Lealtad y Fortuna de los Tellos de Meneses.—P; H H I., 511. In two parts The first is printed in Part XXI, under the title *Los Tellos de Meneses* The second appeared as a suelta (Brit Mus., J R C., and Vienna). See Munch-Bellinghausen, p. 75
Valor perseguido (El), y Traicion vengada—Tom. 132 (Osuna). Doubtful. By Montalvan?
Vandos (Los) de Sena—XXI Tomo 131 (Osuna), ff. 114-138 a fragment of this Part
Vaquero (El) de Moraña—P; P², VIII, Acad VII According to Sarmento (*Semanario Erudito*, V, p. 175) these Vaqueros were neighbours of the Maragatos, and of the same origin, but they do not supply the theme of this comedia Here the *vaquero* is the Conde D. Manrique who becomes enamoured of King Bermudo's sister, is imprisoned, escapes, disguises himself as a *villano*, and is finally pardoned on the intercession of the Conde de Castilla. This play has a *figura del donayre*
Vargas (Los) de Castilla—H According to Fajardo this comedia appeared in Part XXVII, *extravagante*, Barcelona, 1633. A fragment (ff 127-146), containing the play, was in the Osuna and Chorley collections, and this is thought to be part of the *extravagante* above named Acad X, MS copy Cat B. N. No 3422.
Varona castellana (La)—P, IX; Acad VIII MS copy (Parma) The character of Ordoño, the "escudero cobarde," amounts to a *figura del donayre*
Vaso (El) de Eleccion—H; (see San Pablo). Acad III. MS. copy (Parma)
Vellocino (El) de Oro—XIX; Acad. VI. MS copy (Parma).
Vencido Vencedor (El)—MS copy (Parma.)
Veneno Saludable (El).—P², II (See El Cuerdo Loco.).
Vengadora (La) de las Mugeres—XV; H. III., 507.
*Venganza (La) de Gayferos—P
Venganza venturosa (La).—P², X MS. copy (Parma).
Ventura (La) en la Desgracia.—Escog. XXVIII; S. (Duran).

Ventura (La) por el Sueño.—(See El Mérito en la Templanza.) Doubtful.
Ventura (La) sin buscalla —P²; XX.
Ventura (La) de la Fea.—M (anon) According to Fajardo this play appeared in Part XXVI, *extravagante*, Zaragoza, 1645 Chorley possessed the play (leaves 2-7 being missing) in what may have been a fragment of this Part
Ventura y Atrevimiento.—S. (J. R C., Duran).
Ver y no creer.—XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633; MS copy, with *aprobacion* of Dr. Luis Navarro, dated Zaragoza, August 25, 1619, Cat B. N. No 3464. This MS. appears to differ from that which was in Duran's collection.
Verdadera Amistad (La) —(See Amigos enojados.) Doubtful
Verdadero Amante (El) —P; XIV, H I, 1, Acad V. According to a MS cited by Vicente Salvá, this is also entitled *Gran Pastoral Belarda*.
*Viaje (El) del Hombre —P.
Vida (La) de San Julian de Alcalá —(See El Saber por no saber)
Vida (La) de San Pedro Nolasco —XXII; Acad V, MS copy Cat. B N. No 3479
Vida (La) y Muerte de Santa Teresa —H, (see Santa Teresa), MS. copy (Osuna), Cat. B N No. 3489 Rocamora, 1370.
Vida (La) y Muerte del Rey Bamba.—H, I, Acad VII (See El Rey Bamba) This play has no *figura del donayre*
Villana (La) de Getafe —XIV; MS copy (Holland) "Representóla Valdes" This play has a *figura del donayre*
*Villanesca (La) —P.
Villano (El) en su Rincon —P²; VII; H II, 135; Dif XLIV (Zaragoza, 1652), S (J. R. C) Escog XXXIII has a re-cast of this piece by Matos Fragoso under the amplified title of *El Sabio en su Retiro y Villano en su Rincon*.
Virgen (La) de los Remedios —H (anon) (See Orden de la Redencion)
Virtud, Pobreza y Muger.—P²; XX; H IV, 211
Vitoria (La) de la Honra —P²; XXI, Dif, XXXIII (Valencia, 1642, with the title of *Vitoria por la honra*) Chorley possessed the fragment of Dif XXXIII containing this play · it also survives in Tomo 132 (Osuna)
Vitoria (La) del Marques de Santa Cruz —XXV. This is the title of the play as given in the *Tabla*; in the text it appears as *Nueva Victoria del Marques de Santa Cruz*, and Medel repeats the latter form. P² notes it as *Toma de Longa por el Marques de Santa Cruz*.
Viuda, Casada y Doncella —M; P²; VII S. (J. R C and Osuna) ascribed to *un ingenio* and entitled *Doncella Viuda y Casada*
Viuda valenciana (La) —P; XIV; H I., 67; MS. copy Cat. B. N. No. 3525. This play has no *figura del donayre*.
Vizcaina (La).—P

Y

Yerros (Los) por amor —H ; S (J. R C. and Duran). See Hierros por amor.

Z

Zegries y Bencerrages.—(See Cegries y Benserrages)

Zelos (Los) de Rodamonte.—P ; MS (Osuna), Cat B N No 568. This play is ascribed to Mescua, in *Comedias de Varios*, Tortosa, 1638 , but La Barrera *Catalogo*, p 342 gives Rojas Zorrilla as the real author It is in his Part I, Madrid, 1640

*Zelos satisfechos (Los) —P.

Zelos sin ocasion —P², M.

Zeloso (El) de sí mismo —H ; (See La Pastoral de Jacinto)

Zirro (Cirro) hijo de la perra —M (anon) Fajardo asserts that this is identical with *Contra Valor no hay Desdicha*

Total number of titles, excluding alternates - -		637
Comedias (doubtful, or known not to be by Lope)	53	
Comedias known only through, P, P², M, H, and similar sources - - - - - - -	126	
		179
		458

P.S.—The following should have been included in the foregoing alphabetical list · they are reckoned in the totals

Príncipe (El) Don Carlos.—S. apparently earlier than 1620 it states that this comedia was performed by Olmedo. See Salvá, I, p. 639

Prudencia (La) en el Castigo—M. H. Escog XLIV under Rojas Zorrilla's name. According to Adolf Schaeffer, *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas* (Leipzig, 1890), I p. 116, Lope wrote two plays entitled *Como se vengan los Nobles*, one with the alternative title *El testimonio vengado*, the other with the sub-title *La Prudencia en el Castigo*. Schaeffer gives an analysis of the latter, a remarkable tragedy which in one episode bears a striking resemblance to Lope's *El Castigo sin venganza*

SUMMARY OF THE CATALOGUE OF COMEDIAS.

Comedias de Lope. I-XXV

Parts I, II, IV, VI-XXI, XXIII, XXIV, Zaragoza, 1641. 21 Parts each containing 12 plays - =		252	
XXII, Zaragoza, 1630. [8] (2 by other writers, 2 printed in other Parts) XXII, Madrid, 1635. [11] - - - - - - - - - =	19		
XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633 [8] (3 by other writers, 1 printed in XXII, Madrid) - - - -	8		
XXV (3 printed in previous Parts) - - -	9	36	
		—	288

Parts which commonly pass as III and V of the Comedias de Lope

III de Lope y otros [3] Flor de Dif Part V [1]	4	
Part XXIV, Madrid, 1640 No copy is known to exist It contained, apparently, 4 by other writers; 7 which exist in other Parts or in *sueltas*, 1 doubtful - - - - - -	—	
Vega del Parnaso [6] (Two of the 8 printed in the Comedias de Lope) Relacion de las fiestas, etc - - - - - - - -	8	
VI de Lope y otros (Besides one already printed in Part I, it contains one *doubtful* play) - -	1	
IV de Góngora y Lope (Contains 2 by Lope—printed in Part XVIII—and 1 *doubtful*) - -	2	
In the Fragments of *Extravagantes de Lope, Comedias de Sevilla*, etc., preserved in the Osuna Library (see pp. 437-38), there are, in addition to *sueltas*, Tomo 131 [1] Tomo 132 [5] Tomo 133 [7, one being *doubtful*] - - - - -	13	
	—	28
		316

Comedias de Varios Old Series (*Varios de afuera*)

Dif. XXVIII, 1634 —[7] 3 by other writers, 2 previously printed - - - - - - - - -	2
Lope y otros, 1634, Parte XXIX —[7] 1 by another writer	6
Dif. XXIX, 1636 —[2] previously printed - - -	—
Dif XXX, 1636 [1] previously printed - - -	—
Dif XXXI, 1638 [2] previously printed, 1 *doubtful* -	1
Dif XXXII, 1640 [2] - - - - - - -	2
Dif XXXIII, 1642 [3] 1 by another writer, 1 previously printed - - - - - - - -	1
Dif. XXXVII, 1647 - - - - - - - -	1
Dif. XLIV, 1652 [2] previously printed - - -	—
Lope y otros, II, 1630 [4] 1 previously printed - -	3

Varios, Tortosa, 1638. 1 by another writer[1] - -	—		
Varios de Lisboa, 1652. [2] 1 by another writer, 1 previously printed - - - - - -	—		
Varios. Am. 1647. 1 previously printed - - -	—		
	—		
	16		
Comedias de Varios. New Series (Varios de Madrid, etc.)			
Escogidas III - - - - - - - - - -	7		
Escogidas VI Zaragoza, 1653 5 (1 by another writer, 3 previously printed)- - - - - -	1		
Escogidas VII 1 previously printed - - - -	—		
Escogidas VII [Under the name of Mescua] 1 previously printed, and as of *tres ingenios* - -	1		
Escogidas X - - - - - - - - -	1		
Escogidas XV [Under the name of Zárate] 1 previously printed - - - - - - - - -	—		
Escogidas XVI [Under the name of Rojas] -	1		
Escogidas XVIII - - - - - - - -	1		
Escogidas XX. [Under the name of Rojas] - - -	1		
Escogidas XXV. [Under the name of Moreto] 1 previously printed - - - - - - - -	—		
Escogidas XXVIII 3 [1 under the name of Moreto] 2 previously printed - - - - - -	1		
Escogidas XXX [under the name of Moreto] - -	1		
Escogidas XXXVII [Under other names] 2 previously printed - - - - - - - -	—		
Escogidas XXXIX [Under other names] 2 previously printed - - - - - - - -	—		
Escogidas XLII [Under the name of Villegas] - -	1		
Escogidas XLIV [Under the name of Rojas] -	1		
C N Amst., 1726. 2 (1 previously printed) - -	1		
	—		
	18	34	
Sueltas (not printed in other forms, excluding doubtful ones . see pp 455-456)[2] - - - - -		27	
MS. inedited - - - - - - - - -		27	
Plays since published by the Spanish Academy and in other editions - - - - - - - - -		66	
		—	154
			470
Deducting doubtful plays above noted - - -			12
Total of Lope de Vega's known repertory (in print or in manuscript) - - - - - -			458

[1] According to La Barrera.

[2] In the 'Summary of the Catalogue of Sueltas I should have noted that the foll. numbers have been printed since Chorley's time Nos 2, 6, 7, 12, 15, 16, 19, 29, 32, 34, 37, 38, and to this list should be added *Las Hermanas Bandoleras* and *Ventura y Atrevimiento*, making 27 *sueltas* in all.

SUPPOSITITIOUS PLAYS ASCRIBED TO LOPE.[1]

A lo que obliga el ser rey —S (J. R. C.). By Guevara.
Adversa fortuna (La) del Caballero del Espíritu Santo.—H. III.[2] (L. O.). By Grajales. See Salvá, 1, p. 565.
Adversa fortuna (La) de Ruy Lopez Davalos.—H. V.[2] (L.O.). By Salustio del Poyo
Amor (El) invencionero (La Española de Florencia) —By Diego de Figueroa ?
Amor, pleyto y desafio —XXII and XXIV. Zaragoza, 1633.
This is Alarcon's *Ganar amigos*
Anticristo (El) —H By Alarcon.
Aristómenes Mesenio —(See El valeroso Aristómenes.)
Batalla (La) de los Dos —By Torre y Sevil ?
Bernardo del Carpio en Francia —By Don Lope de Liaño.
Boba discreta (La) —Cañizares ? See Salvá, 1, p 574.
Capitan Belisario (El).—Escog VI Zaragoza, 1653. (See El ejemplo mayor de desdicha.)
Cavallo (El) vos han muerto —S (J R C). By Guevara. *Si el cavallo*, etc See Salvá, 1, p. 576.
Celos con celos se curan —(See Zelos)
Celoso Extremeño —(See Zeloso.)
Como se engañan los ojos, ó el engaño en el anillo —By Juan de Villegas Fajardo mentions this play under the title of *Nadie crea lo que ve, ó Tambien se engaña la vista*
Conde (El) Don Pedro Velez.—By Guevara ?
Confusion (La) de Ungria —Fajardo By Mescua Escog XXXV.
Cruz (La) en la sepultura.—Dif XVIII and XXIV, Madrid, 1640. This is Calderon's play entitled *La Devocion de la Cruz*.
De un castigo tres venganzas —H By Calderon, *Un castigo en tres venganzas*.
Desgracias (Las) del Rey don Alonso el Casto.—H. V[1] (L. O) By Mescua See Salvá, 1, p. 589
Despreciada querida (La) —XXIV, Madrid, 1640 By Juan Bautista de Villegas. See Ibid
Desprecios (Los) en quien ama.—By Montalvan. See Ibid
Destruicion (La) de Constantinople, Lisboa, 1603.—By Gabriel Lobo Laso de la Vega.
Di mentira y sacarás verdad —By Matias de los Reyes.
Dios hace Justicia a Todos.—By Villegas
Doña Ines de Castro (La tragedia de) —H. Part III of Lope y otros. By Mejía de la Cerda See Salvá, 1, p 592.
Don Gil de la Mancha —By Rojas Zorrilla ?

[1] It will be seen that there are in this list several pieces which Chorley is half-inclined to assign to Lope.

[2] The plays quoted as being contained in Partes III and V of Lope y otros are given with the names of the real authors they are attributed to Lope by Nicolas Antonio whose mistake has been mechanically reproduced

Ejemplo mayor (El) de la desdicha, y Capitan Belisario.—H. S. (J. R. C.). By Mescua.
El qué diran, y donaires de Pedro Corchuelo.—By Matias de los Reyes.
Enemiga (La) favorable.—H. Parte V of Lope y otros. By Tárrega.
Examen (El) de maridos.—XXIV, Zaragoza, 1633 By Alarcon.
Fernan Mendez Pinto.—S. Parte I and II (Holland, J. R. C.). By Antonio Enriquez Gomez? See Salvá, 1, p 602.
Florestas de amor.—See El Paraiso de Laura.
Gran Cardenal (El) de España, Don Gil de Albornoz.—By Antonio Enriquez Gomez
Gran Tamorlan (El) de Persia.—Dif XXXIII *La nueva ira de Dios.* By Guevara.
Guarda cuidadosa (La).—H. Parte V of Lope y otros By Miguel Sanchez.
Hijos (Los) del dolor y Albania tiranizada —By Francisco de Leyva.
Industria (La) contra el poder y el honor contra la fuerza.—Dif. XXVIII and XXIV, Madrid, 1640. This is Calderon's *Amor, honor y poder.*
Isla (La) bárbara —By Miguel Sanchez
Jueces (Los) de Castilla.—By Moreto?
Leño (El) de Meleagro y profetisa Casandra —By Pablo Polope y Valdés, a writer who flourished towards the end of the seventeenth century.
Lindona (La) de Galicia —By Montalvan.
Loco cuerdo (El) —H. Parte V of Lope y otros By Valdivielso.
Lo que es un coche en Madrid.—S. (J. R. C.) *Los riesgos que tiene un coche.* By Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza? By Tirso de Molina? See Schaeffer, I, p 411
Mal pagador (El) en Pajas —Wrongly ascribed to Calderon.
Martires (Los) del Japon —Doubtful Mescua?
Mas pesa el Rey que la sangre —S. (Holland) By Guevara.
Mayor Rey (El) de los Reyes —Claramonte? It is not by Calderon.
Mentiroso (El).—(See La Verdad sospechosa.)
(?)Negro (El) del mejor amo —By Mescua. Chorley, however, throws out the suggestion that this might possibly be an alternative title of *El santo negro*
Nino Diablo (El) —This is by Luis Velez de Guevara. See Schaeffer, *Geschichte*, I, p 300
No hay vida como la honra —H. By Montalban.
Nueva (La) Ira de Dios, y Gran Tamorlan de Persia.—By Luis Velez de Guevara
(?)Orden (La) de la Redencion, y Virgen de los Remedios.—MS. (Holland).
Page (El) de Don Alvaro.—This play, ascribed by Medel to Juan Velez de Guevara and printed as Calderon's (it is not by him, according to the *Quinta Parte* of Calderon's Comedias), is assigned by Schaeffer (Vol I p. 188) to Lope de Vega See Salvá, 1, p. 617.
(?)Paraiso (El) de Laura, y Florestas del amor —M. (anon.). MS. (Holland). Chorley notes that this is no more than *doubtful.*

(?)Peña (La) de Francia —MS (Holland) This play has been conjecturally ascribed to Tirso de Molina, but we have seen that the title may be an alternative name of *El Casamiento en la muerte*.
Premio (El) de las letras por el Rey Felipe II.—H Parte V. of Lope y otros By Salustio del Poyo.
Primero (El) Rey del mundo —(See La soberbia de Nembrot.)
Príncipe don Carlos —S (H. and Vienna). By Diego Jimenez de Enciso
Profetisa Casandra (La) —H (See Leño de Meleagro)
Prospera fortuna (La) del Caballero del Espiritu Santo —By Juan Grajales.
Prospera fortuna (La) de D Bernardo de Cabrera.—Mescua ?
Prospera fortuna (La) de Ruy Lope Davalos —Parte III of Lope y otros By Salustio del Poyo
Puente (La) de Mantible —S (H and Vienna) By Calderon.
Púsoseme el sol, salióme la luna —Dif XXX By Claramonte
Rey (El) por semejanza —Juan de Grajales ?
Rueda (La) de la fortuna —Part V By Mescua
San Antonio de Padua —By Montalvan
Santa Casilda —Philipe de Medina Pores ?
Sastre (El) de Campillo —By Luis de Belmonte
Siete Infantes de Lara (Tragedia de los) —H Parte V of Lope y otros Alfonso Hurtado de Velarde
Sitio (El) de Viena del año 1683 —H By Pablo Polope y Valdes
Soberbia (La) de Nembrot, y primero Rey del mundo —MS (Holland) By Enriquez Gomez
Sol (El) en el Nuevo Mundo, o descubrimiento de las Batuecas.—MS (Duran) El Descubrimiento de las Batuecas del Duque de Alba By Juan Claudio de La Hoz y Mota
Tanto hagas quanto pagues —Moreto ?
Tragedia (La) por los celos —XXIV, Madrid, 1640. By Guillen de Castro
Trato (El) muda costumbre —H ? By Mendoza
Valeroso Aristómenes Mesenio (El) —S (Holland) Quitar el feudo á su patria Alfaro See Salvá, 1, p 571
Venganza honrosa (La) —Parte VI of Lope y otros By Gaspar de Aguilar
Verdad sospechosa (La) (El Mentiroso) —H. XXII, Zaragoza, 1630 By Alarcon See Salvá, 1, p 623
Virgen de los Remedios —(See Orden de la Redencion)
Zelos con zelos se curan —H Parte XXVI, extravagante By Tirso de Molina
Zelos de Carrizales (Los) —Fajardo (See Zeloso extremeño.)
Zelos (Los) de Rodamonte —Rojas Zorrilla ?
Zeloso Extremeño (El) —H This, and the Second Part entitled *Los Zelos de Carrizales*, which Fajardo ascribes to Lope, are by Antonio Coello

AUTOS PUBLISHED COLLECTIVELY.

FIESTAS DEL SANTISIMO SACRAMENTO, REPARTIDAS EN DOCE AUTOS SACRAMENTALES, CON SUS LOAS Y ENTREMESES.—Zaragoza P Verges, 1644.—(Brit. Mus. and J. R. C.) Reprinted in *Obras sueltas*, XVIII.

The book contains twelve *autos*, each with a *loa* and *entremes*

Autos.	First verse of each loa.	Entremeses
El nombre de Jesus	Que siempre en las grandes fiestas	El letrado
El heredero del cielo	En la plaza de Santa Maria.	El Soldadillo.
Los acreedores del hombre.	Allá en garganta la Olla	El Poeta
El pan y el palo.	En la cama de los vicios	El robo de Elena
El misacantano	Falta de humano consuelo	La Hechicera.
Las aventuras del Hombre	Buenas noches, digo dias	El Marques de Alfarache
La siega.	Licencia, Señor expresa	El Degollado.
El Pastor lobo	Válgame, San Jorge, amen	La muestra de los carros
La vuelta de Egipto.	Por la puerta de la culpa	Los órganos.
El niño pastor	Hi de puta, mala cara	El Remediador
Los Cantares	Sobre entrar en una huerta	Daca mi mujer
La puente del mundo	El consistorio divino	Las comparaciones

Navidad y Corpus Christi festejados por los mejores ingenios de España, en diez y seis autos á lo divino Representados en esta Corte, y nunca hasta ahora impresos Recogidos por Isidro de Robles, natural de Madrid Madrid, 1664 Joseph Fernandez de Buendia (Brit Mus and Duran)

This volume contains the following pieces by Lope

El tirano castigado, auto del Nacimiento de Cristo
El nacimiento de Cristo Nuestro Señor.
De los títulos de las comedia (a *loa* which precedes Calderon's *auto* entitled *El divino Jason*).

El Peregrino en su Patria, Sevilla, 1604, contains the following autos by Lope

El viaje del alma.
Las Bodas del alma y el amor divino
La Maya
El Hijo pródigo

Autos Sueltos.

(In the British Museum, in Chorley's collection, and in Lord Holland's library).

El nuevo oriente del sol, *y* mas dichoso portal. Auto al *Nacimiento*
Las prisiones de Adan.—Auto al Nacimiento de Cristo.

In the Holland *copy* it is *ascribed to* Lope. Huerta attributes it to Lope and Gallo del Castro who lived long afterwards. La Barrera suggests that Huerta confounded Gallo del Castro's auto *Las prisiones de Moro* with the present piece.

Medel and Huerta are alone in denoting the following *autos*

La cárcel de amor
La Concepcion de Nuestra Señora
La Coronacion de la humanidad de Cristo[1] (Medel)
El Corsario del alma y las Galeras.
Los Hijos de Maria del Rosario [Now printed in Acad III]
La Margarita preciosa. [Acad II and the two following]
El Pastor ingrato. [An alternative title of *El Niño Pastor*]
El triunfo de la Iglesia

Autos in Manuscript

In the Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid)

Obras son amores.—Autograph, May 31, 1615 Acad. II See text, p. 281.

La Isla del Sol.—Autograph, dated April 6, 1616. This was written for Alonso Riquelme Acad III
El Tuson del Rey del cielo.—Copy, 1621 Acad. III
Las hazañas del segundo David.—Autograph, dated April 28, 1619
Auto de la Santa Inquisicion.—1629 Acad. III.
La adúltera perdonada Acad III
Las albricias de Nuestra Señora Acad. III.
El Ave Maria y el Rosario Acad II
La oveja perdida Acad II
La privanza del hombre Acad II
La locura por la honra. Acad II.
El Hijo de la Iglesia Acad II
El divino Pastor

In the British Museum

El Príncipe de la Paz, y transformaciones de Celia (with Mescua's name). Acad III.
El yugo de Cristo (anonymous) Acad. II

The two manuscript copies of these two *autos*, dated 1629 and 1630 respectively, are noted in the catalogue of Vicente Salvá who ascribes both pieces to Lope

[1] Huerta ascribes this auto to Calderon but it does not appear in the volume of his collected autos.

CATALOGUE OF LOPE DE VEGA'S *Autos* IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER.

Acreedores (Los) del Hombre.—Fiestas del Santísimo Sacramento, 1644. Acad. II.

Adúltera (La).—H. MS. (Osuna). M. (La Adúltera perdonada.) Acad. III.

Albricias (Las) de Nuestra Señora —H. MS (Osuna). Acad. III

Araucana (La).—Acad. III

Ave María (El) y el Rosario de Nuestra Señora —Acad. II. Doubtful.

Aventuras (Las) del Hombre.—H Fiestas del Santísimo Sacramento, 1644. Acad. II

Bodas (Las) del alma y el amor divino —El Peregrino en su Patria, 1604 Acad II.

Cantares (De los).—Fiestas del Santísimo Sacramento, 1644. Acad. II

Cárcel (La) de Amor.

Casamiento (El) de Josef—Written in 1608. See *Revista de Archivos*, January 1904, p 6

Circuncision (La) y Sangría de Cristo —Acad II

Concepcion (La) de Nuestra Señora —Restori, *Degli 'Autos'* &c (Parma, 1898)

Coronacion (La) de la humanidad de Cristo —M Ascribed by Huerta to Calderon, though not in his collected *autos*.

Corsario (El) del alma, y las Galeras

Cortes (Las) de la Muerte —Acad III See Restori, *op cit* p xvii, *n.* 2.

Divino Pastor (El) —H (anon.), MS (Osuna)

Dos Ingenios y Esclavos del S S —Acad III

Hazanas (Las) del segundo David —H, MS (Osuna), 1619 This MS. has disappeared

Heredero (El) del Cielo.—Fiestas del Sant Sacramento, 1644. Acad. II.

Hijo (El) de la Iglesia —H, MS (Osuna) Acad. II.

Hijo pródigo (El).—El Peregrino en su Patria, 1604 Acad. II

Hijos (Los) de María del Rosario —Acad III

Isla (La) del Sol —H (anon); MS (Osuna), 1616. Acad. III

Locura (La) por la honra —M. and H. quote an *auto* of this title by Tirso de Molina MS (Osuna) Acad II

Margarita preciosa (La) Acad II

Maya (La) —El Peregrino en su Patria, 1604 Acad II.

Misacantano (El) —Fiestas del Santísimo Sacramento, 1644. Acad II.

Nacimiento (El) de Cristo Nuestro Señor —Navidad y Corpus Christi festejados por los mejores ingenios de España, 1664. S. (Brit. Mus and Duran) Acad II

Natividad de Nuestra Señora.—Vicente Salvá's Catalogue.

Niño Pastor (El) —Fiestas del Santísimo Sacramento, 1644. Acad. II.

Nombre (El) de Jesus —Fiestas del Sant Sacramento, 1644. Acad. II.

Nuevo Oriente (El) del sol, y mas dichoso portal —H, S (Brit Mus and J. R. C.).

Obras son amores.—Cat B. N No 2433. Autograph dated May 31, 1615. Acad. II.

Oveja perdida (La) —H. MS (Osuna). Acad. II.
Pan (El) y el palo.—Fiestas del Santísimo Sacramento, 1644. Acad. II.
Pastor ingrato (El).—Acad. II
Pastor (El) lobo y Cabaña celestial.—Acad II
Prisiones (Las) de Adan.—S. (Brit Mus, J R C, Duran, Holland). Doubtful.
Príncipe (El) de la Paz —MS. (Brit. Mus.). Indicated in Vicente Salvá's Catalogue, and there ascribed to Lope Acad III.
Privanza (La) del hombre —H MS (Osuna). Acad. II
Puente (La) del Mundo —Acad. II
Santa Inquisicion (La) —H MS (Osuna) Acad III
Siega (La) —Fiestas del Santísimo Sacramento, 1644 Acad II
Triunfo (El) de la Iglesia.—Acad III.
Tuson (El) del Rey del cielo.—H MS (Osuna). Acad III
Tirano castigado (El).—Navidad y Corpus Christi festejados por los mejores ingenios de España, 1664.—Acad II.
Venta (La) de la Zarzuela.—Acad III
Viaje (El) del alma.—El Peregrino en su Patria, 1604 Acad. II.
Villano (El) despojado.—Acad III
Vuelta (La) del Egipto.—Fiestas de Santísimo Sacramento, 1644. Acad. II.
Yugo (El) de Christo.—MS (Brit. Mus.) Probably the MS indicated in Vicente Salvá's Catalogue and there ascribed to Lope. Acad II. Doubtful.

SUMMARY OF THE CATALOGUE OF AUTOS.

Autos published in collections	44
Autos existing in sueltos and MS, or denoted in Catalogues	6
Total	50

Four of these are known solely by the mention made of them in the Catalogues of Medel and Huerta Chorley renounced the attempt to draw up a list of Lope's *entremeses* on the ground that the authenticity of those ascribed to him is, in most cases, doubtful

Autores MENTIONED BY LOPE AS HAVING PLAYED IN HIS COMEDIAS.

[Most would seem to belong to Lope's first period See Text, *passim.*]

Cristóbal de Avendaño (El la mayor lealtad mayor agravio) P. Quinas de Portugal S. (J R. C)
Balbin. (Caballero del Sacramento, XV)
Granados (Pedro Carbonero, XIV. P)
Leon (Vengadora de las mugeres, XV)
Morales. (Almenas de Toro, XIV)
Osorio (el antiguo), "autor antiguo"—(Soldado amante. P. XVII.)
Pinedo (Batalla naval, P XV)
Porras. (Dómine Lucas, P XVII.)

Rios. (Ingrato arrepentido, P. XV.)
Riquelme. (Mal casada, XV.)
Sanchez. (Hermosa Ester, XV.)
Solano, *tus reyes de Toledo* (Dedication of Dómine Lucas, XVII.)
Valdes. (Villana de Getafe, XIV.)
Vallejo. (El Engaño en la Verdad. P.) S. (J. R. C.).
Vergara. (Caballero del Milagro. P. XV.) Primer Rey de Castilla, XVII.
Villalva (Muertos vivos P. XVII.)

In the Prologue to Part XVI (1620) Lope speaks of the following *autores* as belonging to a bye-gone time

Cisneros	Rios.
Cristóbal	Rocha
Leon	Solano
Loyola	Salvador
Navarro	Tapia.
Ramirez	

It seems appropriate to add a few words concerning the distinguished scholar upon whose work the foregoing lists are based. The materials of the appended note are derived from the two volumes entitled *Henry Fothergill Chorley. Autobiography, Memoir and Letters. Compiled by Henry G. Hewlett* (London, 1873). It is much to be regretted that Henry Chorley, the well-known musical and literary critic of *The Athenæum*, has left but a fragmentary account of his elder brother's career.

John Rutter Chorley came of a Quaker stock settled in Lancashire. He was born at Blackley Hurst, near Billinge, about the year 1807. His brother thus describes him as a child. "He had the precocious fancy of a born poet. As has been the case with other gifted children he could amuse himself by inventing creatures as little mortal as the Glums and the Gowries, finding them with adventures that went on from month to month, fitting them up with vocabularies of their own, writing their history in neatly-kept books, and gracing the same with pictures." He grew up a merry, high-spirited lad, of a singular physical strength, which enabled him to hold his own against men during a long day's mowing. He was fond of dancing, riding, boating, given to pranks of all kinds, escaping punishment by climbing to dangerous heights, and refusing to come down till he had made his own terms. In 1819 his family moved to Liverpool, and he was sent to the school of the Royal Institution, opened a short time earlier under the headmastership of the Rev. John Boughey Monk, a sound classical scholar. Chorley outstripped his seniors, and was soon at the head of the school. His remarkable memory made learning easy to him. For some boyish piece of mischief, he was sentenced to learn by heart as much as possible of the Æneid by next morning: he then repeated the entire First Book without hesitation, and was about to begin the Second

when cut short by his amazed and delighted master. Some of his comrades, smarting under their inferiority, took a mean revenge by jeering at his shabby clothes, his poverty, his unfashionable Quaker creed, but, on the whole, his school-days were not unhappy. It was important that he should earn his bread as soon as possible, and, having learned all the Greek and Latin that Monk could teach him, the youth was placed in a Liverpool merchant's office Uncongenial as the position was to him, Chorley discharged his duties with characteristic diligence. "He was no more fitted," says his brother, "for taking down the particulars of ships' cargoes, or transcribing the details of the day's cotton-market ten times over than I was, but he could not bear to do anything short of his best" In his spare time Chorley cultivated his musical gifts, and became an excellent performer on several instruments. he improved his French (in which he had had some lessons), taught himself German, Italian, and Spanish, and studied the literature of each language

He had toiled in obscurity for some years when the Grand Junction Railway was completed between Liverpool and Birmingham The new company needed a secretary who would create a system, and call the entire railway service into existence The company's solicitor bethought him of a young man whom he had met by chance in the course of business at Liverpool, and whose exceptional ability had greatly impressed him He recommended this untried clerk to the Directors, and Chorley obtained the appointment. Chorley entered upon his task with an almost ferocious energy Henry Chorley writes "If he did not spare himself, he did not spare others. Feeling his own responsibility, he was rightly alive to that of the subordinate persons who had to work out the undertaking He would take no excuse for any man's absence from duty. I believe that of the staff whom he had to organize and to control about a quarter was left at the end of the first three months This may sound harsh, but it was right. . In one respect I hold him to have been admirable as the servant of a company of capitalists He would not use his knowledge and prescience to advance his own fortunes I have heard him again and again say that his business was to keep his mind clear and ready for the duties of the hour as undertaken by him" It is not unnatural that Chorley's sternness held men aloof from him. henceforward, throughout life, he remained absolutely lacking in the art of conciliation "He was respected and trusted," says his brother, "but he was not popular, partly from a certain reserve and haughtiness of manner, in which a consciousness of his own superiority to those who surrounded him expressed itself It was too evident that he was doing faithful and indefatigable service against the grain"

In October 1838, upon the death of his mother's half-brother, Dr. Rutter of Liverpool, Chorley inherited a modest fortune which made him independent, and enabled him to settle in London with his mother and sister. His exceptional knowledge of continental literatures was speedily utilized by the editor of *The Athenæum*, in

which journal he wrote frequently between 1846 and 1854. One of the books which came before him for judgment was a volume entitled *Six Dramas of Calderon* rendered into English by Edward FitzGerald, famous subsequently as the translator of Omar Khayyam. Chorley was by no means an uncritical admirer of Calderon after the fashion of that day; but he respected the Spanish dramatist sufficiently to resent FitzGerald's free-and-easy methods, and accordingly dismissed the new version in a brief note (*The Athenæum*, September 10, 1853) which the victim called "a determined spit at me" (*Letter to George Crabbe*, September 12, 1853). FitzGerald smarted under the rod, withdrew the unlucky volume from circulation, and never again attached his name to anything that he published Two very brilliant articles on the Spanish drama by Chorley, contributed to *The Athenæum* (November 19 and November 26, 1853), attracted great attention from Spanish scholars, and were warmly praised even by thoroughgoing Calderonians, such as Archbishop Trench. These articles were followed six years later by a more detailed and no less admirable essay on the Spanish drama, which will be found in the fifty-ninth and sixtieth volumes of *Fraser's Magazine*. In sympathy with the subject, in illuminative criticism, in minute knowledge of the facts, this later study has never been surpassed It is a grave misfortune that Chorley never executed his project of publishing an extensive treatise on the Spanish theatre. It is safe to say that he would have anticipated most of the work tardily accomplished during the last thirty years I have already spoken (pp 417-418) of his bibliography of Lope de Vega's comedias, issued in the fifty-second volume (1861) of Rivadeneyra's *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, and of the revised version which forms the basis of the bibliographical lists in the present volume. In 1865 Chorley published *A Wife's Litany*, a rhymed drama, followed by occasional poems, some of them on Spanish themes. Discouraged by the cold reception of this volume by critics and the public, he destroyed his manuscript poems. This completes the tale of his literary achievement

Friends who recalled the astonishing promise of his early years, and who remembered that he was still a young man when released from distasteful drudgery by his uncle's legacy, were inclined to think that Chorley left behind him nothing that represented his real powers. Those who are entitled to an opinion on the matter are unanimous in their appreciation of his immense industry and the uniformly high quality of his work In many respects circumstances were against him. The burden of responsibility had crushed his youthful gaiety, and nature, so lavish to him in other respects, denied him the supreme gift of attracting friendship. "My brother," writes Henry Chorley, "was singularly handsome, with such a sweet, refined, expressive countenance and a perfect figure as are rarely found in combination." These advantages did not avail him with his contemporaries. Henry Chorley was no doubt right in saying that the change of fortune came too late. Solitude had left its indelible mark on Chorley, and to the

last he remained a shy, dogmatic, melancholy recluse "He was averse to society save on the very peculiar and exclusive terms which suited him. Though he could discourse on most topics, with a precision of knowledge, and, generally, a justice of view rarely surpassed or equalled —though he had a keen sense of wit and humour, and a rich store of anecdote and allusion to fall back on—his conversation wanted flow and lightness, and in truth was apt to be oppressive. . . . Save when he was alone among his books, with one of the very few friends he made, he harangued rather than conversed." Yet, despite his austere reserve, Chorley was a man of deeply sensitive affections. His solicitude for his invalid sister was noble in its perfection During the years [1851-63] that she lingered, suffering from a most painful form of spinal disease, his devotion to her was absolute. "His life," observes his brother, "was laid out to be a series of sacrifices, met by him with a sense of duty which was too severe, too unselfish. A more complete case of self-effacement has rarely come to my knowledge. . . . Save in long and solitary walks, early in the morning, for many years he rarely crossed the threshold, haunted by an almost morbid fear of mischance which might happen in his absence He bore up nobly till the long dreary story closed, but the spring of life was worn out, and nothing remained to him but the company of his books, in the silence of a solitary house, entered with so much hope and prospect of years of rest and enjoyment" He buried himself more and more in his library Apart from literature, his one consolation was his violoncello "The pleasure he had in books, and in the intimate knowledge of books brought one reward—his power seconded by his will, to sympathize with and aid the men of letters whom he respected" These were few—Ticknor, Gayangos, Carlyle—and the two former lived out of England He had a deep and wide acquaintance with French and German literature, but by degrees the charm of Spanish grew upon him, and ended by absorbing him. He knew Spanish literature as it has rarely been known, and he knew the Spanish drama best of all In this province it is impossible to over-estimate his knowledge. Chorley is the very type of the indefatigable, scrupulous student who does great things in a sphere of which the world knows nothing He has never received recognition in the measure that he deserves . nor did he stoop to seek it. To him knowledge was its own exceeding great reward, and his lofty aims led him to scorn men of softer fibre His attitude to his more worldly-minded brother is thus recorded "Till within a very few years of his death, I was somewhat misjudged by him as one who had chosen my life for purposes of mere amusement . . I never had a word or sign from him to testify that anything I have published gave him pleasure. . . . We met rarely, but we met—under every conceivable disparity of culture, and of social habits—with mutual respect. His was nobly shown to me; mine is humbly returned to him, by telling the whole truth, over the grave of a man hardly tried, misunderstood, and undervalued in his lifetime."

Chorley was already failing in health when he published *A Wife's*

Litany, and in 1866 the decline became more marked. He died of atrophy on June 29, 1867, bequeathing his collection of rare Spanish plays to the British Museum. Their number may be imagined from the fact that their titles fill nearly seven columns of the printed catalogue of the British Museum Library Their intrinsic value is greatly increased by manuscript annotations embodying biographical and bibliographical details, as well as textual emendations of corrupt passages Chorley frequently displays extraordinary cleverness in restoring imperfect copies, and in imitating printed characters on leaves of seventeenth-century paper which he acquired at great expense and trouble Some of his "made-up" title-pages are admirable examples of what skill can do to remedy defects

The verdict of Carlyle on Chorley may stand "He could have written like few men on many subjects, but he had proudly pitched his ideal very high I know no man in these flimsy days, nor shall ever again know one, so well read, so widely and accurately informed, and so completely at home, not only in all fields of worthy literature, but in matters practical, technical, novel, mechanical, &c &c as well." This is the impression which Chorley made upon a contemporary of genius, acquainted with the foremost men of the day, and constitutionally indisposed to lenient judgment Still, it is by his work upon the Spanish drama that posterity remembers Chorley And surely it would have pleased him, into whose strenuous, sunless life pleasure flashed but seldom, to know that the scholars of a later generation associate his name inseparably with that of the illustrious poet for whose renown he laboured so much, so well, and so enduringly

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ERRATA AND ADDENDA

P. 22, l 3. Read. "the trial of Lope de Vega for libelling certain actors"
P. 39, note 2, l. 6. Substitute full stop after '*Príncipe*' and comma after 'Pellicer.'
P. 42, l. 23. Delete full stop after 'quedaras'
„ l. 25. For 'quepierde' read 'que pierde'
P. 47, l. 8 from foot. For '12' read '9.'
P. 58, l. 5. For '68' read '56.'
P. 61, l 20. For 'intent' read 'intention'
P. 62, l. 11 from foot. For 'to' read 'te'
P. 64, l. 15. For '63' read '53'
P. 67, last line. After 'lacking' insert semi-colon.
P. 68, l. 12 from foot. Insert comma after 'cruel.'
P. 71, l 10. Read. 'While with murmurings impassioned'
P. 73, l. 1. Read: 'Kiss the bars e'en of thy windows'
„ l. 23. For 'Da' read 'La.'
„ l 25. For 'concentana' read 'contentana.'
P. 74, l. 20 For 'none' read 'no one'
„ l. 23. For 'disdained' read 'scorned'
P. 76, ll. 12-13. Read. 'As a prudent being, Filis,
And since long it is thou lovest'
„ l. 15. Read. 'Of experience so common'

P. 80, l. 26 Substitute semi-colon after 'mudança'
P. 81, l 4 For 'sighing' read 'weeping'
P 83, l. 12 from foot Read 'For thy deity in truth'
P. 84, l 23 Read 'Nor has the merits merely'
P 89, l 9 For 'mi' read 'me'
P 98, l 3 from foot Insert comma after 'perseguida'
P 105, note 1, l 8. For 'was' read 'is'
P 110, note 4, l 3 For 'later' read 'earlier'
P 156, note 2 For '*Parte XVIII*' read '*Parte XIX*'
P 261, note 1, l 2. For 'fuñdadas' read 'fundadas'
P. 434. Under 'Parte XXII Zaragoza 1630' insert 'H A R' after 'Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris'
P 440 Under 'Parte XXVI.,' after 'Zaragoza 1640,' insert 'See text, p 346 and *n*'
P 440 Under 'Parte XXVII' delete 'Ticknor Library, Boston.'
P 441, l 5 from foot For 'Escanderberg' read 'Escanderbeg.'
P 443, l 6 from foot For '6' read '5'
P 447, l 16 from foot Read 'La puente de Mantible'
P 488, l 8 from foot For 'de la' read 'de lo'
P 471, note, l 7 Omit No 8 it is an autograph
P. 521 Under 'Negro (El) del mejor Amo' add 'Printed in Restori, *Degli 'Autos' di Lope de Vega*, Parma, 1898'