72-18,216

MILLER, Neil Ted, 1946-
HENRIQUE DA MOTA AND THE ORIGINS OF IBERIAN DRAMA. [Portions of Text in Portuguese].

The City University of New York, Ph.D., 1972
Language and Literature, general

University Microfilms, A XEROX Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan

© COPYRIGHT BY

NEIL TED MILLER

1972

# HENRIQUE DA MOTA

# AND

# THE ORIGINS OF IBERIAN DRAMA

by

NEIL TED MILLER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Portuguese in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1971

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Portuguese in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

January 5, 72
date

Ernest L. Doscal
Chairman of Examining Committee

January 6, 1972
date

Raymond S. Sayers
Executive Officer

Martin Nozick

Gregory Rabassa

Barton Sholod

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

PLEASE NOTE:

Some pages may have

indistinct print.

Filmed as received.

University Microfilms, A Xerox Education Company

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to those whose encouragement and assistance made this dissertation possible. I thank my advisor, Professor Ernesto Guerra DaCal, as well as the other members of the Portuguese Department and Examining Committee at Queens College of CUNY. I thank the Librarians of both the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa and the Torre de Tombo Archives for their aid in my research and transcription of documents. I thank those who helped proofread and type the various copies of the manuscript and I thank my wife for her patience and encouragement.

Abstract

HENRIQUE DA MOTA

AND

THE ORIGINS OF IBERIAN DRAMA

by

NEIL T. MILLER

Advisor: Professor Ernesto G. DaCal

While the history of the theatre in Spain has many highlights and excellent representatives, the dramatic text of Portugal has few. Nevertheless, one writer whose works are considered crucial in the development of Peninsular theatre is Gil Vicente. This sixteenth century dramatist is considered to be one of the principal playwrights of the "pre-lopista" school in Spain, as well as the founder of the Portuguese theatre.

However, when dealing with the term "founder," we must not misunderstand its true definition. The word should not be applied to mean "inventor," but rather one whose talents are such that he is capable of coordinating previously existing elements into a well-structured work which may more properly be called drama. In this case, the"previously existing" qualities allude to those compositions which offered some dramatic potential,

but were still too rudimentary to be termed theatre. We refer specifically to both mediaeval Peninsular dialogical poetry and mediaeval court spectacles. At times, the two were united and true drama began to evolve. The number of characters appearing in the works increased, as did the interaction and roles of those characters. Scenic divisions become more evident, as did scenic descriptions, asides, and the use of props. The elements of action, time, and space were also more clearly defined.

One poet of the early sixteenth century whose works did unite many of these characteristics was Henrique da Mota. This relatively ignored contemporary of Gil Vicente was the author of various poems and dramatic dialogues in the 1516 Cancioneiro Geral. He also wrote a 1528 letter to King João III. Included in the letter are dramatic, lyric, and narrative elements, used in the author's interpretation of the theme of D. Inês de Castro.

Little is actually known about the life of Henrique da Mota. However, combining both the literary and factual biographies of the poet, including documents which we

recently discovered in various archives, one can form a more exact picture of this squire, scribe, judge, and poet who lived during the last three decades of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century.

His minor works include both amatory and quasi-philosophical poems, placing him among many other poets of the period who dealt with the very same themes. It is in his dialogues, though, that we can observe the true merit and artistry of this poet-dramatist. The burlesque nature of those dialogues, combined with a gallery of characters from many levels of society, enhances the author's portrait of the period in which he lived.

Of further interest, of course, is the possible influence that our author's works may have had on the plays of the so-called founder of the Portuguese theatre, Gil Vicente. Of Henrique de Mota's "The Priest's Lament," "The Farce of the Gardener," The Farce of the Tailor," "The Mule's Lament," and "The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul," the first three contain specific elements which were later used in many of Vicente's pieces. In fact,

such is the value of Henrique da Mota's contribution to the evolution of the Portuguese theatre, that we are led to call him one of its true founders. We believe him to be deserving of a place next to those of Juan del Encina, Gil Vicente, and their respective followers.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Abstract..... 1-4

Table of Contents..... 5-6

I Introduction..... 7-20

II The Origins of Stage Spectacles and Performances and Dramatic Texts in Mediaeval Europe.....21-91

A. Classical Influences.....21-38

B. Liturgical Influences.....39-66

C. Secular Influences.....67-91

1 Momos.....68-79

2 Arremedilhos.....79-83

3 Entremeses.....84-91

III The Dramatic Dialogue in Mediaeval Peninsular Poetry.....92-169

A. The Dialogue.....92-100

B. Non-Cancionero Poetry.....100-114
Marial Poetry.....114-118

C. Mediaeval Portuguese Cancioneiros 119-130

D. Cancionero de Baena.....130-140

E. Cancionero General.....140-155

F. Cancioneiro Geral.....155-169

IV Henrique da Mota.....170-462

A. His Life.....170-211

1 Literary Biography.....171-175

IV Henrique da Mota (continued)

2 Factual Biography.....176-193

3 The Dates of his poetry.....193-204

4 The Inquisition.....204-209

5. Chronological Table.....209-211

B. His Minor Poetry.....211-265

1. The First Group.....212-232

2. The Second Group.....232-265

C. Henrique da Mota's "A Carta Sobre a Morte de D. Inês de Castro".....265-297

D. The Dramatic Dialogues of Henrique da Mota.....298-462

Introduction.....298-311

1. "The Priest's Lament".....312-344

2. "The Farce of the Tailor".....345-374

3. "The Farce of the Gardener".....375-389

4. "The Mule's Lament".....390-427

5. "The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul".....428-462

V. Conclusion - The place of Henrique da Mota in the literary history of the Iberian Peninsula as precursor of Gil Vicente and one of the founders of the Portuguese theatre.....463-501

Index I - Documents related to the life of Henrique da Mota.....502-521

Index II - Facsimile of Henrique da Mota's Minor Poetry and Dialogues.....522-541

The Transcription of the Letter concerning D. Inês de Castro.....542-546

Bibliography.....547-560

Autobiographical Statement.....561

# I

# INTRODUCTION

# I - INTRODUCTION

The period following the appearance of the "cantigas" of the three main Galician-Portuguese "cancioneiros"[1] appears to be marked by a sharp decline in the production of poetry in Portugal. The Portuguese kings during the period 1350-1450 did not remain true to the poetic character of D. Dinis. They wrote works of a more didactic nature. The way of life in Portugal was transformed by the new spirit of the age of discoveries and conquests and by the growth of the middle class. The feudal nobility was suppressed and a new one was created, along with the acquisition of central power by the kings. Soon afterwards, however, the life of the Court changed. Beginning with Afonso V, the king became the protector of letters and even encouraged participation in the festivities of the Court. The poetry recited during these "serões" both reproduced traditional Peninsular themes and introduced works reflecting the new spirit of the Renaissance. A collection of this courtly poetry was compiled by Garcia de Resende

1 The Cancioneiro da Ajuda, the Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional and the Cancioneiro da Vaticana.

in his Cancioneiro Geral of 1516.[2]

It is apparent that Garcia de Resende was greatly influenced by other Peninsular "cancioneiros" of the same period when he decided to compile his famous collection. One of the most important of these collections was that of Juan Alfonso de Baena, entitled the Cancionero de Baena (c.1445),[3] offered in honor of King Juan II of Castile. It introduces us to the atmosphere and sentiments of fifteenth century Iberia. The thematic contents of the collection are varied and

2. Garcia de Resende was the typical man of the early Renaissance and was both a poet and a historian. He served as a page and a scribe in the Court of D. João II of Portugal, and he continued in the service of D. João III. He also served as secretary to the ambassador to Pope Leon X. His birth and death dates (1470-1536) correspond curiously to those generally attributed to the famous Portuguese playwright named Gil Vicente. Resende's bibliography includes the Cancioneiro Geral, the Crónica a El Rei D. João II and the well-known Miscellânea (written in verse and describing various customs and important events of the author's period). Such minor works as the"Breve memorial de pecados e cousas que pertencem a confissão," and the "Sermão sobre a vinda dos Reis Magos" were also written by the man who is known mainly for his edition of the Cancioneiro Geral.

3. Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena, José María Azaceta ed. (Madrid, 1966), 3 volumes.

clearly show evidence of the transition from the traditional Galician-Provençal poetry to that of Italian Renaissance influence. We note the liquidation of the mediaeval spirit and the dawn of a new one. The feudal nobility comes to the court and a new breed of "cortesanos" appears. As did Alfonso X, "El Sabio," the kings of fifteenth century Spain made their courts the center of culture, and it was in this atmosphere that the Cancionero de Baena was compiled. The Galician-Provençal school was represented by such authors of "cantigas de amor" as Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino and Macías el Enamorado. This poetry of love departed from the themes of the reconquest and those of religious devotion. Satire was another of the genres which was greatly developed within the Cancionero de Baena. The previously mentioned Italian influence was evident in poems of eleven and fourteen syllables and the use of allegories similar to those commonly found in the works of Dante. Micer Francisco Imperial is recognized as the poet who introduced these new modes of expression to the Spanish poets of the period.

Although there are many more "cancioneiros" of the same period, such as those of Stúñiga and Gómez

Manrique, one other collection stands out from all the others, the Cancionero General by Hernando de Castillo (1511). This collection presents a marked similarity in structure and in thematic content to that of the Cancioneiro de Resende and appears to have served as the immediate example for the latter. Castillo began to compile the poetry around 1490 and included poetry from the time of Juan de Mena to that of his own day. Hernando de Castillo's desire was to arrange the works in the following order, "obras de devoción y moralidad, obras de amores, canciones, romances, invenciones y letras de justadores, glosas de motes, villancicos, preguntas y respuestas y obras de burlas provocantes a risa."[4] The latter group of poems was also edited separately. Among the best known authors whose works are included in the Cancionero are the Duque de Alba, Rodrigo de Cota, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Gómez Manrique, Jorge Manrique, Juan de Mena, Juan del Encina, and the Marqués de Santillana.

The Cancioneiro Geral, therefore, represents the sequel to the above mentioned Castilian "cancioneros,"

4 Cancionero general de Hernando de Castillo, Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino ed. Edición facsimilada de la Real Academia Española (Madrid, 1958).

and it is a continuation, since it covers the period from 1450 to 1516.[5] One can even affirm that the idea for gathering the Portuguese verse came to Garcia de Resende from his knowledge of what had been done in Castile.[6] Stating that the poets of the Cancioneiro Geral did introduce new ideas, even though there was a direct correspondence between the themes of the Cancioneiro Geral and the previous Castilian ones, Jole Ruggieri says the following:

> Ma se per la massima parte possiamo notare nella scelta dei generi un'esatta rispondenza del nostro canzionere con i precedenti castigliani, ma una alquanto deversa trattazione...; essa é opera di cortigiani e di nobili...; e daltra parte, il classicismo che affiora que e là, con l'ammirazione più o meno superficiale per qualche modello antico, la lettura più o meno consciente di qualche autore, citazioni mitologiche e nomi storici latini e greci, tutti motivi frammentari che si fanno pensare piuttosto ad un'alba di Rinacenza, diventa in alcumi poeti come J. Roiz de Sá e J. Roiz de Lucena, motivo conscienti di poesia elevata e sentita, e crea dei versi di sapore moderno, in cui la passione che nelle precedenti raccolte e soffocata dalla tradizione, si esprime con la freschezza di un canto nuovo.[7]

In the Cancioneiro itself, as well as encountering

5 Garcia de Resende, Cancioneiro Geral, publicado por Hermão de Campos (Lixboa, 1516).

6 Jole Ruggieri, Il Canzonieri di Resende (Genève, (1931) p. 8

7 Ibid., p. 10

examples of the once flourishing mediaeval "cantigas," one can also find the seeds from which the poetry of the Portuguese Renaissance was finally to develop. This valuable collection contains more than one thousand poems, in Portuguese and Spanish, by almost three hundred authors.

It appears that Garcia de Resende occasionally grouped the works both by authors and by themes. The first section of the Cancioneiro includes those poems dealing with the debate "Cuydar e Sospirar." Beginning with Folio CXLII, Resende gathered various poems under the heading "Trovas de Louvor" and others called "Trovas de Folgar." The majority of the poems after Folio CC are dedicated to the works of Henrique da Mota and to those of Garcia de Resende himself.

Aside from these examples it is quite noticeable that there is usually great disorder in the arrangement of the works and that Resende, at times, seemed more concerned with quantitative rather than qualitative aspects of the poetry. There are, however, many "trovas" that can be considered to have great literary value and it will be with chosen examples of these that we shall concern ourselves in this study.

There are poems in which the poet expresses his undying fidelity to his lady of the court and his most

noble desires to serve her, combined with a contempt of love in which the poet evokes his "coitas" and "saudade."[8] This type of intimate expression is in direct contrast to the poetry in which the poet makes known his desires in a more sensuous and erotic manner,[9] as well as to that expressing pure Platonic ideals.[10] In the first case we have the new mode of expression characteristic of the early Renaissance. Reminding us of the former movement once again are various dialogues with animals,[11] testaments describing the atmosphere of the period,[12] and many poems lamenting the death of kings and heroes.[13] Poems of moral[14] and satirical nature[15] also follow traditional lines, even though they are specifically applicable to people and events of their own period.

8 Cancioneiro Geral, Duarte de Brito, fol.XXXVII ss.

9 Ibid., Aires Telez, fol. CI

10 Ibid., Conde de Vimioso, fol. CXLIIII.

11 Ibid., Henrique da Mota, fol. CCVI.

12 Ibid., Henrique de Almeida, fol. LX; Garcia de Resende, fol. CCXV.

13 Ibid., Luiz Anriquez, fol. XCVIII; Diogo Brandao, fol. XC.

14 Ibid., Luiz Anriquez, fol. CI; Infante D. Pedro, fol. LXXIII.

15 Ibid., Jorge de Aguiar, fol. LXIIII; "Do macho de Luiz Freire," fol. CLXVII.

Other examples of the influence of the early Renaissance are various allegorical poems reminiscent of Dante,[16] and antitheses and the use of Nature as the mirror of the soul, reminiscent of Petrarch.[17] Belonging to the same period are various mythological references,[18] as well as the well-known debates between advocates of city life and those of the more serene country life,[19] where one could not only rest free from anxiety, but could also find liberty for the soul. Also worthy of mention is the appearance of certain examples of epic-like poetry which also are more within the Classical Renaissance molds and which can be said to be precursors of Camões' Os Lusíadas.[20]

Finally, as far as form is concerned, the Cancioneiro does have examples of well-established forms, especially in verses of seven, eight and ten syllables, and those of "arte-maior," but leans more towards the introduction of new compositions, such as the "esparsas" (poems of one

16 Ibid., Garcia de Resende, fol. CCXXI.

17 Ibid., Diogo Brandão, fol. XCII.

18 Ibid., João Roiz de Sá, fol. CXVII.

19 Ibid., Nuno Pereira, fol. XXXIII; João Roiz de Castelo Branco, fol. CVI; Diogo de Melo, fol. CLXXXII.

20 Ibid., Luiz Anriquez, fol. CIII.

stanza containing between eight and sixteen verses), "vilancetes" (containing a "mote" of two or three verses, later interpreted in approximately seven verses, repeating the "mote" once again), and the "cantiga" (similar to the "vilancete", but with a "mote" of four or five verses and an interpretation of eight to ten verses). There is also a great increase in verbosity and many examples of images, metaphors, acrostics, etc. In addition, we note the development of poetry in dialogue which actually could have been presented on stage and which represents a transition from the mediaeval "cantigas de amigo" containing dialogues and the "momos" to the theater of the sixteenth century.

Such is the variety of themes and forms of the Cancioneiro Geral. After examining them, it would not be erroneous to state that the Cancioneiro Geral represents a link to whose ends are attached two periods of grandeur in the history of Portuguese literature. Unfortunately, as we will see, the Cancioneiro has been relatively ignored by critics.

General articles with brief mention of the collection are numerous. They include such well-known histories

of literature and critical works as those of Aubrey Bell, A.J. da Costa Pimpão, Albino Forjaz de Sampaio, A.J. Saraiva, Jacinto do Prado Coelho and Hernâni Cidade.[21] J. Ruggieri and Andrée Crabbé Rocha have written complete volumes dealing with general aspects of the Cancioneiro, but are the only ones to have done so.[22] The former deals with the mediaeval and Renaissance movements in relation to the collection, as well as the theme of love in its poetry. The latter is more of a thematic study and can be considered as a valuable introduction to the Cancioneiro.

Critical studies dealing with specific themes include such topics as censorship, indices, important people mentioned in various poems, medicine, bibliography, syntax, and time expressions.[23] However, there is one

21 Aubrey Bell, Portuguese Literature (Oxford, 1922); A.J. da Costa Pimpão, História da Literatura Portuguesa, vol. I (Coimbra, 1947); Albino Forjaz de Sampaio, História da Literatura Portuguesa Illustrada (Lisboa, 1929); A.J. Saraiva, História da Literatura Portuguesa (Porto, n.d.); Jacinto do Prado Coelho, Dicionário das Literaturas Portuguesa, Galega e Brasileira (Porto, n.d.); and Hernâni Cidade, Lições de Cultura Luso-Brasileira (Rio, 1960).

22 Jole Ruggieri, Il Canzonieri di Resende (Genève, 1931), and Andrée Crabbé Rocha, Aspectos do Cancioneiro Geral (Coimbra, 1949).

23 A. Braamcamp Freire, A Censura e o Cancioneiro Geral (Coimbra, 1921) and Os Índices do Cancioneiro de Resende e das Obras de Gil Vicente (Lisboa, 1900) and

topic which we believe to be of extreme importance and about which there is an almost complete lack of critical work. To be more specific, there is an author in the Cancioneiro Geral who may be considered to be representative of the period of transition which was previously discussed and about whom there exist only two major studies and various articles. We are talking about Henrique da Mota, author of five dialogues[24] as well as a "chronicle-letter" dealing with Inês de Castro and a few examples of minor poetry. All of these are contained in the Cancioneiro, except for the letter. The first study devoted to our author was written by J. Leite de Vasconcelos, who selected one of our author's dialogues and edited it, along with a brief introduction and etymological glossary. This famous critic also published an article dealing with the dialect spoken by a Negro in one of the other dialogues.[25]

"A gente do Cancioneiro." Revista Lusitana, X (1907), pp. 252-97 and XI, 311-44; Maximiliano Lemos, A Medicina no Cancioneiro de Resende (Porto, 1920); Tito de Noronha, Curiosidades Bibliográficas-o Cancioneiro de Resende (Porto, 1871); Jules Cornu, "Phonologie syntactique du Cancioneiro Geral," Romania, XII (1833), 243-306; Augusto Ventura, Algumas Expressões do Tempo no Cancioneiro Geral (Lisboa, 1953); Teóphilo Braga, Poetas Palacianos (Porto, 1871); Pierre Le Gentil, La Poèsie lyrique espagnole et portugaise au fin du Moyen-Age (Rennes, 1949, 1952), 2 vols.

24 The titles of the dialogues as they appear in the Cancioneiro Geral are as follows: "Trouas suas a hũ creligo," "Outras suas a hũ alfayate," "Outras suas a hũ ortelam," "Outras suas a hũa mula," "Outras suas a Vasco Abul."

25 J. Leite de Vasconcelos, Farsa do Alfaiate

The other critic was the aforementioned Andrée Crabbé Rocha, whose monograph must be considered as the only critical work dealing with all of the author's dialogues, even though Senhora Crabbé Rocha attempted no more than a literary biography of Henrique da Mota and resumés of his works.[26] I feel that the most important contribution of the latter study is the fact that the critic brings Henrique da Mota out of his relative obscurity and tells the world of letters that it must realize the importance of the author, not merely as a poet, but also as a dramatist. There are also three articles dealing with da Mota's Inês de Castro letter.[27] Luciana Stegagno Picchio and Jack Horace Parker realized our author's importance and dedicated entire chapters to him in their studies. Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro discussed H. da Mota's relationship to Queen Leonor.[28]

(Lisboa, 1924) and "Língua de preto num texto de Henrique da Mota," Estudos de Filologia, (Rio, 1961), pp.307-312

26 Andrée Crabbé Rocha, "Esboços Dramáticos no Cancioneiro Geral," Bulletin d'Histoire du Théâtre Portugais, II 1951,2. In separata (Coimbra, 1951).

27 Jorge de Sena, "Anrique da Mota; ou Inês em prosa e verso," Ocidente, vol. LXXIII, pp. 604-618; Eugenio Asensio, "Inés de Castro de la Crónica al Mito," Boletim de Filologia-Centro de Estudos Filológicos, XXI (1965) pp.337-358; Armando Gusmão," O Códice nº348 da Biblioteca da Manizola," Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa, II (1956), pp. 17-22

28 Luciana Stagagno Picchio, Storia del Teatro

One reason for our considering Henrique da Mota such a significant writer is the fact that his works seem to be direct precursors of the theatre of Gil Vicente and his contemporaries. One would be mistaken to consider all of the material included in Vicente's works to be purely original. If one were to establish the fact that there were both liturgical and secular influences on his plays, we must realize the importance of studying the mediaeval religious representations, as well as such genres as the "momos," "arremedilhos," "entremeses," and even the well-known "cantigas de amigo." In this manner, the dialogues of Henrique da Mota must also be studied in detail to determine their exact place within the history of Peninsular literature. As Andrée Crabbé Rocha has stated, "é convenient não esqueçer a presença positiva dos começos do teatro português."[30]

Portoghese (Rome, 1964); Jack H. Parker, Gil Vicente (N.Y. 1967); Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro, "A Rainha D. Leonor de Lancastre e os Alvores do Teatro Português," Ocidente, LVI (1959) pp. 69-82.

29 The author's name appears as Anrrique da Mota in the Cancioneiro and has been spelled Anrique as well, but I prefer the modern adaptation which has been used by many critics. In addition, when transcribing the author's works, we will change "q" to "que", "vo" to "vos" and will modernize certain words for clarity.

30 Andrée Crabbé Rocha, "Henrique da Mota," in Dicionário das Literaturas Portuguesa, Galega e Brasileira, ed. Jacinto do Prado Coelho (Porto, n.d.), p. 507.

The author's spirit of criticism and comedy and talent for character development are traits not to be ignored.

Analyzing the importance of this author and his works and bringing to light his achievements will be the main concern of this study. It will be prefaced by an examination of certain influences on the origins of the theatre in Mediaeval Europe and, then, a discussion of the appearance of the dramatic dialogue in the Peninsular "cancioneiros." We will proceed by studying Henrique da Mota's life in the light of recently discovered documents and will continue with an examination of the influences, themes, characters, and linguistic and stylistic traits related to our author's dialogues, minor poetry and short chronicle dealing with Inês de Castro. The study will be completed by placing Henrique da Mota and his works within their proper perspective in the literary history of the Iberian Peninsula. In order to study the author's works successfully we intend to use the facsimile edition of the Cancioneiro Geral,[31] although others do exist.[32]

31 Garcia de Resende, Cancioneiro Geral (Lisboa, 1516). Reprinted with the permission of the Hispanic Society of America, Kraus Reprint Corporation (New York 1967).

32 Garcia de Resende, Cancioneiro Geral (Lisboa, 1516) in the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa nos. 110, 111A, 112A and 113A (ed. Fac-similada de Archer Huntington, 1904); Garcia de Resende, Cancioneiro Geral ed. A.J. Gonçalves Guimarães, 5 vols. (Coimbra, 1910-1917); Alportugiesische Liedersammlung des edeln Garcia de Resende by E.H. v. Kausler (Stuttgart, 1846-1852) 3 vols.

# II

# THE ORIGINS OF STAGE SPECTACLES AND PERFORMANCES AND DRAMATIC TEXTS IN MEDIAEVAL EUROPE

## II - THE ORIGINS OF STAGE SPECTACLES AND PERFORMANCES AND DRAMATIC TEXTS IN MEDIAEVAL EUROPE

If we are to determine the importance of Henrique da Mota's dialogues as well as place them within their proper perspective in the literary history of the Iberian Peninsula, then we must begin by discussing the classical, liturgical, and secular influences on the primordial drama as it originated and existed in Mediaeval Europe. One will note, through a detailed study of the three aforementioned groups, that the mediaeval Latin influence in the European drama of this period was slight compared to that of the liturgical and secular influences, especially in Romance literatures. Nevertheless, the classical and mediaeval Latin influences must not be ignored, especially since various genres such as the dramatic and dialogical-poetic forms may have directly affected certain works with which we are concerned at this time.

### A. Classical Influences

When discussing classical or mediaeval Latin influence we must realize first that in this period the tragedy of the Greeks and Romans was relatively unknown. This was true in Italy, France, and the Iberian Peninsula, as well as in certain non-Romance language speaking countries as Germany and England.

"A knowledge of Seneca or of Plautus, not to speak of the Greeks, is the rarest of things from the tenth century to the fourteenth."[1] Terence was the marked exception, although it appears as though his plays were not presented in their dialogical form, but rather that they were read by a single narrator.[2] There were even many doubts as to the correct terminology that was to be applied to the dramas. Chambers noted that before 1204 many artists used the terms "officium," "ordo," "ludus," "miraculum," and "representatio" in speaking of their plays. Even the terms comedy and tragedy were very general.[3] It is, of course, with the former that we will concern ourselves in this study.

Chambers states the following:

> Of particular interest in dramatic history is the embodiment of the afore-mentioned misconceptions in the so-called 'elegiac comedies,' of which a score or more have been preserved from the period between the eleventh century and the thirteenth. These are sophisticated,

1 E.K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage (Oxford,1903). vol. II, p. 207.

2 Ibid., p. 208.

3 Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (Oxford, 1933), vol I, p. 6.

> and usually brief, compositions in Latin, drawing their comic subject matter partly from contemporary life and partly from Plautus. It would be worthwhile to note, however, that the typical 'comoedia elegiaca' takes the form not of a drama but of a narrative, even though the speeches appear as direct discourses. On the other hand, two examples of comedies that eliminate the narrative and become true drama are the twelfth century Babio and Pamphilus.[4]

As is natural, these comedies tend to imitate some of the characteristics of the Roman comedy, but they also adopt their own criteria. While the Roman comedy tended to have a complex plot, with the works of Terence occasionally having double plots, that of the elegiac comedy was rather simple, very often not retaining the classical atmosphere of its predecessors. More attention was paid to picturesque rhetorical description in the latter, while the former showed more strength in its portrayal of certain characters. However, the ever-present love affair seemed to be a popular theme in both.[5]

Chambers reminds us that "in the early stages of this theatre of humanism classical models and neo-Latin imitations alike were merely read and not acted. The elegiac comedies were really narrative poems in form, although there is no certain proof to deny that certain works

4 Ibid., p. 7-8

5 Chambers, op. cit., vol. II, p. 212-213.

may have been school pieces." This may be so in light of the fact that "by the fifteenth century students, who had long been in the habit of performing miracle plays, had also taken to producing farces, morals and certain miscellaneous pieces which had their origin in the folk-festivals."[6] But acting in the strict sense of the word can only be distinctly asserted of Francesco Ariosto's dialogue of Isis which was given "per personatas" at the Ferrara carnival of 1444.[7]

One final area in which Plautus and Terence once again proved to be a strong influence was in the humanistic comedy. This type of comedy was more realistic, had greater thematic variety, and had more action than either the classical Latin comedies or the elegiac comedies. It is also characterized by detailed description of daily life and many times had a highly satirical nature. As María Rosa Lida de Malkiel states,

> la comedia humanística es un género bien definido, que une a la imitación superficial de Plauto y Terencio una concepción dramática medieval y un realismo humorístico que transunta el humanismo italiano de los siglos XIV y XV.[8]

6 Ibid., p. 213.

7 Ibid., p. 214

8 María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, La Originalidad Artística de la Celestina (Buenos Aires, 1962), p. 42.

We will later examine the latter in more detail.[9]

An examination of the influence of the Roman comedy in various countries, such as Germany, England, Italy, France, and the Iberian Peninsula, will show us what, if any, was the legacy of this comedy in Mediaeval and early Renaissance Europe.

In Germany, the drama really had only begun to emerge as a literary form in the early sixteenth century. Perhaps the greatest influence on this rudimentary drama was the spirit of humanism and the revival of the Latin comedy.[10] Plautus was translated by Albrecht van Eyb (1420-75) and was frequently imitated.[11] It was Terence, though, who was the more popular. His complete works were published in translation by 1499, and he was used very often as an aid to instruction in Latin.[12] This Latin School comedy afforded the humanistic circles of the XVIth century an outlet for their literary aspirations, and it materially affected the development of the

9 For a detailed study of the Humanistic Theatre see Malkiel, p. 33-42, and George E. Duckworth, The Nature of The Roman Comedy (Princeton, 1952).

10 J. G. Robertson, A History of German Literature (Edinburgh, 1959), p. 158.

11 Ibid., p. 147.

12 Ibid., p. 158.

vernacular drama. One of the few German writers who attract our attention in earlier years is a nun named Hrotsvitha (c. 935-1000). She wrote six dramas in an attempt at overshadowing those of Terence. Her dramas "are not much more than legends in dialogue, but the dialogue often has dramatic qualities: it is handled with a naturalness and liveliness which were hardly surpassed by the humanistic dramatists of the XVIth century."[13] There was an eleventh century translation of Terence, written by Notker III, but it has not been preserved.[14] Some of the afore-mentioned sixteenth century dramatists were Wimpfeling (Stylpho, 1480), Reuchlin (Henno, 1498), and Konrad Celtis (Ludus Dianae, 1500). Other plays, such as those of Hans Sachs (1494-1576), author of more than 200 plays, are definitely important in the history of the development of the German drama, but they do not aid us in our study.

11 Ibid., p. 147.

12 Ibid., p. 158

13 Ibid., p. 34. Karl Young also studied the works of this nun and devoted a more detailed account of the dramatic qualities of her works in his Drama of the Medieval Church, (Oxford, 1933), vol. I, pp. 2-6

14 Robertson, op. cit., p. 36

In England, during the late Mediaeval and early Elizabethan ages, "men began to take a new interest in the classics of Rome and the world of Greece was opened before their eyes."[15] Plautus and Terence became so popular that they were both revived and imitated and were considered to have an enormous influence on the development of the English theatre as a whole. By 1520 the Roman drama was widely used in the schools as a means of teaching Latin, as we previously noted in reference to the German Drama. The next few decades brought many representations of these works, such as the Menaechme of Plautus and the Phormio of Terence.[16]

With our specific interest focused upon only the classical Latin type drama at this time, it cannot be said that the English drama was either created or fully developed by the fifteenth century. It was not until about 1553 that the first English comedy of the Classical school was written.[17]

It was actually with tragedy that the national theatre and the theatre of antiquity came together most

15 Allardyce Nicoll, The English Theatre (London, 1938), p. 31.

16 Chambers, op. cit., vol. II, p. 215.

17 Ibid., p. 237. The work was entitled Ralph Roister Dolster, by Nicholas Udall.

significantly. In the middle of the sixteenth century Seneca proved to be even more popular than Plautus, and in the latter part of the same century he even overshadowed the Greek dramatists.[18] However, as we have previously implied, an examination of the drama would soon lead us to a study of the Shakespearean theatre, which is certainly irrelevant to our present thesis. This, therefore, brings us to our examination of the influence of the Roman drama in Romance literature.

When discussing the influence of the classical Latin comedy on the Italian theatre of the Mediaeval and early Renaissance periods, Plautus must be recognized as the first, greatest and most fertile Latin writer of true comedy, as well as being the one who exercised the most influence on this theatre. Terence was, of course, Plautus' most able, most admired, translated and imitated rival.[19]

During the fall of the Roman Empire, their plays, just as those of Seneca, were more rarely performed.[20] It really was not until the fifteenth century, an age of

18 Ibid., pp. 239-240.

19 Joseph L. Kennard, The Italian Theatre (New York, 1932), p. 7.

20 Ibid., p. 8

transition between the Italian mediaeval and humanistic theatres, that the classical dramatists regained their former stature with the revivification of the old Roman civilization and its Latin literature.[21]

The influence of Plautus and Terence upon Renaissance Italy falls into three clearly defined stages: (1) comedies in Latin modeled upon the ancient Roman plays; (2) performances of Plautus and Terence on the stage; and (3) the numerous Italian comedies based on Roman models. Among those of the first group were such plays as Petrarch's Philologia, Vergerio's Paulus, and Aretino's Polyxena. They combined ancient Rome with their own period and were often allegorical.[22] Paulus, a late fourteenth century humanistic play, while having the spirit of that century, does have certain resemblances to the plays of Terence.[23] The other plays mentioned often portrayed characters which differed very little from those of Plautus and Terence. However, J.S. Kennard states the following:

> Great was the excitement among cultured Italians when, in 1429, after centuries of oblivion, Niccolo di Treviri, also known as Cusano, discovered in Germany a codex containing twelve new comedies by Plautus. Soon, these and other comedies of Plautus

21 Ibid., p. 81

22 Duckworth, op. cit., p. 397.

23 Kennard, op. cit., p. 83.

> and some of those of Terence lived upon the Italian stage as they had formerly lived in Rome... According to the rhetoricians of the 'cinquecento', Plautus and Terence were gods, and all good comedy had to exactly imitate the roman.[24]

Both authors' works were published and widely read by the early 1470's. Between these years and the first decade of the sixteenth century there were numerous presentations of their plays all over Italy, and it is even recorded that five of Plautus' plays were performed on five successive days at the wedding festivities of Lucrezia Borgia at Ferrara in 1502.[25] All of the new comedies based upon those of Plautus and Terence were termed "comedia erudita". Even plays which were not derived from either of these two Latin playwrights reproduced their classical spirit. Two prime examples of this would be the Cassaria and the Suppositi of Ariosto, perhaps the greatest interpreter of his age. From this point on, the sixteenth century Italian comedy flourished by means of such authors as Machiavelli, Aretino, Francisco de Medici, Grazzini, and Lodovico Dolce.

Duckworth suggests that since the new Italian

24 Ibid., pp. 105-106

25 Duckworth, op. cit., p. 399.

comedy was influential upon the comic drama of England, France, and Spain, comedy in these countries inevitably displayed many of the characteristics and themes of the Roman comedy. Even had there been no direct imitation of Plautus and Terence elsewhere, it still would have been impossible for comic writers, drawing their inspiration from the Italian dramatists of the Renaissance, to have developed a comic drama untouched by the influence of the two afore-mentioned Roman playwrights.[26]

In France, Gustave Cohen notes that the birth of the French theatre is mostly indebted to the influence which was exercised upon it by the Church. However, France was represented by a "Latin comedy" written by such authors as Vital de Blois, Mathieu de Vendôme and Guillaume de Blois. Their works were mainly dramatized Latin "fabliaux," sometimes in dialogue and other times narrated or interpreted by a professor or by his students.[27] The Latin dramatic tradition in France was perpetuated by such works as the Audularia of Vital de Blois, imitating the Querolus generally attributed to Plautus, and Geta, by

26 Ibid., pp. 401-402.

27 Gustave Cohen, La vida literaria en la edad media, translated by Margarita Nelkin (México, 1958), p. 97.

the same author, which follows the Amphitryonic tradition.[28]

Cohen also gives due praise to the previously mentioned elegiac comedy, Babio, for its role in the growth of the theatre. The vices and ridiculous characteristics attributed to the main protagonist, as well as the deceiving tricks played on him by his servant, will reappear in many French plays, including the first farce, written by Tournai in 1277, The Boy and the Blind Man. (Trickery also appears in a later farce: Pierre Pathelin). Later mediaeval works cannot really be separated from the scholarly neo-Latin literature and thus do not represent any particular movement that can be studied as a genre which was directly influenced by the Latin comedy.[29] Even in the early sixteenth century, the comic playwrights of France first drew upon Roman comedy only indirectly through their imitations of the plays of the Italian dramatists of the same century. The first completely "original" French comedy was not written until 1552 (Jodelle's Eugène); therefore, it should be quite obvious that the Latin comedy played only a minor role in the development of the French theatre.

28 Ibid., p. 97.

29 Ibid., pp. 97-98.

One of the earliest traces of Terence's influence upon the literature of Spain is found in the most flattering form of recognition: that of imitation. One example is Garcia de Toledo's Garcineida (1099?), which appears to have been modeled in part upon Terentian comedy.[30] Although it seems that original works based on Terence and Plautus were rare, many well-known scholars were familiar with their works, mostly through reproductions. They were commonly cited by the end of the fifteenth century, mainly by humanists showing their classical wit. Among those mentioned by E.J. Webber in his study of the aforementioned topic are Enrique de Villena, Santillana, F. Pérez de Oliva, and Juan de Mena.[31] F. López de Villalobos translated Plautus' Amphitrio in 1515 and F. Pérez de Oliva did the complete Terence during the same period.[32] It would also be worthwhile to note that Enrique de Villena quoted Terence in his Consolatoria: Mosén Antonio Vilaragut, of the court of Juan I, translated into Catalan the Hercules and Medea of Seneca at the end of the fourteenth century; and, finally, there exists a fifteenth century

30 Edwin J. Webber, "The Literary Reputation of Terence and Plautus in Medieval and Renaissance Spain," Hispanic Review, vol XXIV, (1956), p. 193.

31 Ibid., pp. 196-8, pp. 204-6

32 N.D. Shergold, A History of the Spanish Theatre from Medieval Times until the Seventeenth Century (Oxford, 1967), p. 169.

codex of the works of Plautus in Valencia. It is also known that Plautus and Terence were used in the University of Salamanca in grammar courses.[33]

Related to the previously studied elegiac comedies are the paraphrases in the Libro de Buen Amor and in the Cancionero de Baena that one finds of Geta and Pamphilus.[34] Also, the humanistic comedy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was presented in many European universities, but there are no documents to show that this was so in Spain. However, certain works of the Italian humanistic theatre which had a Spanish topic as their main theme were known during this period. Two such examples are the Historia Baetica (1492) and the Fernandus Servatus (1493) written by Carlos and Marceline Verardi, respectively.[35] The Spaniards themselves copied this genre with Juan Maldonado writing Hispaniola (1519) and Hércules Floro writing Galathea and Zephira (1502).[36]

All of the aforementioned works are really minor when we consider the study made by María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, who, as we have previously stated, gives an ex-

33 Ibid., p. 402.

34 Fernando Lázaro Carreter, Teatro Medieval (Madrid, 1955), p. 12

35 Ibid., p. 13

36 Malkiel, op. cit., p. 32

tremely detailed account of the mediaeval Latin comedies and traces them from Plautus and Terence through the main object of her study, La Celestina.[37]

Although Juan del Encina appears not to have been influenced by the Roman comedy, some of his successors, such as Torres Naharro, Lope de Rueda, and Juan de Timoneda, seem to have known Plautus extremely well. In fact, in Torres Naharro's Propalladia we find a detailed theory of the drama, based in part upon the Roman comedy. Even Lope de Vega, who professed to disregard Plautus and Terence as unsuitable for his audience, has themes and devices similar to those of the Roman comedy. The aristocrats in disguise, two pairs of lovers reunited at the end, frequent mis-understandings and cross-purposes, impersonation, and the "gracioso" are typical examples. But, as Lázaro Carreter states,

> ni el teatro clásico, ni las moralidades cultas de la comedia latina anterior al siglo XV constituyen, pues, factores que determinen el nacimiento del teatro medieval. Hay que buscarlo por otros caminos.[38]

It is exactly this which we intend to do further on in our study.

37 The entire Malkiel work is valuable for its studies related to the structure, character analysis,etc., of the above plays.

38 Lázaro Carreter, op. cit., p. 13.

Similar was the state of the Latin comedy in Portugal. It seems that the first Portuguese comedy to follow classical forms was the Estrangeiros of Sá de Miranda, written ten years after the Cancioneiro Geral. Wanting to separate himself from the popular traditional school of Gil Vicente, Sá de Miranda chose prose for his dialogues and adopted certain characteristics of the previously discussed authors of the Italian comedy, such as Ariosto and Machiavelli. Miranda's Vilhapandos (1538) also exhibits a certain classical Latin influence of Plautus and Terence and even imitates certain scenes from Plautus' Anfitryon. Many instances of deceit, as well as complicated love affairs, also give the work a familiar air. Camões was later to adapt two of his plays, Filodemo and Anfitriões, to Vicentine moulds, even though there are obvious influences from the Roman and Italian theatres.[39]

Very little is known about the earlier sources of the Classical theatre in Portugal. Claude Henri Frèches discusses the "théâtre neo-latin" and states that "la bibliothéque de D. Affonso V possedait les deux tragédies

39 Dicionário das Literaturas Portuguesa, Galega e Brasileira ed. Jacinto do Prado Coelho (Porto, n.d) pp. 795,875.

de Sénèque: Hippolyte et Hercule Furieux."[40]

It is also known that the libraries of D. Duarte, D. Manuel I, and D. João III contained various classical dramas. Gil Vicente and his contemporaries must also have been familiar with some of these plays, but were, of course, more influenced by the works of the Spanish theatre and by the popular Portuguese traditions. Moreover, it would be logical to assume that Plautus and Terence were used as instruments in the teaching of Latin and that they were familiar to most well-educated people.[41]

Now that we have briefly examined the influence of the classical Latin comedy on the birth of the theatre in Mediaeval Western Europe, we must conclude by saying that, with the possible exception of Italy, this comedy did not appear to be an important factor in the development of the drama until after the first two decades of the sixteenth century. Keeping this in mind, we will later try to support this statement when discussing our main objective: the works of Henrique da Mota. But let us first examine the origins of the other two afore-

40 Claude Henri Frèches, Le Théâtre neo-latin au Portugal: (1550-1745) (Paris, 1964), p. 12.

41 Ibid., p. 163.

mentioned influences on the theatre in general: the liturgical and the secular influences.

## B. The Liturgical Influence

One of the principal contributors to the history of dramatic dialogue is the Church. "Having denounced the plays of others, the Church spontaneously, independently, and gropingly invented a new theatrical product...and advanced with slow deliberation upon its own path."[42] "From the date of the earliest genuine dramatic manifestations, in the tenth century, to the period when the plays abandoned the precincts of the Church, Roman liturgical forms dominated Western Europe,"[43] as we shall soon see.

The Church services fell naturally into two parts: the Mass and the Hours. Although many scholars have claimed that the Mass itself is very dramatic, most of the parts of the Mass do not permit a great deal of innovation, especially during the sacrament. However, the introduction to the Mass, based largely upon readings from the Bible, as well as sermons and prayers, could vary according to the Church calendar. The Hours, which more easily permitted dramatic variations within their own structure, and whose parts are not as indispensable as those of the Mass, also varied according to the Church calendar.

42 Young, op. cit., vol. I, p. 12.

43 Ibid., p. 15.

The Palm Sunday rituals had many dramatic qualities and had the potential for further dramatic development. "Symbolic objects and actions - church vestments, altars, tombs...and the pantomine of the priests - constantly recalled the essentially dramatic events which underlie Christian ritual."[44] The other important factor, that of dialogued speech, is latent in the practice of antiphonal singing.[45]

It is known that the antiphon was probably influenced by the Greek tragic chorus and the Jewish psalmody and that the choral protions were stereotyped as early as the sixth century in Gregory the Great's Antiphonarium. From this step came the "tropes" (interpretations of existing texts), and "schools" of trope-writers grew up in Northern France with Adam of St. Victor, and at the Benedictine abbey of St. Gall near Constance with Notker and Tutilo. The latter had written many introductions to the Mass, or "Introit," in dialogue form.[46]

It was in the well-known Easter dialogue of "Quem Quaeritis" that the liturgical drama was born, according

44 Oscar Brockett, A History of the Theatre (Boston, 1968), p. 83.

45 Chambers, op. cit., vol. II, p. 6.

46 Ibid., pp. 7-8.

to Chambers:[47]

> In many cases it was part of the Introit, but it also served as a separate entity in itself for Palm Sunday, and was even freshly rubricated for other occasions. It was in the tenth century that this 'Quem Quaeritis', with the 'scenario' described in the English Concordia Regularis during the reign of Edgar (959-979), as well as the dialogued chant and mimetic action, formed the first liturgical drama. The fact that it was also known in France and Germany is testified to by the 'Consuetudines' of the Monastery of St. Vito of Verdun and in a trope of Bamberg called 'Ad visitandum sepulchrum.'[48]

It would be extremely difficult to offer exact details in the development of the "Quem Quaeritis," even though there do exist many more versions of it in France and Germany than in Italy or the Iberian Peninsula. What is important, however, is that there are many variations on the theme, with some containing a scene between the Maries and the Angel and others with either the Apostles or Christ. The fact that we do have these variations adds to the dramatic character of the ritual.

"Besides the 'Quem Quaeritis,' Easter week had another liturgical drama in the 'Peregrini' or 'Peregrinus.' The simplest version is that of the journey to Emmaus and the supper there. This form seemed to develop

47 Ibid., p. 13

48 Ibid., p. 15.

in the twelfth century."[49]

Examples of the latter are found in Litchfield, England, Rouen and Saintes in France and in the Benedictine monastery in Germany (Benedictbeuern).

Eleventh century tropers from St. Gall, Limoges, etc., provide us with the Christmas season's "Quem quaeritis in praesepe,pastores, dicite?", which was just as important as Easter's "Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o Christocolae?" The visit of the "Tres Reges," "Officium Stellae," and the "Officium Pastorum," as well as the "Prophetae," important for its introduction of the Sybil, are other representations introduced at Christmas time.[50]

Extensions and variations of the above, as well as the introduction of new characters and themes, added to the greater public interest in the presentations, which helped move the plays from the churches to the public squares, all aided in the secularization of these works and the development of the drama as a whole.

The problems of nomenclature, which were briefly mentioned in a previous chapter, arise again with respect to the later development of the drama based on liturgical

49 Ibid., pp. 33-7.

50 Variations upon these themes are found in Chambers, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 1-67.

themes. "Processio," "Ordo," and "Officio" are frequently applied in place of the work "play." "Representatio" and "ludus" were also common, as was "miraculum," but it is the term "actio," related to the Mass, which will be of special interest to us further on in our study of the Spanish and Portuguese "autos."

It is known that the celebrations of Epiphany added to a secular treatment of the drama. The themes included the Wise men, the Flight into Egypt and the Slaughter of the Innocents. "A German 'Dreikonigsspeil' of this kind in Latin verse has been preserved. A great many events were interpolated and in 1194 a great representation was given at Regensburg, the subject of which was the creation of the angels, the dethronement of Lucifer, the Creation, the Fall and the prophecies." A key figure in the development of this liturgy in Germany was the afore-mentioned Notker.[51]

A great many of the details concerning the existence of the liturgical drama in England were destroyed during the Reformation. However, it is known that the "Representatio" of the Visitation of the Cross, the "Prophetae," the "Reges" and the "Pastores" occurred at Salisbury,

51 Robertson, op. cit., p. 37.

Winchester, Dublin, York and London.[52] Chambers adds:

> By the Thirteenth Century the liturgical drama had reached the full term of its natural development in England and was tending to overshadow the sacrificial and devotional ritual of the feast days, which it was originally intended to adorn. Also, as in Germany, England adds bilingual elements to the dramas, with Latin playing a secondary role. The move from within the Church to the outside was noted in 1220 when a Resurrection was moved to the churchyard.[53]

Although still religious in subject matter, a definite period of transition was begun: from the "officia" for devotion and edification, the works became essentially the "spectacula" for delight.[54] From this period of transition came the Miracle play:

> The miracle play, or 'miraculum', has virtually no association with scriptural tradition. It may be described as the dramatization of a legend setting forth the life or martyrdom or miracles of a saint. The number of such legends is very large and the body of plays which they inspired during the late medieval period in the European vernaculars was enormous.[55]

52. The Litchfield (1188-1198) and York (1255) statutes provide documentation of these events according to Chambers in his English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1945).

53 Chambers, The Medieval Stage, Vol. II, p.27

54 Ibid., p. 69

55 Young, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 307-308.

Chronicles record elaborate performances from 1384 to 1508. The plays were oftentimes in the hands of craft guilds and were usually presented in cycles, of which those of Chester, York and Wakefield are most famous. The themes extended from the Creation to the Last Judgement and the performances were accompanied by religious processions. The Chester cycle, for example, contained twenty-five works and was divided into pre-Christian history, a nativity group, the life of Christ, the Passions, and the prophecies.[56]

In Italy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the people seemed to have renounced the profane spectacles in favor of those given in the Church. So, "where in the first period of development of the Italian theatre the pagan spectacle rivaled the Christian liturgy, in the second period the Church triumphs and a true Christian drama develops and becomes, in its ultimate stage, the 'sacra rappresentatione.' "[57]

In earlier centuries certain services became so complicated that they became dramatic representations. A. d'Ancona states in his Origini del teatro italiano "that

56 For the complete development of these miracle plays in England, from their origins to their most flourishing period, see Chambers, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 69-148.

57 Kennard, op. cit., pp. 10-11

the real date of the beginning of the liturgical drama was the year 692, when, in an edict of the Council of Constantinople, the Fathers, for fear that the dogma of the humanity of Christ should vanish among the subtleties of the oriental symbolism, ordered that the redeemer should be represented 'humana forma' in all the episodes of the Passion, which the liturgy had hitherto avoided doing."[58] Kennard adds that by the eighth and ninth centuries the Roman liturgy, through the dialogue form of the responsory psalm and antiphon, through the interrogations and affirmations between the principal celebrant and the inferior ministers, had attained to the position of a dramatic performance. This was still further developed and instructions were actually added to give directions to the actors in the spectacle.[59]

"'L'Adoratione dei Magi,' 'L'Annunziazione,' 'Il Giorno della Resurrezione,' 'Il Sepulcro,' and the 'Compianto delle tre Marie' are the most well-known examples of the development of this liturgical drama."[60] When these plays move to the public square they will eventually develop into the "sacra rappresentazione."

58 In Kennard, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

59 Ibid., p. 18.

60 Ibid., p. 19.

Tracing the origin of the latter, we must begin with "the laudi" of the thirteenth century. They were so called because of their prases of God, the Virgin, and the Saints. They were sung in Italian and soon confined to chapels or churches. Their dialogical form prevailed and they became, in fact, true drama. The lauds soon changed to "lauda dramatica," whose foundation was the liturgy and not the liturical drama, although the latter would seem to be a natural intermediary between them. When they became more elaborate they were called "devozioni," a primary source of the "sacra rappresentatione." But unlike the "devozioni," the "sacra rappresentatione" is a true theatrical composition, independent of religious functions. Festival themes were later added. The first true example of this form is the Storia (1454) by Matteo di Marco Palmierie, containing a sequence of spectacles from Paradise Lost to the Final Judgement.[61]

"Soon afterwards, banquets were introduced into the 'rappresentationi' and almost no representation was without music and dances. Even hunts and battles added to the magnificence of the sacred spectacle. Little remained that was sacred and soon, instead of the Bible and

61 Ibid., pp. 27-63, including an examination of typical "sacre rappresentationi" and the atmosphere surrounding them.

the lives of saints, the chivalric and feudal world, profane legends and popular tales became the new material for these works and the true'sacra rappresentatione' ceased to exist."[62]

As far as France is concerned, it is known that liturgical dramas were represented in Fleury-sur-Loire (Saint Benôît) as early as the tenth century. It was from this town that the English Saint Ethelwood was inspired to write the Regularis Concordia (c.975). This play of the Ressurection was the seed from which the liturgical drama was to grow. There was a great deal of symbolism, relatively elaborate scenic descriptions, and even actors playing the roles of Christ, the angels, and others. A "Quem Quaeritis" is also documented at that time. [63]

The eleventh century brings the development of the drama, along with the variety of representations that are common in different seasons. There are numerous "Quem quaeritis in sepulcro" and "in praesepe." Shepherds and animals are also introduced. The next century brings the introduction of certain biblical characters, as well as the appearance of saints.

62 Ibid., p. 45.

63 Cohen, op. cit., pp. 16-18

Aside from these liturgical themes, including the Adoration of the Shepherds and the Wise Men, we must mention one work which is considered one of the finest theatrical pieces of the thirteenth century: The Miracle de Théophile. This work, perhaps based upon one of Gautier de Coincy's Miracles, tells about the forgiving "Notre Dame" who pardons Theophile when he repents for having made a pact with the Devil.[64]

Other "miracles," such as those of Saint Nicholas, of the woman saved by Notre Dame, and other legendary themes dealing with saints, are also part of the departure from typical liturgical themes. Le Jeu d'Adam et Ève, another well-known work of the same period, is a trilogy dealing with the Redemption.

In the fourteenth century many more plays appear which deal with the Passion, evangelical themes, miracles, and the lives of saints.[65] The following century deals more with the Incarnation and the original sin and not with the human terrestial story of Christ so popular in earlier years. The suffering Christ and Mary are also given greater emphasis.

64 Ibid., pp. 180-186.

65 Ibid., pp. 233-238.

The prohibition of certain representations halted the expression and hindered the appearance of new plays for a short period at the turn of the century, but this did not have a lasting effect. Eustache Marcadé, Arnoul Gréban, and Jean Michel all contributed "mystères de la passion" and within their works included themes from the Creation up to, and including, the Redemption.[66]

In order to understand the development of the liturgical drama in Spain and Portugal we must first go back to its beginning, realizing that the previously mentioned Notker probably began writing these texts in the ninth and tenth centuries, and that some of the oldest texts appear in Saint-Martial at Limoges and Saint-Benôit-sur-Loire in France, where the question and response of the "Quem Quaeritis" was further developed. From the Easter plays and scenes of the Resurrection, attention was turning to Christmas and its scenes of the birth at Bethlehem, angelic apparitions and visits of both the shepherds and Wise Men.[67] "Just as the Easter composition involves a kind of imaginary dialogue between angels and the Marys at

66 Ibid., pp. 302-309.

67 Richard B. Donovan, The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain (Toronto, 1958), p. 14.

the sepulcre, the Christmas piece presents a similar exchange of utterances between the shepherds and certain persons stationed at the manger."[68] There is a great deal of evidence that the choir boys themselves were dressed up like shepherds and were involved in the trope singing which greatly influenced the liturgical drama.

However, there was also an entirely different type of play presented on Christmas day:

> This was the famous piece known as the 'Ordo Prophetarum' or the procession of the prophets. This developed from sermons, not tropes. In the course of the sermon, various figures of the Old Testament were summoned to come forth and give testimony concerning the divinity of Christ. Jeremiah, Daniel, and Moses made appearances and quotes were given from Virgil and the Sybil. With their fondness for the drama, the mediaeval liturgists soon realized that these texts could easily be turned into effective plays, and before long, the biblical personages themselves were speaking lines instead of the lector. Isaiah was given a beard, Virgil writing materials and a crown of Ivy, the Sybil feminine attire and an inspired look, and the Procession of Prophets play was born.[69]

Such were the chief types of liturgical plays that flourished during the Middle Ages: the representation of Christ's resurrection on Easter Sunday, the "Peregrinus" on

68 Loc.cit.

69 Ibid., p. 17.

the following day, and during the Christmas season, the "Officium Pastorum," and the Procession of Prophets on Christmas day itself, and the play of the Magi on the feast of Epiphany.[70]

These liturgical dramas were probably first introduced into the Peninsula through Catalonia in the ninth century and first appeared in the Monastary of Ripoll, closely related to Saint Martial in France. But it is in Toledo where the richest collection of liturgical plays is to be found. It is known that liturgical shepherd and Sybil plays were already performed in the thirteenth century, both in Latin and Castilian.[71] One important example of how the dramatic activity in these plays increased is found in a Catalan text in which acting directions are actually given to the angels and the three Marys.[72]

Scores of plays also appeared in Gerona, Lérida, Jaén, Barcelona, Valencia, Mallorca, Saragossa, and countless other Spanish cities. Some were extremely elaborate and introduced many new characters and themes. This development was also apparent both in the dialogues and the

70 Ibid., p. 18.

71 Ibid., p. 31

72 Shergold, op. cit., p. 5

scope of the action, which was more complex, as well as in their manner of representation, just as we noted had occurred in other countries. Alfonso X's Siete Partidas also attest to the development of these plays, speaking out against the "juegos de escarnio" in favor of the nativity plays:

> Los clerigos...nin deben ser fazedores de juegos de escarnios, porque los vengan a ver gentes como se fazen. E si otros omes los fizieren, non deseen los clerigos y venir, porque fazen y muchas villanias y desaposturas...Pero representacion ay que pueden los clerigos fazer, asi como de la nascencia de Nuestro Senor Jesu Christo, en que muestra como el angel vino a los pastores e como les dixo como era Jesu Christo nacido. E Otros, de su aparicion, como los tres Rayes Magos lo vinieron a adorar. E de su Resurreccion, que muestra que fue crucificado e resucitado al tercer dia: tales cosas como estas que mueven al ome fazer bien e a aver devocion en la Fe, pueden las fazer...Mas esto deven fazer apuestamente e con gran devocion, e en las ciudades grandes donde ovieran arzobispos e obispos, e con su mandado dellos, o de los otros que tovieran sus veces; e non lo deven fazer en las aldeas nin los lugares viles, nin por ganar dineros con ellas.[73]

In Portugal, the only documentary proof of the existence of a liturgical drama are the few verses in Latin in a document discovered in the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra, dating from the fourteenth century:

73 Partida I, ley 34, til. VI.

> Pastores, dicite quidnam vidistis et
> annuntiate Christi nativitatem.
> Respondeant pastores:
> Infantem vidimus, pannis involutum, et
> choros angelorum laudantes Salvatores.[74]

As Stegagno Picchio says though, the existence of more developed works in Spain, as well as the later appearance of such works with Gil Vicente and his followers, offers us a sort of negative proof of their existence in Portugal during the late Middle Ages.[75]

Mário Martins' opinions seem to be in accord with those of Stegagno Picchio, stating that it would have been quite unlikely for Portugal to have not had a single actor play the role of a shepherd or a Wise Man, especially when they were so common all over Europe.[76] A 1281 document in the Torre do Tombo Archives, in Lisbon, states that the Archbishop of Braga prohibited priests from involving themselves in "historiões, jograis ou mímicos," thus proving their existence.[77]

Just as Alfonso X wrote against the secular representations performed in the Church, the 1477 "constituições do sínodo", in the Cathedral in Porto, show the members of

74 S.Corbain, Essai sur la musique portugaise au Moyen-Age, 1110-1385. (Paris, 1952), p. 294.

75 Luciana Stegagno Picchio, Storia del Teatro Portoghese, (Roma, 1964), p. 9

76 Mário Martins, "Teatro Sagrado na Nossa Idade Média ," Brotéria, vol. L (1950), p. 140.

77 Ibid., p. 141

the council speaking out against certain abuses suffered during religious celebrations: "nas igrejas se fazem muitos pecados de luxuria e muitas deshonestidades nos jogos, cantos e baylhos que com grande desonestidades fazem e mandam fazer os que taes vigílias ordenam." [78] Other documents even specify the prohibitions on certain ornaments that were to be used in the Church during secular celebrations.[79] Martins concludes that all of these bans on secular performances make for positive proof of their existence in Portugal, even though the works themselves have not been located.

As these plays began to appear more and more in the vernacular, the translation of classical Latin plays was less commonplace. One of the most important plays of this kind to appear in Spain was the famous Auto de los Reyes Magos.[80] Its importance lies not only in the fact that it is the only text of primitive Spanish liturgical drama that exists today, but also in the fact that it leads us to believe that there were many more like it. The Auto

78 Ibid., p. 144 (in Bibl. Mun. de Braga, mns.871)

79 Ibid., p. 145.

80 in Fernando Lázaro Carreter, Teatro medieval (Madrid, 1955). pp. 97-106.

was written at the turn of the thirteenth century, and it consists of 147 verses, following to a large extent the writings of St. Matthew, with each of the Kings following a star which ultimately brings them together. Together they go to the Christ child with their offerings. On the way they lose sight of the star and ask Herod for assistance. He indicates the direction to the manger and proceeds to call together many religious advisors to decipher the meaning of the Scriptures, which they are doing as the play comes to an end.[81]

The work has a certain dramatic quality and shows signs of action and pyschological realism. There is a sense of movement and scenic division implicit in the characters' expressions and there is a definite interaction of ideas. This is aided by the entrance and exit of the various figures in the play. It is certainly an important landmark in a discussion of the evolution of Peninsular performances and theatre.

Two fifteenth century works which also contributed to the development of the theatre are the Vita Christi of

81 It is believed that the last part was either lost or simply left unwritten.

Frei Íñigo de Mendoza[82] and the Representación del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor by Gómez Manrique.[83] The former describes scenes of a flying angel and shepherds visiting Mary and the Christ child, all done with "elaborate" scenery and a detailed description of each event. The latter is known to have been performed on stage and is quite different from the first.[84] It represents a scene between Mary and Joseph, with the latter suspecting his wife of adultery. There is another scene with a bizarre procession of children presenting the Child with symbols of His Passion, including a crown of thorns and a cross. The work is actually composed of various moments rather than scenes, but it is far more complex in nature than the Auto de Los Reyes Magos. The Middle Ages and the Renaissance appear to be juxtaposed, as are the succession of characters and events.

Gómez Manrique also contributed the Lamentaciones fechas para la Semana Santa, also known as Llantos por Nuestro Señor, a rudimentary liturgical work in which the

82 in Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, Antología mayor de la literatura espanola (Barcelona, 1958), vol. I, pp.825-828.

83 Lázaro Carreter, op. cit., pp. 107-115.

84 N.D. Shergold, A History of the Spanish Stage, (Oxford, 1967), p. 40

Virgin, St. John, and Mary Magdalene appear on stage to express their grief.[85]

The appearance of these works leads us directly to the founders of Peninsular theatre, Juan del Encina and Gil Vicente. We can state positively that these two dramatists' works became the basis upon which the future of Peninsular drama was to depend.

In the Cancionero de Juan del Encina, published in 1496,[86] we have various "autos" or "églogas" based upon Easter and Christmas themes. They unite both religious and secular traditions, as well as both biblical and classical pastoral themes. It is Juan del Encina who makes the shepherd not only a religious symbol, but also a literary figure able to survive on its own merits. Encina's first two works, as they appear in the collection, were both represented "en la noche de la natividad." The first is a rather simple introduction to the author's remaining works, with Juan and Mateo discussing the dramatist's artistry. In the second work these two shepherds are joined by Lucas and Marco. The performance benefits from the use of the four evangelists, dressed as shepherds,

85 Lázaro Carreter, op. cit., pp. 117-121

86 Juan del Encina, Cancionero de Juan del Encina (Madrid, 1928).

traveling to Bethlehem and speaking about the genealogy of Christ. That these two works were acted out in the presence of the Duke and Duchess of Alba is a widely known fact, as their introduction states. Their texts are, however, rather primitive and lacking in theatrical technique.

Another work, the "representación a la muy bendita passión y muerte de nuestro precioso Redentor," deals with the Birth, Resurrection and Passion and was also acted in the chapel of the Duke. Two hermits appear on stage, as does Veronica. The first two discuss the Crucifixion, while Veronica tells of the Passion and the story of how the image of Christ's face appeared on the cloth used to wipe his brow. An Angel comes forth and describes the event of the Resurrection. One further dramatic element added to the play was the singing of "villancicos," or carols.

This work is followed by the "representación a la santíssima resurrección de Cristo," in which the shepherds, Joseph, and Mary Magdalene discuss the tomb and the Resurrection, while Luke and Cleophas say that they saw Christ on the road to Emmaus and had eaten with him. Clearly, the original religious celebration is developing

into a true theatre.

In these works the level of dramatic evolution is quite superior to that of the preceding works. Realism, emotion, and devotion are all united, and the inter-relation of a wider range of characters and themes is evident. We note secondary characters and implied scenic descriptions, as well as a definitely more complex dramatic technique.

The "Egloga de las grandes lluvias," also in the 1496 collection, represents a marked increase in theatrical ambience, with the play divided into two distinct planes of action. The first represents a discussion of current events, including physical disasters and deaths, while the second shows the shepherds as they hear of the birth of Christ and proceed to bring Him presents. The remaining liturgical works of the author deal with a more Renaissance-oriented literary shepherd, more interested in mundane pleasures than religious observance. They are less naive, certainly more complex, and much less liturgical than their predecessors. However, as we have noted, Encina does develop the traditional religious elements to a much greater extent that those "dramatists" that preceded him, while continuing to make use of afore-

mentioned themes, such as the "Visitatio Sepulchri," "Depositatio," "Quem Quaeritis," and "Peregrinus." He takes these events and makes their themes more varied, increases the number of characters that appear and enhances the dramatic movement. The simple dialogues of the first works become more involved and there is a greater exchange of ideas and a wider range of action. A study of these works, as well as those of his contemporaries, is a study of the progressive development of dramatic texts, stage performances, and evolving theatre.

The progress includes the introduction of characters other than those involved in the primary plan of action. It also refers to a certain sense of movement which is evident in the descriptive remarks made by the actors themselves. It is not always what is actually said that is important, but rather what is implied. In this context, Encina's plays frequently overcome the obstacles of time and space, essential ingredients in all dramatic performances.

One of the followers and imitators of Juan del Encina was the much less renowned Lucas Fernández, whose works entitled "Egloga o farsa del Nacimiento de Nuestro Redemptor Jesucristo and Auto o Farsa del Nacimiento de

Nuestro Señor Jesucristo are worth noting, even though their actual contribution to our theme is slight. The latter work shows us shepherds discussing their daily life and introduces the liturgical theme when their companion enters the scene stating that he overheard an angel talking about the birth of Christ. This scene ends with the traditional visit to the manger. The other play is very similar and ends in the same manner, completing the desired effect of a quasi-liturgical drama.

Torres Naharro also showed some interest in the Nativity in his works. However, his Diálogo del Nacimiento commemorates the event rather than represents it. As J. Gillet states, this work "exemplifies the complete divorce of the liturgical and the religious drama, showing how the rude comedy scenes of the shepherds' plays developed when completely independent of the liturgical type of dramatic composition."[87] This is similar to the evolution that took place in Gil Vicente's plays.

It is with Gil Vicente,[88] then, that the nativity play and the liturgical drama achieve a much greater variety.

87 Joseph E. Gillet, Propalladia and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro (Pennsylvania, 1942,1946, 1951), Vol. IV, p. 561.

88 Gil Vicente, Obras Completas (Lisboa, 1928).

His plays were also performed before royal families who, in many cases, even encouraged his productions. As we previously mentioned, there is little evidence of such drama in Portugal before Vicente, a fact which quite naturally adds to his importance. His early drama appears to have been directly influenced by Encina. Garcia de Resende stated that Gil Vicente "foi o que inventou/Isto cá e que o usou/ Com mais graça e mais doutrina/Posto que Juan del Enzina/ O Pastoril começou."

The Nativity scenes of the Auto da Visitação (1502) (symbolically), the Auto Pastoril Castellano (1502) and the Auto dos Reis Magos (1503) are quite typical. The devotion shown towards the new-born prince in the first work, as well as the shepherds' offerings to him, are similar to the adoration of the Christ child. Similar to this is the scene in the Tragicomédia Pastoril da Serra da Estrela (1527), a play in which a group of shepherds discuss the birth of the "Infanta."

Vicente's dramatic progress if far more apparent in the second work, in which the characters have more personality and traits of individuality, in which there is more action and plot, even though it is still quite rudimentary. The simplicity and innocence of the serene

bucolic life was partially influenced by Sannazzaro's Arcadia and partially by the biblical shepherds of Bethlehem. The theme of the three Wise Men is also treated very well by Vicente in the third work, especially in the various philosophical debates involving the shepherds, the hermit, and the knight.

The final scenes of Mofina Mendes (1534) and the Auto Pastoril Português (1523) also follow the Nativity tradition, as does the Auto da Sibila Cassandra (1513). Nevertheless, at the same time they add new dimensions to Vicente's dramatic artistry and increase the dramatic activity within the play. In the first we have a comic shepherdess who cannot perform her tasks well by any means. In the second we see the comical love-triangles that involve the lives of the shepherds. In the third is perhaps the last paraliturgical element that we will encounter in Vicente's plays. It is also perhaps the most interesting.

Cassandra believes that no shepherd is worthy of her love because, as she later reveals, she expects that she herself will be the future mother of Christ. There is a procession of biblical characters, including Abraham, Moses, Isaiah, and Solomon, all of whom are dressed as

shepherds. The first three figures, along with the three Sybils, prophetize the life of Christ, in a manner similar to that of the second "Egloga" of Juan del Encina. While fusing together pagan, Jewish and Catholic traditions, this allegorical play follows the traditional ending of the Peninsular liturgical representation quite faithfully by terminating with the typical Christmas visit to the manger.

These Vicentine plays are important in that they actually represent the first phase in the dramatist's work. Although his later plays were to become far more complex, as one would naturally expect, it is in these rudimentary works that his artistry first becomes apparent. From a monologue in his first work, to a few characters in the second one, the transition is immediately evident. In later plays he was to add scenic divisions, either specified or implied, as well as secondary characters necessary for a continuity of action and further exchange of ideas. Scenes are often included and described along with the dialogue, as is the dramatic movement, an element derived from the characters' speaking roles.

Although it is at this point that the true genius of Gil Vicente becomes apparent, with his many psycholo-

gical studies, varied themes, and secularization of previously liturgical material, we must temporarily abandon the patriarch of the Portuguese theatre now that our study of the pre-Cancioneiro Geral liturgical drama has been completed. Quite appropriately, we are now led into an examination of mediaeval Peninsular secular performances, the final phase in our discussion of mediaeval theatre, before reaching a more detailed evaluation of the dramatic dialogical texts as seen in mediaeval Peninsular poetry. This will lead us to the "cancioneiros," including the Cancioneiro Geral and Henrique da Mota.

## C. Secular Influences

Besides the classical and liturgical dramas, a secular theatre also appeared very early in the Middle Ages. The creation of this genre, according to Karl Vossler, was caused by the desire of "los bufones, juglares, vagabundos de mercados, caminos y cortes feudales" who wanted to enter the scene. The performances of their "entremeses ["momos" and "arremedilhos"], farsas, diablerías, intermedios, bailes, diálogos y monólogos," and many other types of similar short works gave the "juglar" and the "recitador dramático" the opportunity and the occasion to make themselves seen and heard.[89]

With the development of these genres, we note some of the basic elements which were to contribute to the development of the theatre in both Spain and Portugal. Whereas the dialogical poetry of various mediaeval collections was to supply a large quantity of material for future dramatic texts, as we shall soon see, the "momos," "arremedilhos," and "entremeses" were to provide a basis for the action in many cases. The spectacle and the performance, so crucial in many theatrical works, was to

89 Karl Vossler, Formas literarias de los pueblos románicos (Madrid, 1944), pp. 21,51.

be influenced by these genres. Let us examine them from their extremely rudimentary beginnings, and meanings, to their more complex and elaborate nature. With their addition of dialogue, as well as singing and dancing, they were to have an important impact upon the sixteenth and seventeenth century theatre.

All of the performances were to contain ample action and visible movement. Nothing was left to the imagination, as we shall see. Since there was little dialogue, the visual element was the most crucial. Therefore, the sense of scenery, transmitted by authors of the dialogue through the words expressed, had to be part of the spectacle. The floats, costumes and disguises of the event were essential to their success. This was particularly the case in the "momo" and "entremes."

1. The "Momo"

The term "momo" is generally applied to courtly entertainment and designates, rather indifferently, the presentation itself, the characters that participate, and the costumes and masks worn by the actors. Noblemen, pages and even the King are known to have been participants during these royal festivities for which themes were frequently drawn from novels of chivalry. The action

was usually pantomimed, danced to, and recited.[90]

According to Shergold's History of the Spanish Stage,..,"it seems that the momerie was introduced into Spain in the early part of the fifteenth century, for D. Alonso de Cartagena writes critically of 'el juego que nuevamente agora se usa de los momos.'"[91] It is possible that the tradition began in Italy and probable that the English mummers were its product. One of the earliest documents in which they are mentioned is the Crónica del Halconero of Pedro Carrillo de Huete.[92] Both "entremeses," of which we will speak, and "momos" are mentioned. In Chapter LXXXIX, p. 153, one reads: "esta justa acabada, fuéronse el Rey e la Reyna y el Príncipe, e los cavalleros e damas que miraran en el cadalloso, a Sant Pablo, que era la posada del Rey. E allí fizo sala el condestable, donde se fizieron muchas danças e muchos momos."

Chapter CX, p. 198, upon the visit of the King to his sister, the Queen of Aragon, states: "Estas visitas duraron nueve días, en la qual la rreyna fue muy servida del condestable e de los otros cavalleros. E como el

90 Luis Francisco Rebello, História do Teatro Português, (Lisboa, 1967), p. 23.

91 Shergold, op. cit., p. 126.

92 Edición de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid,n.d.

Rey avia llevado consigo muchos gentiles onbres, e la rreyna de Aragón traiga algunas fremosas damas, fiziéronse allí muchas gestas e grandes fiestas de dançaş e momos."[93]

Gómez Manrique, contributor to the dramatic cycle of the Birth and Passion of Christ, is also responsible for two "momos"[94] and the "first court play actually known to have been acted and of which the text has survived."[95] The latter was performed in 1467 and celebrated the birth of Henry IV's brother, Prince Alfonso. Princess Isabel, later Queen of Castile, takes part in this spectacle, in which several muses appear dressed as women. The gifts which they come to offer the young Prince are actually representative of the excellent personal qualities they wish him to have.

The other "momo" was written in commemoration of the birth of Manrique's nephew. It is quite similar to a Nativity play in that presents are bestowed upon the

93 Other examples are found in Chapter CII, p. 180, during the baptismal feast of King D. Pedro's grandson: "...e despues que mucho ouvieron dançado, e fecho momo..."

94 Lázaro Carreter, op. cit., pp.123-128,129-131.

95 Shergold, op. cit., p. 127

newly born child by characters in the guise of the Seven Virtues. In summary let us offer the opinion that the first is quite detailed and has many scenic descriptions, as well as an extremely animated dialogue, both of which add to the quality of the performance. The second, although very brief, does offer examples of allegory and personification.

In Portugal there are numerous other examples of the "momo," especially during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In the Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta, by Gomes Eanes de Zurara (c. 1414), we read the following description:[96]

> mas fez ajnda o iffante Dom Hamrrique por acrecentar seus desemfadamentos, ca ordenou logo como se fezessem huũas nobres festas em Viseu, pera as quaaes mamdou comuidar o Conde de Barçellos seu jrmaão [Pedro] com todollos senhores bispos fidallgos e outros boõs homeẽs que avia em aquela comarca... mamdou o Iffante a Lixboa e ao Porto por pannos de sirgo e de laã e brolladores e alfayates pera fazeraem seus livreses e momos segundo pera sua festa rreallmente perteẽçia...

After describing the meal, he says,

> ...e quamdo veo aa vespera de natall eram ja todas estas cousas prestes, e assy mujtos corregimentos de justas e outros arreos de desvayrados maneyras e a cidade

96 Edição da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, s/d Chapter XXIII, pp.72-74.

> e aldeas darredor eram todas cheas de gemte de guisa que parecia a alguũs estramgeiros que per alli passauam que aquelle ajumtamento nom era senam corte de rrey.

Rui de Pina, in his Crónica do Senhor Rey Dom Alfonso V, Chapter CXXXI, entitled "de como foy o casamento da Imperatriz Dona Lianor Irmaã d'El Rey com o Imperador, e festas que por elle se fizeram," describes the celebration surrounding the marriage of the Princess Leonor to the Emperor of Germany, Frederick III in 1451:

> E despois em todollos dias que a Emperatriz esteve na cidade ante da sua partida, ouue sempre muy suntuosos banquetes, em que d'el Rey e da Rainha foy muitas vezes convidada, e assy os Embaaxadores e Ifantes, como em ricos momos que o Ifante Dom Fernando per sy fez, e outros de muito moor ryqueza e singular envençam, que o Yfante Dom Anrrique mandou fazer com outros de muytos Senhores e Fidalgos, e sobre todos o d'El Rey, em que desafiou os cavalleiros pera as justas Reaaes, que manteve na Rua Nova...O Yfante Dom Fernando veo com seus ventureiros vestidos de guedelhas de seda fina como salvajens, em cima de boõs cavallos envistydos e cubertos de figuras e cores d'allymarias conhecidas e outras disformes, e todas muy naturaes...E depois das justas ouve touros, e cana e mais momos e banquetes e muytos entremeses de grandes envençõe, e com muita custa.

In these festivities we are truly left with the impression that we have witnessed a dramatic work divided into seven "scenes": the election of Frederick to the

position of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire; his nomination by the Bishop of Cologne and the German electorate; the coronation of the Emperor and his wife by the Pope; and the blessing by the Bishop, during which time an angel brings the crown, and roses descend from Paradise, while a chorus sings. In the fifth scene "actors," dressed in the costumes of previous Portuguese kings, appear before a priest who praises their efforts against the infidels. The last two scenes show us angels wishing for faith, hope, and charity in the married life of Leonor and Frederick, as well as prophets who predict a happy future for both of them.

As Mário Martins states, there are real actors in these productions and a certain unity of action and time.[97] He considers this "momo" to be far superior to some of Gil Vicente's early works, even though it took place fifty years prior to the Auto da Visitação.

Garcia de Resende records the festivities of a 1490 marriage ceremony between Prince Afonso of Portugal and the Spanish Princess Isabel, in his Vida e Grandíssimas

97 Mário Martins, "Representações teatrais em Lisboa no ano 1451," Brotéria, vol. LXXI (1960), pp.429-30.

Virtudes e Bondades do Rey dõ João o Segundo.[98] One of the "momos," in combination with various "entremeses," is similar to Gómez Manrique's "momo," especially in the part in which gifts are bestowed upon the main subject.[99] Chapter CXXVI, folio LXXVII, is entitled "Dos ricos momos que el rey fez na sala da madeyra para desafiar a justa."[100]

In the description of these feasts we see the term "entremes," or "antremes," used to mean "float," one of the scenic elements of the entertainment. This was one of the common definitions of the term.[101]

> In these festivities,
>
> the King appeared in the character of the Knight of the Swan, and he and his eight companions made their entries in nine boats, each one set on canvas painted to represent water. The King's boat was preceded by a white swan and, as the vessels advanced, they discharged their artillery, and minstrels played upon trumpets and drums. In the prow of the King's ship stood a knight in full armour, who, in the name of the King, addressed a "breve" to the Princess, saying that it was his

98 Edição da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1545.

99 Shergold, op. cit., p. 128.

100 The preceding four chapters of the chronicle offer detailed descriptions of the entire range of festivities related to the celebration and the "momo," including the banquets and royal tourneys.

101 Shergold, op. cit., p. 130.

> wish to serve her at her wedding feast, and to champion her by challenging all comers to joust. The king-at-arms proclaimed the conditions of the joust, trumpets blew...This was followed by another "antremes" (pageant-car), said to be very large, and to have contained many mummers concealed inside a fortress that stood between a rock and a grove of green trees... Out of the drawbridge came the "momos." This was followed by another "entremes"... The joust itself did not take place until the next day. It was magnificently staged, and the King and his eight companions made their entry preceded by numerous musicians, some of whom were disguised as animals and who rode on two large platforms,called "carros." The King then retired and the tournament began.[102]

Shergold continues by saying that "these representations may be compared with early religious pageantry in that they were primarily a visual spectacle rather than spoken drama, though a spoken element was introduced when fairies greeted the Princess on her entry into Évora and the King addressed a 'breve' to her about the tournament."[103]

Resende again makes reference to these festivities in his Miscellânea.[104]

102 Ibid., pp. 129-130

103 Ibid., p. 130. Two such texts are preserved in the Cancioneiro Geral, as we shall observe in a later chapter.

104 Edição da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa,1954, section 29.

Resende again makes reference to these festivities in his Miscellânea:[104]

No ano de CCCXC

Vijmos as festas reaes
que em evora forão fectas,
na se vijrã outras taes,
tam ricas, nẽ tã perfectas,
nem gastos tã desiguaes
que multidam de borcados
chaparias e borlados,
que justas, momos, torneos?
que touros, cãnas q̃ arreos?
que banquetes esmerados?

An extremely detailed description of a 1500 "momo" comes from a letter written to the Catholic Kings by their Ambassador to Portugal, Ochoa de Ysásaga:[105]

> The first mumming of the celebration showed a large retreat which was set up at one end of the hall, with curtains which parted to reveal a magic orchard with a large quince tree in it, in the branches of which were lighted candles. On top of this tree was a dragon with three heads and six legs, its tail coiled around the tree trunk. In the orchard were six ladies, dressed in French style, and each holding a flaming wax torch... In their garden of love in Ethiopia, guarded by a dragon, the ladies had been given power by the gods to help all true lovers. A love-lorn prince had come to ask their aid, but his sufferings were so great that only the Queen could help him remedy his sorrows. They asked her to do this...The garden of love, it seems, was a pageant or "entremes" on wheels, for the ambassador records that after the ladies had made their speech, and given a written copy of

104 Edição da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1954, section 29.

105 Shergold, op. cit., pp. 131-132

> it to the Queen, the "carro" withdrew, and the King and a company of twenty men appeared, wearing masks. The "acts" which followed show other forlorn lovers, giants, hermits, ghosts and devils. After the spells are broken, all gather around the King and Queen to dance.[106]

In order to complete our study of the "momo," it is imperative that we mention Gil Vicente. His Auto da Visitação, which was his first work, written in honor of the birth of D. João, son of Manuel I, is similar to Gómez Manrique's "momo" in that it also shows the presentation of gifts, as we have previously mentioned. Gifts are also brought to princes and princesses, as well as the Christ child, in other Vicentine plays. However, this is not the only connection that his works had with the "momo." Eugenio Asensio studied the development of this genre, as well as its pageantry, in his article entitled "De los momos cortesanos a los autos caballerescos de Gil Vicente."[107] He describes how the "momo" became more complex than just the simple mimicry of certain figures, and shows how the great ballrooms in the court were lavishly ornate, and how jousts, songs, and dances

106 Ibid. p.132.

107 in Anais do Primeiro Congresso Brasileiro de Língua Falada no Teatro, Setembro, 1956, Universidade de Bahia. Publicada em 1958 no Rio pelo Ministério da Educação e Cultura, pp. 163-172.

played an integral part in such festivities. Chivalry and adventure became popular themes and words were inserted more frequently. Imagination and the supernatural brought dragons and giants to the forefront. The stories of conquests, discoveries, and great love affairs were also included. Asensio then states that "tales espectáculos contenían en germen una pieza teatral: una sucesión de cuadros plásticos con ilustraciones poéticas y musicales o un posible drama con ritmo y movimiento orgánico. Gil Vicente los aprovechó tanto para revistas poéticas como para dramas auténticos."[108] Courtly festivities appear in the Nao de Amores, Templo de Apolo, and Frágoa de Amor, but it is in Amadis de Gaula and Dom Duardos that Gil Vicente undertakes the task of transforming the themes, character, and spirit of the "momo" into almost pure drama.[109] Chivalry, jousts, supernatural forces, and courtly love abound in these two works. Although published after the appearance of Henrique da Mota's poetry, they are certainly worth mentioning, especially since they demonstrate quite convincingly that one cannot discuss

108 Ibid., pp. 168-169

109 Ibid., p. 169.

the "founder" of the Portuguese theatre without delving into the past to uncover the elements which may have influenced his works.

## 2. The "Arremedilho"

As the "momo" was a courtly, multi-faceted event, the "arremedilho" was more of an individual effort by "jograis," musicians who sang and mimed in a popular vein. They could perform for the peasants in the public squares or for the King and his nobles in the Court.

The Elucidário of J. de S. Rosa Viterbo describes the "arremedilho" as an "entremes, farça, comedia, ou representação jocosa."[110] The first known document mentioning this type of work is the Chancelaria de El-Rey D. Sancho I (c.1193).[111] It tells of the granting of lands by the King to two "jograis," Bonamis and Acompaniado, in exchange for their performances in his court. The exact words are: "nos mihi supranominati debemus Domino nostro Regi pro roboratione unum arremedilho." L. Stegagno Picchio defines the "jograis remedores" as a special

110 J. de S. Rosa Viterbo, Elucidário das palavras, termos e frases que em Portugal antigamente se usaram, (Lisboa, 1865), vol. I, p. 94.

111 Edição da Torre do Tombo.

breed of actors.[112] Giraut Riquier, a Provençal poet of the Court of Alfonso X, the Wise, defined the "remendadores" as "jograis" whose specialty was imitations. Riquier gave various definitions of many types of poets, including the "remendadores":

(Ano 1275)

Sitot s'es grans afans
als homes malanans
D'autros afars parlar
Que honor ten em car
Et a sene e saber
Ab esforsat poder
Deu lo sieus enantir
E nos, a qui pesars
De motz afars es datz
Avem voler assatz
Qui al nostre dever
Fassam nostre poder
.....
E son istrionés
E son inventorés
dig tug li trobador
E tug li tumbador
En las cordas tirans
O en peiras sautans
Son joculatores.

Pero ad Hordenat
Es pro ben em Espanha
E non volem ques franha
mas diga-s cum se ditz:
C'assatz es ben partiz
Per cognoms lurs afars
Hom apela joglars
Totz sels dels esturmens

Et als contrafazens
Ditz hom remendadors,
E ditz als trobadors
Segriers per totas cortz
Lunhs faitz plazens ni bos
Hom los apel bufos
Car qui sab dansas far
E coblas e baladas
D'azaut maistreiados
Albas e sirventes
Gent e be razós es
Com l'apel trobador.[113]

112 L. Stegagno Picchio, "Quatro Lições Sobre o Teatro Português," Estudos Italianos em Portugal (Lisboa, 1967). no. 28. p. 75.

113 Manuel Milá y Fontanals, De los trovadores en España (Barcelona, 1966), vol. II, pp. 240-242.

Alfonso X includes a poem about the "remedores"[114] in Cantiga CCLXXXXIII in his Cantigas de Santa María:

> .....
> Et el, con sabor d'questo,
> ia mais non fazia al
> senon remedar a todos
> nuns ben et outros mal;
> mas o dem a que creia
> de conselho, fez'll atal
> remedillo fazer ende e
> recebeu mui gran lijon.[115]
> .....

When entering a church one day, he began to "arremedar" instead of praying. This pained the Virgin, who then made him suffer, only to forgive him when he repented having done what he did.

In the Auto de Geração Humana,[116] sometimes attributed to Gil Vicente, we have another mention of the term:

> Anjo: Porem, que vindes buscar?
> Vimos ver se he assy ou nam
> de hũa arredemação
> que s'a ca d'arremedor.

Luis Francisco Rebello[117] considers the "arremedilho" the mother of the Portuguese theatre, while Theóphilo Braga thinks of it as the base in the development of

114 This closely related variation of the "juglar" was referred to in different texts by the terms "remendadores," "remedadores," as well as "remedores."

115 Alfonso X, Cantigas de Santa María (Madrid, 1889), vol. II, pp. 409-10.

116 I.S. Révah, Deux Autos méconnus de Gil Vicente (Lisboa, 1948), pp. 14, 136-9.

117 Rebello, op. cit. p. 18

dramatic tradition in Portugal. Stegagno Picchio does not recognize it as a specific dramatic genre, but acknowledges its part in the development of the theatre.[118] Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos (ed. do Cancioneiro da Ajuda[119]) states that the "arremedilho" must have had a great deal of importance, otherwise it would not have deserved mention in a royal document. This famous critic adds that it must have contained some elements of dance, music and written humorous dialogue, which may or may not be so.

Fifteenth century laws accentuated the decline of these works of buffoons and goliard poets, but a letter written by D. João II, in 1482, pardoning the goliard poet Rodrigo Alves, "escolar em artes, morador em Setúbal, que pregava como italiano e remedava judeus em maneira de capelão e rabí."[120] proves the continuing existence of these works. The burlesque sermon by the goliards is considered to be a derivation of the "arremedilho." (These same "jograis" are responsible for the "tenções,"

118 L.Stegagno Picchio, Storia del Teatro Portoghese (Roma, 1964), pp. 14-15.

119 Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcelos, Cancioneiro da Ajuda (Halle, 1904), vol. II, p. 759.

120 Ibid., p. 761, n.5.

dialogues which appear so frequently in the mediaeval Portuguese collections of poetry, as we shall soon see.)

Luis Francisco Rebello noted the continuation of the goliardic tradition in certain Vicentine works; the burlesque liturgical "planctus" related to the Easter play in the Pranto de Maria Parda, also visible in H. da Mota; the comical paraphrasing of the "Pater Noster" in the farses entitled Velho da Horta and Clérigo da Beira; and the amorous sermon in the Auto das Fadas.[121]

Thus, the goliardic tradition seems but one branch of a general trend, of which the "arremedilho" is a part. The entire structure of the troubadour-jongleuresque system in the Middle Ages represents a hierarchy of related levels, all of which are the basic elements in the performance of poetic works. As we must remember, poetry, derived primarily from oral tradition, involved performance on a rudimentary level on the part of the poet. This tradition, obvious in secular Peninsular works, such as the "momo" and "arremedilho," is also evident in the "entremés."

121 Rebello, op. cit., p. 20

## 3. The "Entremes"

From its earliest known usage, according to Shergold, the work "entremes" is "believed to derive from the dish, or ceremonial, or entertainment that came between one course in a banquet and the next; and since in many cases this involved the use of pageants or floats, it was to these that the term came to be applied."[122]

It is known that "entremeses," meaning the spectacles accompanying the banquet, were performed in the Peninsula as early as 1373. The occasion was the entry of Pedro IV's daughter-in-law into the city of Valencia.[123] The year 1381, however, marks the first known documented evidence of an "entremes" performance, as well as the use of the word as "the spectacle." It is mentioned in relation to the coronation of Dona Sibila at Barcelona:

> Item fou aportat a la derrarua del menyar un bell entremes, so es un bell pago qui feya la roda y estave en un bell bestimen en torn del cual havia molta bolateria cuyta cuberta de panys dor e dargent e aquest pago fou servit fort altament e presentat a la taula de la dita senyora ab mols esturments axi de corda com d'altres, e venien apart devan lo mayordom e cavallers e donsells, e

122 Shergold, op. cit., p. 114

123 Ibid. p. 115

> lo dit entremes portave en sos pits una cobla escrita que deya axi.[124]

It should not really be surprising that it is in a Catalan document that we see the word used as such for the first time in Spain. We make this observation because of the close cultural ties that existed in mediaeval times between Catalonia and Provence. Since the term is documented in Provence as early as 1175,[125] it seems only natural that it should later appear first in the Peninsula in the neighboring region of Catalonia. The same was true in the case of mediaeval liturgical texts, as we have previously noted.

Although the word "entremes" was used in numerous fifteenth century documents,[126] it is in 1399 that it assumes a more dramatic significance: "...at the coronation of Martin I at Zaragoza, a banquet was held, during which elaborate spectacles were provided to introduce the courses. An angel descended on a cloud from Heaven with ewers for the King to wash his hands, and again to give him fruit and a cup of wine at the end of the meal. The angel sang, as did the musicians concealed in the Heaven,

124 William Schaffer Jack, The Early Entremes in Spain (Philadelphia, 1923), p. 9.

125 Ibid., p. 11

126 See W.S. Jack, p. 13, for a complete listing of the dates of those documents.

and poems about the festivity...were scattered over the hall from the cloud.... During the course of the banquet, one of the dishes was introduced by the entry of a huge golden eagle, probably the one that represented St. John the Evangelist in the Corpus Christi procession. Another festival consisted of a snake breathing great tongues of flame through its mouth, and accompanied by armed men who uttered great shouts as if they wished to kill it. Finally they pretended to put it to death...The third dish was heralded by trumpeters, drummers and minstrels, behind whom came a large and realistically made rock, on top of which was a great tawny lioness, with an open wound in her left shoulder....All kinds of animals came out of the rock, which brought great rejoicing to the festivity." Dramatic representations also escorted the King from the Cathedral after the ceremony of his coronation. He was transported in a huge, well-made castle. The float was accompanied by singers, angels, and dancers.[127]

Many other elaborate spectacles followed and, by 1423, the use of this form had spread to Castile, where D. Álvaro de Luna entertained the King with "muchas ricas

127 Shergold, pp. 115-116.

fiestas e muy ricas justas e otros entremeses."[128] After a 1461 dinner and marriage ceremony, the tables were removed and a group of masked players entered. They were dressed "de muy buena y galana manera, es a saber, de un fino paño mui mucho menos que verde, representando que solían de un crudo cautiverio do les fue libertad ortogada, condicionalmente que a la fiesta de los dichos señores Condestable y Condesa viniesen a servir y honrar." During the next few days there was a lot of dancing, singing and "otros entremeses a tales fiestas anejos."[129]

In these early years "entremes" as a dramatic form was applied to two kinds of representation: "the platform on which was arranged a group of set figures or statues forming an allegorical scene; and in the second place the so-called 'carros' or 'rocas,' pageants which bore the allegorical figures about the city in procession during the solemnities which were likewise called 'entremeses.'"[130] As with the "momos," the "entremes" was used primarily for very special events. Live actors and singing became part of that event and even gentlemen

128 Ibid., p. 122

129 Jack, op. cit., pp. 12, 13.

130 Ibid., p. 15.

who considered both the "momo" and the "arremedilho" below their dignity, at least for a short period of time, began to take part.

Since the "entremes" did occasionally imitate Church events, it was criticized for permitting comical elements to enter:

> ...mes empero d'algun temps en sa quasi tots anys se fan per los caritaters de las parroquias, qui los demes son jovens, entremeses de enamoraments, d'alcovotarias e altres actes desonests e reprobats, majorment en tal dia en lo qual va lo clero ab processons e creu levada portants diversas reliquias de sancts, de que lo poble pren mal exempli e roman scandalitzat.[131]

To be sure, the Partidas of Alfonso X and the Constituições dos Bispados had such festivities in mind in their prohibitions. Clearly, once the "entremes" had reached a consistently stable level of development, it became the interlude common in the works of the "pre-lopistas" and writers of the Golden Age.

The "momos" of Portugal, earlier discussed, seem to be closely related to the "entremes." In fact, floats, arches and pageant-cars, called "antremeses" and "entremeses," were quite frequently used. At the 1490 banquets there were "muytos e ricos momos y muy

131 Ibid. p. 18.

singulares antremeses." These "antremeses" sometimes referred to the meal, but more often referred to the pageant-cars which brought in the mummers, nobles, musicians, and any other actor, including the King himself. The Miscellânea and Cancioneiro Geral, both by Garcia de Resende, also make mention of this form:

Décima XXX:

> E na sala da madeira,
> que ficaraa por memoria,
> real em tanta maneira,
> de perfeiçõẽs tam inteira,
> de tanta mũdana gloria?
> touros inteiros assados,
> nao batees apendoados
> por ingenho nella entravã,
> entremeses que espantavã,
> hũs ydos, outros entrados.

The "entremes" was later defined as a "representación breve, jocosa y burlesca, lo cual se entremete de ordinario entre una jornada y otra de la comedia para mayor variedad o para divertir y alegrar el auditorio."[132] Asensio considers Juan del Encina's Egloga de Antruejo and Auto del Repelón and Vicente's Auto da India to contain some of these characteristics.[133] (The famous "gracioso" of the Golden Age theatre in Spain is also be-

132 Eugenio Asensio, Itinerario del entremés, (Madrid, 1965), p. 17

133 Ibid., pp. 17-40

lieved to have evolved from this form.[134])

Through this detailed study of the "momo," "arremedilho," and "entremes" we are made aware of the tradition of performances that existed in the Peninsula years prior to the plays of its first "official" dramatists. With a considerable amount of acting, varied costumes and elaborate scenery and pageantry, these courtly performances were to be a basic element in the actual representation of future dramatic works. Thus, it is with our study of the Spanish and Portuguese "arremedilhos," "momos," and, finally, "entremeses," that we bring to a conclusion the part of our study concerned with the performance, through classical, liturgical, and secular influences. The classical tradition persisted mainly through translations, and later by way of Renaissance representations of those works. The liturgical element evolved from the Mass and the trope singing on certain holidays to the more elaborate variations on themes and action found in the works of Gil Vicente and Juan del Encina. The final influence,

134 A list of the collections of "entremeses" that appeared in later years may be found in C.A. de la Barrera Leirado, Catálogo del teatro antiguo español, (Madrid, 1860), pp. 713-720.

the secular courtly performances, added the element of spectacle to the profane works.

Thus,the stage is literally set for us to examine the other basic element of the theatre, the texts. Let us, then, begin our study of the dialogues themselves, from the rudimentary poetic dialogues to the more intricate beginnings of Peninsular dramatic texts. We will note both the introduction and amplification of the dialogue in Peninsular poetry and the development of the same.

# III

# THE APPEARANCE OF THE DRAMATIC DIALOGUE IN MEDIAEVAL PENINSULAR POETRY

# III - THE APPEARANCE OF THE DRAMATIC DIALOGUE IN MEDIAEVAL PENINSULAR POETRY

## A. The Dialogue

Whereas the Greek and Roman, Church, and Court spectacles left their imprint on mediaeval Peninsular "theatre" through translations, variations on themes, character development, and some basic dialogue, it was their contribution of the performance per se which was most valuable. Additional themes and characters were to come from many other sources as well, including life itself, as reflected in prose dealing with socio-political atmospheres. It is troubadouresque dialogical poetry, however, which seems to lend itself traditionally, naturally and quite forcefully to the growth of the theatre and dialogical texts. Pierre Le Gentil states that the role of the troubadours is an important one in the development of the drama. Although the "preguntas y respuestas (questions and answers)" that appear in the collections of poetry[1] do not have any personification of characters, they must be recognized, even if merely for

1 In Spain we shall refer to these collections as "cancioneros" and in Portugal as "cancioneiros".

being dialogues and for the fact that they do lead us to more complex works later on.[2] Our task, then, in this chapter will be to study the state of development of this poetry in the Peninsula up to the appearance of Henrique da Mota's dialogues in the Cancioneiro Geral.

As we have stated, the next section of this study will deal with the dialogical material that will lead us directly to the poetry of our author. The dialogue, as a genre, has its roots in classical times. Plato, Cicero, and Lucian were its principal proponents. Although there certainly existed other Greek authors who took advantage of this particular style, it was Plato who employed it most consistently. He followed the teachings of Socrates, who believed that the best manner of obtaining the truth was by searching man's soul through questions and answers. As E. Merrill suggests, the Platonic dialogue, as a literary form, was quite naturally shaped by its origin and purpose.[3] "Representing the speech of men, and often filled with intense lyric fervor, it stands close to the narrative and dramatic types of literature, but it is

2 Pierre LeGentil, Poèsie lyrique espagnole et portugaise à la fin du Moyen-Age (Rennes, 1949), vol. I, p. 459 and ss.

3 Elizabeth Merrill, The Dialogue in English Literature (New Haven, Conn., 1969), p. 2

distinguished from both by dealing with thoughts, rather than the acts of men."[4]

It appears that Plato chose the dialogue form for its vitality and its directness of expression. Abstract ideas were often eliminated in the truths exchanged between Socrates and his pupils. "In subject matter, [the dialogue] is a search for philosophic truth."[5] It is often dramatic, frequently poetic, and brings the ideas of man to life. "The Platonic dialogue may almost be described as drama in which the character element is strong and the action of minor importance."[6] This is true in all of the author's major works, including Apologia, Crito, Phaedon, Symposium, Protagoras, Charmides, Republica, etc. There are those who would say that Plato's style would have "won him high rank as a dramatist...if he had not been a philosopher."[7] Many of the themes of these well written Platonic dialogues are justice, life, death, humor, the soul, society, women, marriage, love, education, and the Universe.

4 Ibid., pp. 2-3.

5 Ibid. p. 3.

6 Ibid., p. 4.

7 H. J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Literature, (London, 1948), 3 eds., p. 260.

Following Plato in importance in dialogical origins is Cicero. Although inspired by Aristotle and an imitator of Plato, Cicero's principal vehicle of expression was the dialogue, with the thoughts placed in the mouths of orators. Even though his dialogues were written in Latin with charm and polish, "they lack the poet's touch that might have given them life."[8] Where the Platonic dialogue often presented speakers with opposing viewpoints in order to enhance the philosphical ideas, the Ciceronian dialogue usually consisted of a "brief dramatic introduction followed by a long, more or less interrupted exposition by one speaker."[9] Aside from not rising to the richness of Plato's dialogues, those written by Cicero had one major difference: they are prefaced by brief dedicatory letters which, although "breaking the illusion of the dialogues, explain the purpose of each one."[10]

Cicero could not seem to avoid certain difficulties connected to the form. "The comparative unimportance of some participants in the talk and their subsequent lack

8 Merrill, op. cit., p. 5

9 Ibid.

10 Cicero, On Old Age and On Friendship (Indianapolis, 1967), trans. H. G. Edinger, p. x.

of force is only a minor literary problem and one that even Plato, in his later pieces, did not try to solve. The fiction of spoken wisdom and the unwritten translation of philosophy also caused him some concern."[11] Aside from De Senectute and De Amicitia, his other dialogues include De Oratore and De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum.

It is Lucian, however, who infuses new life into the dialogue through the introduction of comedy and satire.[12] Through the plasticity and adaptability of his style, we see the frailties of humanity in a comical vein. His wit is especially evident in satirical dialogues entitled Dialogues of Courtesans, Against an Ignorant Bookbuyer, Concerning Hired Companions, Dialogues of the Gods, Concerning the Syrian Goddess, etc.[13] "In Lucian's hands, the dialogue may be essentially a narrative, set forth in conversation; it may be a series of tales, conveniently strung together by conversation; it may have enough of action implied to be a little short

11 Ibid., p. xi

12 Merrill, op. cit. p. 6

13 H. J. Rose, op. cit., p. 420

of a play; it may be a satire; it may be made up essentially of description; or it may merely furnish the setting for a thoroughly charming prose idyl."[14] It is a humorist's view of his day and his satirizing of the times through simple characterization.[15]

The basic themes of his works are quite varied, from human conditions in his Cock or the Dream, parasites and philosophers in Timon and the Misanthrope to canonical mythology in Dialogues of the Dead. His influence upon his contemporaries was great, as was his influence on Erasmus, in the Praise of Folly, Sir Thomas Moore, and other humanists, not to mention such famous authors as Hans Sachs, Ben Johnson, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Quevedo, Pascal, and the Spanish Valdés brothers.[16] "It was actually the 'editio princeps' of Lucian, printed in Florence in 1494-1496, by Constantine Lascaris, that made his writing the common property of scholars. Translation, citation, and imitation in Latin, or even in the vernaculars, widened indefinitely his sphere of influence."[17]

14. Merrill, op. cit., p. 8

15 Ibid.

16 Francis G. Allison, Lucian-Satirist and Artist (New York, 1927), pp. 133-161.

17 Ibid., p. 143.

Except for various dialogues of Lucian, the principal aim of this form of expression was didactic. Such was the primary influence in the dialogues of other literatures. The afore-mentioned Juan de Valdés, in his Diálogo de la lengua (1535), as well as the Italian Pietro Bembo, in Prosa della volgar lingua (1525), and others, used this form to express their ideas didactically. Even the Old and New Testaments make use of it in their teachings. However, it was not only in this manner that the dialogue was to become popular. As we have already observed, the liturgical texts evolved into dramatic plays meant to entertain and edify the public. This is but one example of the dialogue serving to transform purely didactic works into literature.

With the theatrical setup of the previously studied "momos" and "entremeses," and the addition of new plots, dialogues, richer elements, new characters, and themes, the simple dialogue could easily develop from a simple exchange between two characters into a true performance and related dramatic text. While the novel has the narrative and descriptions, as well as the dialogue, to depend upon for its success, the dramatic text has only the dialogue. It is then forced to a greater and more varied

development of the genre if it is to survive.

As we have just examined, the dialogue, through the influence of Plato, Cicero, and Lucian, "contained within itself elements so dramatic that it was connected with the modern drama in more than one country. It has been pointed out that many 'contrasti' of the Italians, and certain Spanish dialogues, such as the 'Coplas de Mingo Revulgo,' were close to the early Renaissance comedy. Moreover, dialogue games in French castles of the Middle Ages, the numerous 'fabliaux' in the forms of dialogues, the 'tension' and 'débat'...had made the dialogue a familiar form of entertainment in France even before the sixteenth century. The same is true in England."[18]

Thus, the many forms of the dialogue, be they short, long, informative, descriptive, or long monologues, conferences, debates or expositions of philosophical ideas, offer many dramatic possibilities. In general the dialogue is concerned with a parallelism or contrasting of opinions which draw the viewer or reader into itself. Whether theatrical or not, the "characters" must play the roles assigned to them by their author. They must do so with certainty and expressiveness.

18 Merrill, op. cit., p. 31.

The dialogue is the favorite form of expression of those who would like to voice their ideas through the mouths of others. Thus, opinions and criticism may prudently be expressed. It is evident that the dialogue is the soul of the dramatic work, the basis of its successful presentation. For that success, the dialogue needs to be alive and natural, with each character speaking according to his circumstances and station in life. The dialogue is, therefore, along with the monologue, our most natural form of expression. It is within this perspective that we will now study the dialogue as it appeared in Peninsular poetry, being one of the principal steps towards true dramatic literature.

B. Non-Cancionero Poetry

In the secular lyric poetry of the Middle Ages we find that the most rudimentary dialogues are found in the popular dispute or debate. The oldest existing lyric document in Spanish, "Razón de Amor," written in the thirteenth century, is followed by a simple anonymous poem entitled "Los denuestos del agua y el vino."[19] In the latter, both wine and water accuse each other of bad qualities and claim the best traits for themselves. Water feels proud to be part of the baptismal ceremony

19 Díaz-Plaja, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 202-204.

and wine has the honor and blessing to symbolically form part of Christ's body:

> Yo fago al ciego veyer
> y al coxo correr
> y al mudo faublar
> y al enfermo organar,
> así dize en el scripto
> do fázeme el cuerpo de Iesu Cristo.
>
> el agua
> .....
> e llos que de aqua non fuesen bautizados
> fillos de Dios non serán clamados.[20]

There is a certain unity between this poem and the one that precedes it in that a scenic description in the first places a glass of water and a glass of wine on a table. A dove enters the scene and spills the water over the wine, causing their dispute. The "Razón de Amor" itself also contains dialogical elements in the lovers' conversation:

> Dix le yo" "Dezit, la mía señor,
> si supiestes nunca d'amor?"
> Diz ella: "A plan con grant amor ando,
> mas non connozco mi amado
> ....."[21]

The latter poem reminds us of the "cantigas de amigo" of the Galician-Portuguese school of poetry, while the former is one of many such discussions in medieval verse in which

20 Ibid., p. 204

21 Ibid., p. 202

each of the characters praises his qualities and censures those of his adversary. (This part of the poem may be a possible imitation of a French work, "Disputoision du vin et de laiaue."[22]) Noteworthy is the scenic description as well as the speaking roles given to the two non-living entities. They speak with fervor and determination, as well as quite logically. One can almost envision the wine and the water in the garden as they argue.

Another anonymous poem of approximately the same period is the "Debate de Elena y María,"[23] which deals with two sisters of noble heritage, Elena and María, who fall in love with a knight and a clergyman, respectively. Each defends her lover, while criticizing the other's. María praises her clergyman, speaking about his quiet, troublefree life, abundant in food and drink and servants. She attacks the nobleman who lives as a cold, hungry begger. Elena, on the other hand, says that her lover is surrounded by squires, is a great hunter and is liberal and pleasing to his lady, while the clergyman is a lazy

22 L. Díez-Echarri y J. M. Roca Franquesa, Historia general de la literatura española e hispanoamericana 2ª ed., (Madrid, 1966), p. 59. Note the similarity between this poem and the goliard debates between wine and water in Whicher, op. cit., pp. 239-247.

23 Díaz-Plaja, op. cit., pp. 205-208.

Don Juan. It seems to be a typical religion vs. military debate and is similar to various French and Latin works of the times.[24] Although the vivid debate between these two stubborn women could easily have been performed by the poet and a colleague, it completely lacks any scenic description and is devoid of action. Nor are there any implicit movements or visual effects.

The documents in which these poems are found are not complete, but the following is even more fragmentary. The "Disputa del Alma y el Cuerpo," which is a mere translation of a French poem entitled, "Debat du corps et de l'âme" and a Latin one, "Rixa animi et corporis," seemingly has a typically apostolic-biblical theme dealing with values of the spirit versus the sins of the flesh. The addition of a narrator, his visions, and a heated dialogue make this thirty-seven line fragment an important contribution to rudimentary Peninsular dramatic texts:

> Si quereedes oír lo que vos quiero dezir,
> dizré vos lo que vi, nol vos i quedo fallir.
> Un sábado esient, domingo amanezient,
> vi una grant visión en mío leio dormient:
> eram' asemeiant que so un lenzuelo nuevo
> jazia un cuerpo de uemne muerto;
> ell alma era fuera e fuert mientre que plera,
> ell alma es ent esida, desnuda ca non vestida,
> e quisa d'un jfant fazie duelo tan grant.

24 Díez-Echarri, p. 60 ("Phyllis et Flora," "Hueline, Blancheflor e Florence," and the "Jugement d'Amour.")

Tan grant duelo fazíe al cuerpo maldizíe,
fazíe tan grant de duelo e maldizíe el cuerpo;
al cuerpo dixo ell alma: de ti lievo mala fama!
tot siempre t'maldizré, ca por ti penaré,
que nunca fecist cosa al que semeias fermosa,
ni de nog ni de día de lo que io quería;
nunca fost a altar por j buena oferda dar
ni diezmo ni primicia ni buena penitencia;
ni fecist oración nunca de corazón,
cuando ivas all elguesia asentavast a conseia,
i fazíes tos conseios e todos tos trebeios;
apostol ni martjr nunca quisist servir,
iuré par la tu tiesta que no curaríes fiesta,
nunca de ningún santo nu curest so disanto,
mas notfarán los santos aiuda mas que a una bestia muda;
mezquina, malfadado, ta' mal ora fuest nado!
que tu fueste tan rico, agora eres mes quinu!
dim, o son tos dineros que tu misist en estero?
o los tos moravedís, azarís e melequís
que solíes manear e a menudo contar?
o son los palafres que los quendes ie los res
te solíen dar por to loseniar?
los cavallos corientes, las espuelas punentes,
las mulas bien amblantes, asuveras trainantes,
los frenos esorados, los petrales dorados,
las copas d'oro fino con que bevíes to vino?
de son tos bestimentos? o los tos guarnimentos
que tu solíes festir e tanbién te...[25]

The poem contains a brief introduction preceding the spoken role of the soul. It describes the body as it lies lifelessly on the ground. One can almost picture the sole as it stands by the body arguing with it. Even the day on which it supposedly took place is mentioned, with the author acting as witness to the event.

25 Díaz-Plaja, op. cit., p. 212.

When discussing these works we must realize that they do not constitute theatre as we know it. In many cases their themes are representative of certain elements which were to serve as an inspiration in the foundation and growth of Peninsular drama, both textually and structurally. Aside from this factor, we must also note that the possibility does exist that these dialogical poems were performed before an audience. This may have been accomplished by a solo recitation by the poet, or with the aid of a colleague in the court who would portray one of the characters. This personification, even lacking elaborate scenery, was an important step in theatrical development.

Tracing the dramatic elements in other non-"cancionero" poetry would make an interesting study, especially if one were to include such works as the Cantar de Mío Cid and the Libro de Buen Amor. Both works had a great influence on future dialogues and theatre. The theme of the Cid and his foils was inspirational in many Renaissance and Golden Age plays, such as Guillén de Castro's Las Mocedades del Cid and Las Hazañas del Cid, as well as Corneille's Le Cid.

The Arcipreste's "serranillas," along with the

popular French "pastourelles," Portuguese "pastorelas," and other examples of Spanish poetry, were to influence Juan del Encina and Gil Vicente. The Arcipreste also had close ties with the goliardic tradition. The Libro de Buen Amor also offers dialogues between the "griegos y romanos," Don Amor and the Arcipreste, the Arcipreste and Dona Endrina, and both with Trotaconventos, as well as dialogues in various fables in which animals engage in conversation. This element will also be studied in Henrique da Mota's works, as influenced by Aesop and others. The "Pelea que ovo Don Carnal con la Quaresma"[26] reminds us of other personifications and could certainly be a representation in itself.[27]

The famous "Coplas a la muerte del maestre de Santiago Don Rodrigo, su padre," by Jorge Manrique, also includes a certain dramatic element. Pedro Salinas states that the poet "cede a la tentación de abandonar el estilo narrativo y hacernos ver ese momento de morir, en figuración dramática."[28]

This short excerpt in which Manrique justifies death

26 Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de Buen Amor (Madrid, 1963), vol. II, pp. 76-97.

27 This selection has a French source with dramatic elements entitled "Bataille de Karesme et de Charnage."

28 Pedro Salinas, Jorge Manrique--o tradición y originalidad (Buenos Aires, 1947), p. 205.

is as follows:

Habla la muerte:
Diciendo: "Buen caballero
Dexad el mundo engañoso
Y su halago;
Muestre su esfuerço famoso
Vuestro coraçón de acero
En este trago;
Y pues de vida y salud
Hiciste tan poca cuenta

Por la fama,
Esfuérçese la virtud
Por sufrir esta afrenta
Que os llama.

.....
"El vivir que es perdurable
No se gana con estados
Mundanables,
Ni con vida deleitable
En que moran los pecados infernales;
.....
Y con la fé tan entera
Que tenéis,
Partid con buena esperança
Ques esta otra vida tercera
Ganaraéis.

Responde El Maestre;
"No gastemos tiempo ya
En esta vida mezquina
Por tal modo,
Que mi voluntad está
Conforme con la divina
Para todo;
Y consiento en mi morir
Con voluntad placentera,
Clara, pura
Que querer hombre vivir
Cuando Dios quiere que muera
Es locura.[29]

29 Jorge Manrique, Cancionero de Jorge Manrique, estudio, edición y glosario de Augusto Cortina, 4 ed., (Madrid, 1960), pp. 99-101.

The obvious universality and popularity of this theme carried through many centuries of literary history and philosophy.

Another mediaeval example of the "disputa" is the fifteenth century "Revelación de un Ermitaño." In this work a hermit describes the scene he envisions one day in January, 1420, in which the Soul is blaming the Body for the type of life it has led, similar to the situation in the "Disputa del Alma y el Cuerpo." This poem, however, is clearly a more complex and, at the same time, a more "theatrical" work. Not only do the characters Body and Soul appear, but the Devil and Angel also involve themselves, reminding us of a work which was to appear almost one hundred years later: Gil Vicente's Auto da Alma. The following section of the poem shows the situation following the debate between the Body and Soul:

> Ellos estando en esta porfía
> Salió un diablo negro de un espesura,
> Gesto espantable, de mala figura,
> Tynasas de fierro en las manos traya.
> Dixo conta el ánima: tu serás mía,
> Y conmigo yrás allá a mi posada,
> Adonde serás bien aduergada,
> Que allá fallarás asas conpannía.
>
> El Ángel de Dios que esto beya,
> Fue conta el malo muy ayrado,
> E dixo: diablo, sey ya pagado

De quanto mal fases de día en día.
Pues te atrues con gran osadía,
De mí tu yrás ma al de tu gr
Aunque te pese a toda mía.[30] grado,
Questa ánima será toda mía.[30]

Although the encounter between the latter two figures is brief, with the Angel victorious, the tradition which was later to be followed by Gil Vicente is clearly evident. The continued debate between Body and Soul, in which the latter proves his case more convincingly, adds to aid us in our conviction that these early poems did have some dramatic qualities which were widely received by further generations of writers. Calderón even used this theme in his Auto Sacramental, Pleito Matrimonial del Cuerpo y el Alma, the source of which is generally accepted to be St. Paul's Epistles to the "Galatians," number 6, in which he speaks of the flesh versus the spirit. The same is true for the preceding poems. However, the theme is quite typical of the Middle Ages, to the point of being almost commonplace.

It is interesting to note that the same document of the Library of the Escorial, in Spain, that gave us the preceding short work also contains the Spanish version

30 Díaz-Plaja, op. cit., p. 215.

of the "Danza de la Muerte". Leandro Fernández de Moratín, in his Orígenes de Teatro Español, calls this work a true "pieza dramática"[31] and Milá y Fontanals concurs. Menéndez y Pelayo denies this fact, saying that it was never acted and was only meant to be read. Although we tend to disagree, who can deny the dramatic value of such a work, especially when its theme leads us to certain works which we know were performed: the three "barcas" of Gil Vicente entitled Auto de Barca do Inferno, Auto de Barca do Purgatório and Auto da Barca da Glória.[32]

A pastoral allegory with political overtones represents one more attempt at serious dialogical poetry with the potential for performance. In the "Coplas de Mingo Revulgo,"[33] Gil Arrebato asks Mingo why he is so unhappy. The latter answers that it is because of the poor leadership of the shepherd Candaulo, representing Enrique IV.

31 L. F. de Moratín, Orígenes del teatro español (Madrid, 1846), vol. II, p. 178.

32 The characters, such as the Predicador, Padre Santo, Esperador, Cardenal, Rey, Patriarca, Duque, Arzobispo, Condestable, Obispo, Caballero, Abad, Escudero, Mercader, Arcediano, Abogado, Canónigo, Médico, Cura, Labrador, Monje, Usurero, Franciscano, Portero, Ermitaño, Contador, Diácono, Recaudador, Sacristán, Rabí, Alfaqui, Santero, and, finally, the Mortales, are many of the same that appear in the Vicentine works. For a further study and bibliography relevant to this work, see Lázaro Carreter, op. cit., pp. 80-86 and footnotes.

33 Díaz-Plaja, op. cit., pp. 835-839.

Mingo says that the leader abandons his sheep because he is lazy and that his cows are ill and hungry, as well as suffering the attacks of the wolves:[34]

¡A la hé, Gil Arribato!
Sé que en fuerte ora allá echamos
Quando a Candaulo cobramos
Por pastor de nuestro hato
Ándase tras los zagales
Por estos andurriales
Todo el día enbeviçido,
Holgazando syn sentido,
Qie non mira nuestros males.

¡Oja, oja los ganados
Y la burra con los perros
Quales andan por los çerros
Perdidos, descarriados!
Po llos santos te prometo
Que este dañado baltrueto
(Que nol medre Dios las çejas)
Ha dexado la ovejas
Por folgar tras todo seto.

The action in the work is almost nil, the plot simple and the interaction of characters at an elementary level. The work is quite reminiscent of some of the early works of Juan del Encina and Gil Vicente, as well as the previously reviewed dialogical tradition of Lucian. The shepherds involve themselves in non-pastoral discussions, just as those of Encina's Egloga de las grandes lluvias and Vicente's Auto pastoril castellano, etc.

Up to this point in our study of the dialogue we have observed that the traditional two-character exchange of

34 Ibid., p. 835.

opinions has been maintained. There has been little or no scenic description, either implied or within the text. However, there is evidence of a distinct combination of allegorical and human elements. Although the continuation of this trend is assured, principally through the personification of Love during the following decades, the more developed works tend to add a great variety of human characters to the scene. Thus, one basic element of the theatre, the characters, or actors in many cases, is clearly evolving. Although more common in Encina and Vicente, its existence is becoming more evident with each succeeding poem, especially with the addition of scenic elements and dramatic movement. This dramatic movement is often apparent in the actions and words of the secondary characters. The scenic elements, if not directly specified in an introduction, or within certain directions, are transmitted through the exclamations of the characters. They may refer to the surrounding countryside or even point to it by their actions.

It is with little noticeable evolution in content and form that we went from the "Denuestos del agua y el vino" to the debates of Elena and María, the Body and the Soul, etc. Even the dialogues involving death show no marked

development of dramatic qualities. Although they do offer allegorical elements which prove noteworthy, they are, nevertheless, but rudimentary texts. Although they contribute to our knowledge of the existing dialogical material, they do not yet truly offer the possibility of dramatic performance.

There is one final non-cancionero dialogue, however, which does offer a relatively more complex combination of dramatic elements. It is Francisco de Madrid's Egloga.[35] The author, who took part in the reconquest of Granada, included three characters dressed as shepherds in his works: Evandro, Peligro and Fortunado. The latter two seem to symbolize Carlos VIII of France and Fernando, the Catholic King of Spain. Evandro tries to persuade Peligro not to invade the territories of others and is ignored. Peligro is too self-centered and daring to pay attention to Evandro and, besides, does not believe that Fortunado will block his efforts, principally because of a previous treaty between the two. Fortunado tells Evandro that he will impede Peligro's path, firstly because what he is doing is incorrect and, secondly, he had dared to occupy the Pope's provinces. The dialogue ends with Evandro's prayer for peace.

35 Lázaro Carreter, op. cit., pp. 155-176

The play does contain allegorical and humanistic qualities and, as Lázaro Carreter suggests, it does show the simplicity with which a spectacle such as this one might have been performed, even in the Court.[36] The dialogue itself included certain indications of movement and scenery, which support the conjecture that it may have been acted. The increased number of characters is also an important contribution.

Before beginning our study of the mediaeval "cancioneros," let us briefly mention the dramatic elements contained within the poetry dedicated to the Virgin Mary by two well-known poets.

Not to be omitted in any study of the mediaeval dialogue are the collections of Marian poetry of Gonzalo de Berceo and Alfonso X, both written in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Berceo, in his Milagros de Nuestra Señora,[37] included the dialogue as one of the principal elements in the retelling of the Virgin's miracles.[38] The Milagros consist of twenty-five extensive poems and an

36 Ibid., p. 70.

37 Gonzalo de Berceo, Milagros de Nuestra Señora, edición y notas de A.G. Solalinde (Madrid, 1944).

38 The major part of the stories in the collection was taken either from tradition or from legend, as well as those works already written by Vincente de Beauvais and Gautier de Coincy.

introduction. Perhaps the most interesting miracles deal with such characters as San Ildefonso, the devout thief, the Jewish child, the Vicar Teófilo, and others, including the " sacristán impúdico," and the "pobre caritativo," as Berceo names them. The typical scene shows the Virgin Mary conversing with one of the figures mentioned, usually in the role of saving the character's job, life, or, in many cases, his very soul.

Not all of the poems, however, are limited to just two characters. The "Romero de Santiago," for instance, involves the devil, St. James, and the Virgin in a poem which is both edifying and entertaining. The "Milagro de Teófilo" presents a hard working Vicar who is passed over for a position he desired. When he signs a pact with the devil, through his Jewish intermediary, he is lost. He repents, however, and once again finds favor in the eyes of the benevolent Mary. In the "Ladrón Devoto," St. Peter, the thief, Jesus, and Mary are participants in lively discussions revolving around the faith of the thief.

The dramatic elements are not only found in the dialogues themselves, even though certain poems are more complex than others. The poems contain action, scenic descriptions, and movement. Not only can we hear what each character is saying, but we can also see him, be it

on a pilgrimmage, in the Cathedral, or in Toledo. Each poem also presents scenes. These scenes are well-organized in that they first present the situation to the reader, then follow with a climactic moment, as well as a modified type of "denouement." To attest to the dramatic elements inherent in many of the descriptions of these miracles is the fact that their contents very many times served for various Golden Age performances. Specific examples are the "La Cassulla de San Ildefonso" in Lope de Vega's El capellán de la Virgen, "El Clérigo Ignorante" in his El saber por no saber and "El Milagro de Teófilo" in Mira de Amescua's El esclavo del demonio and Calderon's El mágico prodigioso.

Of a similar dialogical nature are many of the poems in Alfonso X's Cantigas de Santa María.[39] To a larger extent than Berceo, Alfonso the Wise was able to transform the narrative style of the miracles into a beautiful lyric style. After brief introductory scenes in each poem, the focus of attention usually falls upon the Virgin and the subject of the miracle. At different times, the Virgin offers consolation to an Empress who is longing for her husband or speaks in behalf of a "jongleur" who

39 Alfonso X, Cantigas de Santa María, Walter Mettman ed., (Coimbra, 1959, 1961, 1964) 3 volumes.

always sang of her goodness. The Virgin also has a conversation with a priest who never fails to pray to Mary and takes part in a discussion with a knight who wants to abandon his lady. These are only a few examples of the many we find in the Cantigas. "Santa María" speaks with wrong-doers, priests, common people, thieves and nobles at one time or another. Idol worshippers, children and Jews are the subjects of many an interesting dialogue.

One particular miracle which has noticeable dramatic qualities is the one in which the Virgin takes the place of a nun who has decided to leave the convent with a lover. When she finally returns, full of remorse, she discovers that none of her colleagues had been aware of her absence, principally because of Mary's assistance. There are engaging dialogues between the Virgin and the nun, as well as the nun and her friends. The poem contains scenic descriptions and various scenic-like divisions as well. This is also the case in the majority of the other "cantigas."

Although the major credits of the Cantigas have always gone to their music and miniatures, as well as their linguistic qualities, they are deserving of far more attention for their literary value. The various theories concerning

their sources and influences have often omitted studies of content. Aside from the invaluable portrait of the time in which they were written, the poems also include a complete perspective of a time of social and political transition. These transitions were also common to literature. We mention this because the Peninsular dramatic text was at its earliest stage of development in the period in which the Cantigas appeared, and we feel their contribution to be worthy of mention. Besides, the many studies that deal with the style of the miracles, pointing out their similarity to the "zéjel," in many cases do not even discuss their dialogical nature. This is particularly disconcerting, especially when so many hispanists are delving into the literary past of the Peninsula to study their rich sources. When one does so to study the origins of the dramatic text and the theatre, we feel every dialogue to be important, if not for its special influences on particular works, then certainly for its dramatic qualities. Such is the additional value of both the Milagros de Nuestra Señora and the Cantigas de Santa María.

Let us now examine the dialogical poetry contained in the various mediaeval Peninsular collections. We will note a greater variety of themes, although dramatic quality in even the more extensive poems is still quite rudimentary.

## C. The Dialogue in the Mediaeval Portuguese Cancioneiros

The Galician-Portuguese collections of the Biblioteca Nacional, Vaticana, and Ajuda, with one duplicating many times the poems appearing in another, do not offer very complex or extensive dialogical poems.[40] They contain short poems of the "cantiga" type, including those of "amor," "amigo," and "escárnio" or "maldizer." These so-called "tenções," or "cantigas dialogadas," could be a dispute between troubadours about the science of singing their love songs, or a conversation with their loved one. They could be the type in which the "amiga" speaks with her confidante, who could be her friend, her mother, or simply an element of Nature, such as the flowers in the forest. Her suffering was usually caused by the absence of her "amigo." The dialogues could also be satirical, in which case the two poets would criticize each other or the socio-political atmosphere of the Court. Also forming part of this dialogical poetry is the "pastorela," a genre in itself. Before mentioning the true value of these works, let us first offer the reader the most representative examples of the dialogue in this mediaeval Portuguese poetry.

40 We will base our examples on the excellent edition of the Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional, leitura, commentários e glossário por Elza Paxeco Machado and José Pedro Machado, eds. (Lisboa, 1949-1964), 8 vols.

The fragmentary "Arte de Trovar," a mediaeval document[41] explaining the various genres of poetry, defines "tençāo" in the following manner:

> Outras cantigas fazem os trobadores que chamam tençoens, porque son feytas per maneira de rrazon que hum aia contra outro, em que diga aquelo que por ben tever na prima cobra e o outro rresponda lhe na outra dizend o contrayro. Estas se poden fazer d'amor, ou d'amigo, ou d'escarnho, ou de mal dizer, pero que deven de seer de meestria...[42]

The examples of the "tençāo de amor" that we note in the Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional include discussions between the poet and his "señora," with the poet expressing his love for her, or explaining why he suffers the way he does. This is typified in the following selection of poem number 992, by Martim Peres Aluym:

> --Senhor fremosa, direy vos eu al
> E creed esto, meu lum e meu ben;
> Pois uos non uj, non uj prazer de ren.
> --Como pedestes sofrer tanto mal?
> --Cuydey en uos e, por esto guari,
> Que non uyuera ren do que ueuj.
>
> --Creede, lume destes olhos meus,
> Que des que uos eu non pudi ueer,
> Peo ui ja, nunca uj prazer.
> --Como sofrestes tanto mal, por Deus?
> --Cuydey en uos e, por esto, guari,
> Que non ujuera ren do que ueuj.[43]

41 Ibid., vol, I, pp. 15-30

42 Ibid., p. 17

43 Some examples in this edition are poems nos. 7, 310, 313, 363, 370, 537, 904, 1603.

Others include conversations between two poets, dealing mainly with the extent of their love or the "mal d'amour" sentiment so typical of this poetry. One example is in number 359 by Affonso Sanchez. The poet speaks with Vasco Martins and tells him of his heartache. Other poets express the very same feeling.[44]

The "tenção de amigo" can be a dialogue in which the "amiga" expresses her feelings toward her "amigo," or one in which she coaxes him to express his, as in this selection by Martjiz de Ulueyra (number 951):

> --Meu amigo, quero uos preguntar.
> --Preguntade, senhor c am eu ben,
> --Non uos a mester de mjn ren negar.
> --Nunca uos eu, senhor, negarey ren.
> --Tantos cantares porque fazedes?
> --Senhor, ca nunca me escaecedes.
> .....[45]

There are many "cantigas" in which a friend of the "amiga" will offer moral support.[46] This same role, that of the confidente, is also played by the mother of the young lady in question. There is even an interesting dialogue between the "amiga" and a pine tree, with the former asking the latter for news of her lover (number 533 by King Dom Denis):

44 Other such examples are nos. 114, 1006, and 1156.

45 Other such examples are nos. 541, 542, 769, 1106, 1155, 1208 and 1247.

46 Some examples are nos. 672, 130, 766, 976, 1158 1163, 1164, 1171, 1172, 1178, 1188 and 1206.

Ay! flores ay! flores do verde Pyno,
Se sabedes nouas do meu amigo,
Ay! Deus, e hu he?

Ay! flores ay! do uerde ramo,
Se sabedes nouas do meu amado,
Ay! Deus, e hu he?

Se sabedes nouas do meu amigo,
Aquel que mentiu do que pos conmigo,
Ay! Deus, e hu he?

--Vos me perguntades polo uosso amigo,
E eu ben uos digo que he san e vyuo.
--Ay! Deus, e hu he?

--Vos me perguntades polo vosso amado,
E eu ben uos digo que he vyu e sano.
--Ay! Deus, e hu he?

--E eu ben uos digo que he san e vyuo,
E seera uosco ant o prazo saydo.
--Ay! Deus, e hu he?

--E eu ben uos digo que he uyu e sano,
E sera uosc ant o prazo passado.
--Ay! Deus, e hu he.[47]

The "cantigas de escárnio" and those of "mal-dizer" are different in that the first generally criticizes by way of double-entendre, usually without mentioning the name of the person satirized. The second is frequently more vehement and certainly more direct. Scandalous priests, ugly women, corrupt politics, treason, battles,

47 Others are nos. 532, 611, 614, 623, 650, 745, 780, 791, 820, 873, 876, 960, 1025, 1067, 1094, 1098, 1102, 1118, 1166, 1175, 1200 and 1239.

and gift-giving are popular themes. One particular "jogral" named Lourenço was also involved in the dialogues of many of these poems, such as the one in which he and João Garcia argue over which one sings better (number 1406):

--Lourenço iograr, as mui gram sabor
De citolares, ar queres cantar
Des y ar filas te log a Trobar,
E tees t ora por trobador.
E por tod esto hunha ren ti direy:
Deus me confonda se oi eu hy se
De estes mesteres qual fazes melhor.

--Iohan Garçia, soo sabedor
De meus mesteres senpre deantar,
E uos andades por mh os desloar,
Pero non sodes tan lesloador
Que con uerdade possades dizer
Que meus mesteres non sey ben fazer.
Mays uos non sodes hi conhocedor.

--Lourenço, ueio t agora queixar
Po la uerdade que quero dizer:
Metes me ia por de la conhocer,

Mays eu non quero tigo peleiar.
E teus mesteres conhocer y os ei,
E dos mesteres uerdade direy:
Ess he que foy con os lobos arar.

--Iohan Garçia, no uosso trobar
Acaredes muyto que coireger,
E leixade mi, que sei ben fazer
Esteres mesteres que fui começar.
Ca, no uosso trobar, sey m eu com he;
Hi a coireger, per boa fe,
Mays que nos meus, en que m ides trauar.

--Ves, Lourenç--ora m assanha, rey,
Poys mal i entenças, e todo farey
O citolon na cabeça quebrar.

--Iohan Garçia, se Deus mi perdon,
Muj gram uerdade digu eu na tençon
E uos fazed o que uos semelhar.[48]

One final type of poetry appearing in these mediaeval collections is the "pastorela." This genre in Portuguese poetry had not truly been given its due attention in various studies of mediaeval literature, although a more recent critical work attempted to do so.[50] Its evolution, as well as the comparison between it and the French and Provençal "pastourelle" and Castilian "serranillas" and "cantigas de serrana" is obvious. These poems serve as an important link in the development of the pastoral element in Peninsular theatre, so evident in the works of Juan del Encina and Gil Vicente, authors who have been previously studied in regard to this aspect.[51]

One of the "pastoreles," in the form of a dialogue, is

48 Poor Lourenço was always ridiculed by his colleagues in many other poems (nos. 1407,1677,1669,1679,1681,1682). Other "tenções de escárnio" are nos. 116,422,980,1248,1253, 1421,1528,1625,1658 and 1668, and those of "mal-dizer" are nos. 346,407,428,912,1129,1169,1304,1462,1463,1656 and 1667.[49]

49 For additional listing, see this edition, vol.VII, pp. 236, 239, 241, and 243.

50 Arlene Lesser, La Pastorela medieval hispánica. Pastorelas y serranas galaico-portuguesas (Vigo, 1970).

51 A complete study of the evolution of the pastoral element in Romance literature, through the appearance of

One of the "pastorelas," in the form of a dialogue, is number 499, by El Rey Dom Denis. In it a shepherdess tells of her suffering and is consoled by her parrot's saying that she will soon see her lover. As we have already noted, it is not entirely uncommon for an animal to act as confident. Number 512 involves an encounter between the poet and the shepherdess in which he expresses his love for her, while she says that she does not love him, but another. Number 639, by Joham de Avoyn, describes a scene in which the shepherdess speaks with her "amiga" about her love. Number 910, by Johan Ayras, repeats the idea of the shepherdess' not accepting the poet as her lover. However, number 1031 differs in that, after a short debate, the shepherdess recognizes the poet as her suitor. The latter, by Pedro Amigo de Sevilha, is one of the most interesting "pastorelas:"

> Quando eu hun dia fuy En Compostela
> en romaria, vi hunha pastor
> que, poys fuy Nado nunca ui tan bela,
> Nen ui outra que fallasse Milhor.
> e demandey lhe Logo seu amor
> i fiz por ela esta pastorela.

theme in the majority of the works of Gil Vicente, can be found in my O Elemento Pastoril no Teatro de Gil Vicente, (Porto, 1970), pp. 18-35, 45-67 for pre-Vicentine literature and pp. 69 ss. for the study in Vicente's plays.

Dix eu logo:-Fremosa doncela,
Queredes uos min por entendedor,
Que uos darey boas toucas d'Estela,
E boas cintas de Rrocamador,
E d'outras doas a uossa sabor,
e ffremosa pano pera gonela?

E ela disse:-Eu non uos queria
Por entendedor, ca nunca uos vi
Se non agora, nen uos filharia
Doas que sey que non som pera min,
Pero cuyd eu, se as filhass assy,
Que tal a no mundo a que pesaria.

E sse ueess outra, que lhi diria
Sse me dizesse:-ca per uos pedi
Meu amigu e doas que me tragia--?
Eu non sey ren que lhe dissess aly.
Se non foss esto de que me tem i,
Non uos dig ora que o non faria.

Dix eu:--pastor, ssodes ben rrazoada,
E pero creede, se uos non pesar,
Que non est oi outra no mundo nada,
Se uos non sodes, que ue sabhia amar.
E por aquesto uos venho rrogar
Que eu seia uoss ome esta uegada.

E diss ela, come ben ensinada:
--Por entendedor uos quero filhar,
E poys for a rromaria acabada,
Aqui d u soo natural, do Sar,
Cuydo, se me queredes leuar,
Jr m ei vosqu e fico uossa pagada.

After having presented the poems which were most representative of the dialogue in mediaeval Portuguese poetry, let us now draw some conclusions as to their nature.

Without detracting from their literary value, it must be admitted that as dialogues or dramatic texts, the poems

are quite rudimentary. However, they do, in fact, turn the traditional didactic role of the dialogue to one of pure diversion, expressing profound human emotions. Scenery is at times described by one of the speakers, be it a view of the rolling waves of the ocean near Vigo, a pilgrimmage to Compostela, or the flowers and the trees in the forest. The descriptions are but momentary, not meant to suggest more than an instant impression. But it cannot be denied that this momentary description does certainly enable the reader, or audience, to depict the surrounding in which the "amiga" speaks to her friend. Let us add that it appears obvious that the dialogue itself was to be an extremely worthwhile poetic vehicle. It allowed the troubadour to free himself of the monotony of the "amiga" constantly expressing her woes in the same manner. It permitted the poet to introduce new characters in his lyrics, leaving room for alternate means of expression and an extension of thematic material. In the dialogue, the poet could safely use personification, allowing a parrot to speak to its owner, or the pines to converse with a passerby. It also permitted the continuation of the Provençal dialogical "pastourelle" tradition.

The poems themselves were usually recited in the Court,

either before a Royal audience, or in poetic exchanges amongst the troubadours. In either case, they required a performance. With this performance, no matter how inconsequential, these two-character dialogues were to have a certain impact upon the development of the dramatic text in the Peninsula. With the addition of allegorical elements and the continuation of the pastoral theme, their influence was to be even greater.

As we have previously noted, the plays of Juan del Encina and Gil Vicente do contain elements encountered in these poems. However, they are developed to a much greater degree. Aside from the traditional para-liturgical role already mentioned in an earlier chapter, the shepherd also appears as a comic figure, in his pure and simple state. The shepherd or shepherdess in love, as carried through from the "pastorela," is found in Encina's two "Eglogas" represented "en recuesta de unos amores," and in the one dealing with Amor and the shepherd Pelayo. It is also found in his "Cristino y Febea" and "Egloga de tres pastores: Fileno, Zambardo y Cardonio." The first two are the closest in theme to the "pastorela," with the second of the two serving as a comparison between life in the city and life in the country. The materi-

alistic and gluttonous shepherd appears in "Cristino y Febea" and in the "Egloga representada en la mesma noche de Antruejo o Carnestollendas," respectively. The rustic who appears in the Court and who is completely incongruous to the entire atmosphere is found in the "Egloga representada en la noche postrera de Carnal" and the second "Egloga representada en recuesta de unos amores."

The works of Gil Vicente which show the rapid withdrawal from traditional themes involving the shepherd to those of his own invention are the Auto Pastoril Casellano, Auto Pastoril Português, Auto da Fama, Auto da Cananeia, Tragicomédia Pastoril da Serra da Estrela, Auto da Feira, Auto da Mofina Mendes, Auto da Barca do Purgatório, Auto da Festa, and briefly, in the Triunfo do Inverno, Nao de Amores, and Floresta de Enganos. It was exactly the ability of the author to abandon the liturgical element which led to the well-developed individuality and personality of many of his rustic characters. Nature, as well as customs, songs, and language were other elements which accompanied the development of this dominant figure in early Peninsular theatre.[52]

52 On these pastoral themes, see N. Miller, op. cit., pp. 121 ss.

The works of these two master dramatists are evidently far more developed and contain many more dramatic elements than any previous Peninsular dialogues. Their performances and settings are documented, their scenery is amply described and the interaction of their characters is certainly very extensive. Suffice it to say, however, that the mark of the rudimentary Portuguese lyric dialogue on those works is clearly evident.

Another mediaeval collection which offers examples of dialogical poetic texts is the Cancionero de Baena (c.1445).[53] It is an important document of courtly fifteenth century poetry and language and is a portrait of the Spanish society of the period. The majority of the dialogues contained in the collection are also quite simple, just as were those of the previously examined poems. However, it does offer certain dialogues which are of a more dramatic nature and which are more extensive, clearly contributing towards the evolution of the genre.

### D. The Dialogues in the Cancionero de Baena

Two of the principal contributors to the Cancionero de Baena are apparently also the most interested in the

53 The Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena ed. crítica por José María Azáceta, (Madrid, 1966), 3 vols.

dialogue as a form of expression. Alfonso Alvares de Villasandino and Micer Francisco Imperial offer dialogues which are reminiscent of previously studied poems, and are quite innovative. Alvares de Villasandino wrote three poems in which an element of nature converses with the poet. In the first,[54] entitled "cantiga que fiso el dicho Alfonso Alvares de Villasandino por amor e loores de la dicha doña Juana de Sossa, en manera de requesta que ovo con un rruysenor," we observe a dialogue between the poet and a nightingale concerning the poet's love for his lady. It is quite similar to the previously quoted Galician-Portuguese "pastorela" in which the parrot speaks with a shepherdess about her love. Poem number 42[55] deals with a similar theme and also uses nightingales. The situation of using nature as a confident is seen in yet another Villasandino poem, number 40,[56] in which the poet complains to a mountain about his lady. In it the poet envisions Love, who is wailing while walking through a forest. The poet asks a young lady why Love is so sad and she responds:

54 Ibid., vol. I, pp. 37-9.

55 Ibid., vol. I, pp. 102-103.

56 Ibid., vol. I, pp. 98-99.

Amigo, saber devedes,
que amor vive en manzella
e vase ia de Castella
que jamas non lo veredes
nin sabredes
onde faz su morada
por una que fue loada
de quien ia profazeredes.

The surrounding regions are specifically referred to, making the scenic descriptions rather evident. One can visualize the forest, as well as the poet as he talks to the young lady.

Thus, Love, so badly treated in Castile, leaves for places in which he will be appreciated. These three poems have all been quite uncomplicated as far as their dialogical and dramatic contents are concerned. They do, nevertheless, make us aware of the interest in this form of expression in Mediaeval Spain. There is a brief scenic description in the third poem, as well as ample exemplification of the allegorical element in the dialogue, both with Nature and Love.

Another poem by the same author, number 34,[57] uses the dialogue to lament the death of King Enrique III. The author sees three women: Dona Catalina, wife of the King; "la Justicia," the allegorical figure who says that when

57 Ibid., vol. I, pp. 79-82.

the King died she lost her main pillar of support; and "Iglesia," who, as the Church, has lost one of her bravest crusaders. The author ends the poem by comforting each of the three. The personifications of Justice and the Church add to our growing list of allegorical figures introduced into the dialogue. The number of speaking figures is increated from the usual two to four, thus enriching the interaction of characters.

There is one final short dialogue, number 41,[58] involving the poet's viewing the dances of a few women, his falling in love with one of them, and the expression of that love. This is actually the dominant theme of troubadouresque poetry, especially in this collection and in the afore-mentioned Galician-Portuguese collections. The work is more involved, however, than the previously mentioned dialogues of the Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional collection. Aside from the typical expression of love, the author includes the brief narrative "scenes" concerned with the moments prior to that expression of love.

Micer Francisco Imperial is the author of two extremely complex and much more extensive dialogues. Num-

58 Ibid., vol. I, pp. 100-101.

ber 226[59], sometimes called the "Visión de los siete planetas," and number 250[60], entitled "Desir de Micer Francisco Imperial a las siete virtudes," are very well-written allegorical representations with true Dantesque influence. The first poem commemorates the birth of Juan II in 1405, and is but one of many works in the tradition of dedicating poems or performances to royal events. In fact, the work itself could easily have been similar to one which accompanied the mediaeval "momos," if it was not one itself. The dialogue presents an entire procession of allegorical figures, including Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, the Sun, Mercury, and the Moon, each of which grants virtues to the newly born prince:

> Linpio e puro, sabio e honesto,
> pacífico e justo sea e messurado,
> misericordioso, otrosy modesto,
> noble e benigno, esçelente...[61]

We are also witness to beautiful descriptions of a meadow, with its trees, flowers, and animals, all in great detail. It is in this atmosphere that the scene takes place. The poet also takes part in this quasi-vision. When defending the dramatic value of such a poem, need one do more than

59 Ibid., vol. II, pp. 413-33.

60 Ibid., vol. II, pp. 497-514.

61 Ibid., vol. II, p. 419, l. 122-25.

mention the success of such elements in Gil Vicente's Auto dos Quatro Tempos and Cortes de Júpiter, as well as the many other Vicentine plays performed in celebration of a royal event? The poem clearly carries through the tradition of the "momo" and offers scenic description and a great deal of action. The number of characters involved in speaking parts has greatly increased, obviously adding to the complexity of the action, as well as to the plot. The work itself is actually quite representable and a true contributor in the evolution of the dialogue and dramatic text.

Of a similar allegorical nature is the second poem by Francisco Imperial. This work also starts with a vision in which the author finds himself transported to a garden. The descriptions are again rather detailed and the number of characters again comparatively extensive. Aside from "Caridat," "Fee," and "Esperança," and other virtues, the author converses with his guide, who speaks "lengua florentin." The guide, who is supposedly Dante himself, refers to both the seven virtues and the seven sins with the poet. He also consoles him, speaking out against the sins. Although the dramatic elements of this poem are noticeably fewer than those of the preceding work, they do exist. It is the scenic descriptions by Dante which

are of greater interest than those of the first poem. The allegorical figures and Dante himself also contribute to our interest. There are also various "scenes," including the garden, the passage through the garden door to the seven stars, and the place in which a discussion with the ladies representing the theological and mortal virtues takes place. The work does, as did the former poem, add to the future development of the theatre, however minute its actual contribution may be. The reader must keep in mind that it is not only with representable works that we are concerned, but rather with all those dialogues whose theatrical elements do lend themselves to the development of the dramatic text. The combination of abstract and human figures is certainly as important a contribution in the latter two works, as is the increased number of characters and interaction of dialogue.

The Poems number 288 and 290, by Rruy Paes de Rrybera, are two more dialogues in which non-human elements are given substantial speaking roles. In the first, there is a rather heated exchange between "Soberbia" and "Mesura," presented as two well-dressed ladies. The first lady, representative of pride or arrogance, appears to have the greater balance of power. The good, the bad, the old, and the young are all obedient to her. "Mesura," or moderation,

complains of this and brings in "Justicia" to judge the situation. "Soberbia" is expelled from the world, and good qualities are bestowed upon the young Spanish Prince, just as we have noted in previous works of this nature. There is little scenic description, but the actual exchange of ideas between the two ladies is reminiscent of the debates of the non-"cancionero" poetry. The difference in this case, of course, is that abstract characters are doing the speaking.

In the same manner, Poem 290 presents the characters named "Dolencia," "Vejes," "Destierro," and "Prouesa." These four, symbolically representing Sickness, Old Age, Exile, and Poverty, are again presented as ladies. Each declares her power over humans, with Poverty winning the debate over who can truly inflict the most harm. There seems again to exist an obvious similarity between these dialogues and some of the previously examined debates, such as those of wine and water, Elena and María, etc. Allegorical and symbolical dialogues, such as those just mentioned, serve as a basis for many plays and "autos sacramentales," in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively. Aside from the already mentioned contributions, let us add that most of these works were indeed spoken

aloud by the poet to a select audience. Who can actually draw the fine line that will eventually differentiate these relatively complex poems from true drama, or, more directly, from the simple texts meant to be read and the work meant to be performed?

There is one final work in the Cancionero de Baena which we feel is worthwhile mentioning. This is because we believe it to be a humorous imitation of a "torneo," one of the basic elements of many of the mediaeval "momos" and "entremeses." Poem number 286, [62] by Ferrant Manuel Aquino, commemorates the birth of Juan II on March 6, 1405. In the poem, each of the people attending the celebration is asked to participate in the tournament. However, each one either begs off or states that he does not know what to do. After twenty-one of these men either speak or are spoken about, the poet ends the discussion in the following manner:

Finida
El gran actor estorial
nos rrecuenta de los godos
mas por essos synples modos
fase conclusion fynal.

Naturally, it is the use of the word "actor" which draws our attention to this poem. As is stated, the poem ends with a brief mention of the fact that the celebration terminated

62 Ibid., vol. II, pp. 569-78.

with an historical account by "el gran actor estorial." The probability is great that the words refer to "autor de historia" rather than the present day meaning of actor. However, the fact that these "torneos" were usually an integral part of courtly celebrations and did precipitate the need for actors, or participants in the role of speakers, shows how the words "actor" and "autor" were frequently interchangeable. In support of this theory, it is known that the authors of poems or primitive dramatic texts were also the actors who represented them. Aside from the innumerable number of troubadours who recited their poems, the first known work of both Juan del Encina ("Egloga representada en la noche de la natividad") and Gil Vicente (Monólogo do Vaqueiro) presented their authors as actors. The same is true in the case of the works of Henrique da Mota, as we shall later observe. The disguises of the characters and the floats which bear them are further examples of scenic elements meant to enhance the accompanying dialogue.

In addition, there are many examples of "preguntas" and "respuestas" dealing with varied themes, from love to politics. These are further illustrations of exchanges between the authors themselves, although not of a true dramatic nature. This type of question and answer will

at times appear, however, with pseudo-dramatic qualities, in other collections of poetry, such as the case of the "Cuydar e Sospirar" debate in the Cancioneiro Geral.

Thus we have discussed examples which show the evolution of the dramatic text in one more group of dialogues. Certain poems in the Cancionero de Baena presented a marked increase in dramatic qualities, including scenic descriptions and the combination of abstract and human characters. There was a wider variety of action and the number of characters involved in some of the dialogues was greater. Although the Baena collection offers fewer examples than those of the Galician-Portuguese school, the dialogues of the former do present more developed selections of dramatic texts. Further examples of dialogues, including those containing scenic divisions, new characters, and in some cases, truly dramatic texts and performable works, are among those we shall now examine in the Cancionero General and the Cancioneiro Geral.

### E. Dialogues in the Cancionero General

The Cancionero General (1511),[63] edited by Hernando de Castillo, is one of the principal late-mediaeval, early-

63 Hernando de Castillo, Cancionero General, recompilado en Valencia, 1511, Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino ed. (Madrid, 1958).

Renaissance collections. It contains many interesting dialogues, some of which are of the same nature as those already discussed, while others are more complex. Their impact on the development of the dramatic text and the drama must be considered, whatever its force, for, as we have stated before, the theatre is not the produce of one man's imagination, but rather the sum total of all previous dramatic experience. The dramatist may choose to build upon that which already exists or reject it completely. It cannot be denied, however, that even in rejection, its influence lingers in the mind of the writer. It is this manner of thinking that permits us an overall view of the growth of the dialogue and which will permit us to place Henrique da Mota within his proper niche in the literary history of the Peninsula. Keeping this in mind, let us continue our study.

Perhaps the best known dialogue in this collection is the "Diálogo entre el Amor y un Viejo,"[64] written by Rodrigo de Cota.[65]

The work contains specific scenic descriptions in its brief introduction:

64 Folia LXXIIv$^{o}$ of this edition.

65 It is interesting to note that Rodrigo de Cota is mentioned in the prologue to the Celestina as possibly the writer of its first act.

> Comiẽça una obra de Rodrigo Cota a manera de diálogo entrel amor y un viejo que escarmentado del muy retraydo se figura en una huerta seca y destruyda dola casa del plazer derribada se muestra cerrada la puerta en una pobrezilla choca metido al qual subitamẽte parescio el amor com sus ministros y aquel humildemẽte procediẽdo y el viejo en áspera manera replicãdo va discurriẽdo por su habla fasta que el viejo del amor fue vẽcido y comeẓo a hablar el viejo en la manera siguiẽte: (Folia LXXIIV°)

L. F. de Moratín considered this work to have sufficient and highly expressive dramatic elements and included it in his Orígenes del Teatro.[66] This "Diálogo...," according to Díez-Echarri[67] "se desarrola con arreglo a los canones mas exigentes de la técnica teatral." R. B. Williams adds that although this work "probably was not presented as a play, it carries an introductory statement and further comments which clearly describe the setting of events."[68] This work, as was the case with certain works previously discussed, served to influence another of the founders of Peninsular theatre, Juan del Encina, in his Egloga de Cristino y Febea.

66 L. F. de Moratín, op. cit.

67 Díez-Echarri, op. cit., p. 142.

68 Ronald B. Williams, The Staging of Plays in the Spanish Peninsula prior to 1555 (Iowa City, 1935), pp. 10-11.

What the dialogue amounts to is the arrival of the god of love, who tempts an old man with the possibility of feeling love, something he has not experienced in years. The old man resists at first, but finally falls into the trap. The representation ends with Love making a fool of his victim after all, as we see in this exchange:

Love: Pues q̃ ves q̃ mi poder
tan luengamẽte sestiende
do ninguno se defiende
no te piẽses defender
Y-a-quien buena ventura
tienen todos de seguir
recibe, pues q̃ procura
no hazerte desmesura
mas de muerto rebevir. (LXXIIII)

The "Viejo": El libre haces cautivo
al alegre mucho triste
do ningun pesar consiste
pones modo pensativo
Tu ensuzias muchas camas
con aguda ravia fuerte
tu manzillas muchas famas
y tu hazes con tus llamas
mil vezes pedir la muerte. (LXXIIIIv$^{o}$)

Love (after feeling victorious):
O, viejo triste liviano
qual error pudo bastar
q̃ te avia de tornar
ruvio tu cabello cano
yessos ojos descozidos
queran para enamorar
yessos becos tan sumidos
dientes y muelas podridos
querã̃ dulces de besar. (LXXV)

It is at this point that the old man realizes that he has been made a fool. In Encina's play, Love tells Justino

how great his power is, as does Love in Cota's work:

> Yo le mostraré mi saña
> yo haré tu triste vida
> dolorida
> ser mas aspera y mas fuerte
> desseosa de la muerte,
> que es peor la recayda.[69]

The work's obvious dramatic qualities make it perhaps the most complex piece we have seen thus far. Not only are the scenes actually described in certain directions, but the exchange between the two characters is lively, expressive, and, certainly, full of emotion. It is well-written and so organized that it reaches an impressive climax.

Pierre LeGentil mentions the Coplas of Puertocarrero, another poet of the Cancionero General, and recognizes them as having even more dramatic qualities than Rodrigo de Cota's work:

> ...il s'agit d'une scène, ou plus exactement d'une série de scènes de comédie. En effet, aux deux principaux partenaires viennent s'ajouter des personnages nouveaux; une sorte de monologue s'intercale au milieu du dialogue et les rubriques nous donnet de véritables indications scéniques. Visiblement le poète, à tout instant, s'efforce de donner aux propos rapportés une allure vraiment dramatique. Dès lors, on conçoit que l'oeuvre intéresse plus l'histoire du théâtre que celle des genres lyriques dialogués.[70]

69 Juan del Encina, Teatro Completo (New York, 1969), (reprint of 1893 edition)

70 LeGentil, op. cit. vol. I, p. 502.

Menéndez y Pelayo is another strong supporter of this theory, comparing the work to some of Torres Naharro's best plays.[71]

The introduction to the playlet is as follows:

> Coplas q̃ hizo puerto carrero por q̃ passando un dia por una calle dõde su dama estava con una cõpañera suya/ y tãbiẽ tercera del q̃ se llama. xerez las q̃les el no avia vista/ fue llamado por su señora/ y começarõ a hablar los dos/ y algũas vezes/ ella burlãdo dél/ y desfracẽdole/ y buelve la habla a ssu cõpañera/ donde el toma argumeto/ para hazer este dialogo/ en q̃ es su señora/ y lope osorio hermano de la señora/ e comiẽça ella desta manera..." (Fol. CXLv°).[72]

The work deals with the idea that "Ella" realizes that Puertocarrero is in love with her. She intends to tease him and make fun of him, while he fears the same. He finally decides to see "Ella," and there is a lengthy dialogue between the two with Puertocarrero continually expressing the suffering which torments him because of his unanswered desire to have "Ella" love him as he loves her. "Ella" not only refuses to believe his sincerity, but also ridicules him. One such exchange is the following: (CLXII)

71 Carreter, op. cit., p. 76

72 The work is found in this edition of the Cancionero General on Folia CLXv°-CLXIIIIv°.

P. Mi pena Dios es testigo
y mi razon
mas vuestra dispusicion
contraria el biẽ q̃ consigo
vierte todo quãto digo
Causa de vida penada
es esta ploria de veros
pues no puedo hazer creeros
las quexas de mi embaxada...

E. Dexad la comparaciones
y quexad lo q̃ sentis
porq̃ quãto me dezis
todo passa entre renglones

P. Lo q̃ siẽto es lo q̃ veys...
sin vos siẽto me morir
y presente
no ay lugar q̃ me contẽte

E. Vos hablais?

The feelings expressed seem to be very similar to those of the troubadours in many poems without dialogues. Also, the way in which the work was written, with its vigor and pseudo-psychological study of the lovers, is an important step forward in the development of the genre which we are studying. Once again action and scenery are actually indicated in the text, as is the sense of movement. It appears to be an extended version of the previously examined "cantigas," proving their capabilities for development and complexity.

The emotions of frustration and unrequited love, which we have already noted in Rodrigo de Cota and

Puertocarrero, appear again the Comendador Escrivá's work, "Una quexa que da de su amiga ante el Dios de Amor por modo de dialogo en prosa y verso." The work appeared for the first time in the second edition of the Cancionero General, printed in Valencia in 1514.[73]

The characters that appear are "el Autor, el Amor, el Coraçon, la Esperança," and "Ella." As the title states, the work is a combination of prose and verse, with the former usually introducing and reinforcing the ideas presented in the latter.

The author complains about the painful effects of love. Love then speaks to him, saying that it had no intention of hurting the author and says, as we have seen so many times before:

> Responde el amor:
> La causa de mi venida
> no fue por darte la muerte
> que tu no las merecida
> mas por dar a conoscerte
> que al muerto puedo dar vida
> Al bivo puedo matar
> al triste dar alegria
> al penado remediar
> al caydo leuantar
> y al perdido serle guia.[74]

73 In Suplemento al Cancionero General de Hernando de Castillo, que contiene todas las poesías que no figuran en la primera edición y fueron añadidas desde 1514 hasta 1557. Ed. y introducción de D. Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino ed. (Madrid,1959), pp. 86-93, number 150.

74 Ibid., p. 87.

The Author, because of his anger, is not ready to listen and narrates a long story about his encounter with "Cuidado," who leads a woeful life, and "Esperança," who can possibly help him because of his faith. The Author recounts how he went with "Esperança" to the mountain where Amor could be found, and she asked Amor to forgive the Author. At the mountain the author also saw the woman who directly caused his suffering and, urged on by "Esperança's" confidence, he began a dialogue with "Ella," telling her what she had done and how he felt. She would not listen to his problem and blamed him entirely for his suffering, adding:

> ellamor podra matarme
> mas perder vos el cuydado
> que nunca podre forçarme
> que quereros mal mi grado
> pues de vos quiero apartarme.[75]

The Author wants to die, even though Love offers to make him forget "Ella." When he refuses, Love is prompted to tell him that he must now suffer endlessly. The representation ends with the Author bitterly deciding not to follow "Ella," while resigning himself to death.

The work is interesting from many points of view. The combination of prose and poetry serves to give the work an air of theatrics. The prose is actually the narrative, or

75 Ibid., p. 93.

directions, while the verse could actually serve as the performance itself. The allegorical aspects and quasi-scenic descriptions, both implied and cited, make the reader believe that the work could easily have been performed. The intensity of emotion and action, as well as the work's flashback technique, also help to make it comparable to many of those plays written by early Peninsular writers, in so far as their dramatic achievement is concerned.

Continuing our study of the dialogue in the Cancionero General, we observe the poet Cartagena, whose works are also included in Folia LXXXIII to LXXXXI. He wrote a few dialogues among his varied poems. Three specific pieces are a debate between the Heart and Tongue, one between the Heart and Eyes, and a longer discussion in which the author speaks with the god of Love.

The first (Fol. LXXXVI) is mainly a complaint by the Heart directed to the Tongue because the latter does not obey him all the time. He speaks when he should not and is not able to express the Heart's feelings.

In the second (Fol. LXXXVIv$^{o}$ - LXXXVII), the Heart blames the Eyes for causing his suffering, and the Eyes respond that the Heart makes them cry too often. Each proceeds to say that his suffering is greater than that

of his foe. The poem ends with the intervention of the poet who states that it is he who suffers most, especially since it is he who must experience what the Eyes see and the Heart feels.

The final Cartagena dialogue has more in common with previously examined works than the first two. In this one the Author sees the god of Love in a vision and proceeds to discuss his heartaches and suffering with the god. He realizes just how much power love has and asks that the god rid him of his misfortune. The dialogue continues until, at the end of the work, the god of Love tells the Author that he will help, but that his faith and obedience to him must always remain true. Although the Author is aware of Love's devious ways, he agrees to follow him so that he may be saved. If we are to draw any conclusions, they must be to note the universality and popularity of the personification of love and the continuing growth of allegorical and dialogically more complex works.

Although all of the afore-mentioned dialogues of the Cancionero General are of the most significant nature, they are not the only ones to be found in the collection. We note, first of all, two brief dialogues dealing with liturgical themes, including one in which "Nuestro Señor"

comforts "Nuestra Señora" over her sorrow caused by the Passion (Fol. X), and another which closely resembles choral singing (Fol. XXI). In the latter, the chorus chants with "Nuestra Señora" about her being blessed by the Lord as the one who would bear His son.

Of the dialogues of a more secular nature, Gómez Manrique's poem written at the time of the death of the Marqués de Santillana (XXXVII-XLII) offers allegorical aspects in which "la Esperança," "la Caridad," "la Prudencia," "la Justicia," "la Tempranza," and "Fortaleza" all have parts lamenting the death of the Marqués. Even "Poesía" mourns his loss to the world (XXXXI):

> E yo triste poesía
> perseguida de fortuna
> pues que la ventura mía
> me dixo sin alegría
> plañire mas que ninguna
> Quen espacio de dos años
> tales me son hechos daños
> por esta muerte maldita
> que no se como repita
> tantos males y tamaños.

The inclusion of such elements does not lead us to conclude that this is a dramatic work. However, one cannot deny the profuse number of examples of plays which will draw upon this tradition of personification and allegory in their composition. Thus, works such as these, no matter how insignificant their contribution to the theatre

may appear to be, are worth mentioning.[76]

Other dialogues which offer additional material in our examination of such works are certain debates concerning various abstract figures. Included are "sentimiento y conocimiento," "razón y pensamiento," and "seso y pensamiento."[77] The symbolic nature of these works make them similar to many previously studied poems, including those involving water and wine and the body and the soul.

In the first example we observe Sentiment lamenting the said state of the human condition. Seeing that it is so full of suffering and death, he wants to find out what Knowledge can do to remedy the situation. Knowledge responds that there are too many people who err in desiring material things. He adds that they need guidance. It is a situation, Knowledge concludes, that needs divine help. The second and third dialogues are of a similar theme. In each, one character advises another, always assuming an air of superiority. This is challenged by the second

76 Gómez Manrique also contributed a poem in which he asks the Marqués to leave a collection of his works for posterity. The latter agrees. (XLVIII-XLIX) This type of poem, so common in the Cancionero de Baena, follows the scheme of "pregunta" and "respuesta" (questions and answers), and is not one of the most important elements in our survey of the dialogue.

77 These poems were written by three court poets of the period, the Visconde de Altanura, D. Diego López de Haro and Hernán Mexía, respectively. These poems appear on Fol. LIv°-LII, LXIIII-LXV and LXIXv°-LXX, respectively.

figure involved, always to the point of causing a heated argument.

Of more interest, however, is the rather lengthy "tractado intitulado triunfo del marques a loor y reverencia del yllustre y maravilloso señor don ýñigo lópez de mẽdoça, primero marqués de santillana, conde del real, compuesto por Diego de Burgos, su secretario" (LII-LXIII). As did Manrique's poem, this one deals with the laments of many famous men following the death of the Marqués de Santillana. Such a work, solemn in nature, could possibly have been represented, not as theatre as we know it, but with various court poets speaking the parts given to the "characters" involved. Given various stanzas eulogizing the Marqués are "Platon, Aristotiles, Socrates, Pitagoras, Eraclito, Democrito, Diogenes, Homero, Virgilio, Caton, Dante, Petrarca, Vocacio, Juan de Mena, Alixandre, Cesar, Pompeo, Anibal, Agamenon, Archiles, Carlo Magno, El Rey D. Hernando de Castilla, El Rey D. Alonso, D. Henrique, El Conde Hernã Gõçalez, El Cid, Garcilasso de la Vega, Caridad, Justicia," and others. The Marqués himself even speaks, thanking the Lord for the favor He has always shown in his behalf:

> Gracias te hago que no meresciente
> llamarme quesiste a tan alta gloria

que queda mi nõbre por firme memoria
bivo en las bocas de toda la gente.
(LXIIIvº)

This extraordinary tribute to the Marqués has few equals in literary history.

One other work, of a rather complex nature is a dialogue by an anonymous author.[78] It deals with a lawsuit and court case, with judges and witnesses, pertaining to the erogenous zones of the male and female body. This theme does not seem to reoccur, to our knowledge, in other such poems. We do believe the work to be important for its scenic structure and involvement in legal matters. As we shall note, Court cases appear in two of the dialogues of Henrique da Mota. The work does have many dramatic qualities, in addition to action and scenic description. The names Adam, Hercules, Solomon, and Samson are used by the judge in his decision in favor of the female versus the male, claiming her to be more subject to the abuse of the male in sexual matters. The use of the names Garcia de Astorga and Pedro de Aguilar are possible clues to the identity of the author. However, we feel that under the present circumstances, this work

78 Suplemento al Cancionero General, op. cit., pp. 136-145, number 179.

offers no further interest to our study.[79]

Thus, the dialogues in the Cancionero General were continually gathering more and more dramatic qualities and were slowly attaining the necessary characteristics which were to lead the dialogue and the dramatic text, as well as the related stage performances, to their more advanced stages of development. This was also to be true of those works included in other collections.

### F. The Dialogues in the Cancioneiro Geral

The final Peninsular collection which we are to examine is the Cancioneiro Geral (1516) by Garcia de Resende.[80] This edition of poetry will offer varied dialogues, as well as some important material related to courtly performances. The famous sequence at the beginning of the Cancioneiro Geral, entitled "O Cuydar e

79 One final, and certainly very significant dialogue in this collection is the one between Ropero and his Horse (CCXXVIII). However, because of the importance of this dialogue in connection to one written by Henrique da Mota, we leave its discussion for a later chapter so that we may place it within its proper perspective.

80 Garcia de Resende, Cancioneiro Geral (Lixboa,1516), reprinted with the permission of the Hispanic Society of America, Kraus Reprint Corp., New York,1967. Resende himself is the author of a dialogue, the "Trovas à morte de D. Inês de Castro", which will be studied in a later chapter.

Cuydar e Sospirar," [81] is of a rather dramatic nature. It is quite similar, in certain evident aspects, to the question and answer tradition that we observed in the Cancionero de Baena. The selection is introduced in the following manner:

> Pregunta que fez Jorge de Silueyra a Nuno Pereira porque hyndo ambos por un caminho Vinha Nuno Pereira muyto cuydoso e Jorge da Silveyra doutra parte dando muytos sospiros sendo ambos servidores da senhora Lyanor da Sylva. (Fol. I)

It is continued principally with the debate over who loves more, the one who expresses his woes or he who sighs. We have already witnessed very many debates, especially those between water and wine, Love and the Old Man, feeling and reason, the heart and the eyes, etc., but none had reached the amplitude of this series of poems. The dispute is called a "tença," being an elaborate example of poetry which we already noted in the mediaeval Portuguese collections (Fol. I, Col. III). Such characters as João Gomez and D. João de Meneses will help Nuno Pereira argue his point that caring and suffering is more effective than simple sighing. On the side of Silveira is the Caudel Mor. Others who become involved are Macias, Tarquino, Juan de Mena and João Rodrigues, poets of earlier periods.

81 Folia I-XV.

Eliminating the monotony of the long debate which ensues between all of these figures is the Caudel Mor's invitation to the secretary of the god of Love to give his opinion. He speaks in favor of "o sospirar." Finally introduced is "D. Lyanor," the initiator of the debate. She intervenes to give her decision on this widely discussed matter. After giving many reasons for her opinions, she declares:

> E porem poys julgador
> sam supremo neste feyto
> julgo nos autos damor
> sospirar por vencedor
> sobre vencido sogeyto
> e assy ey por confirmadas
> assentenças que sam dada.
> (Fol. XI)

However, one final character who appears is the god of Love himself. He enters the scene and acts as the final supreme judge in the case. He rules in favor of "o cuydar," condemning any other way of showing one's love. In concluding the work itself, the author states that the "autos," "torneos," and"festas" that took place have terminated. This is particularly interesting because it suggests that the poems were recited as part of a celebration or the advent of a courtly event. Although many of the poets quoted were quite probably participants in the debate, there were also many who could not possibly have

contributed, such as Macias. In these cases, one of the attending poets would have to have played the role of that poet. The performance of the poems took place in the setting of the Court. It is as though the entire series of dialogues were tied together and "produced" by one of the participants. There are many more characters than in previously studied debates and the introduction of deceased characters, as well as abstract entities, such as the god of Love, increases the dramatic value of the work. The previously noted mention of the "autos" and "torneos" adds to our conviction that it was also performed. The series itself shows a marked increase in development and dramatic quality, let us say, from the simple dialogues that appeared in any previous Galician-Portuguese collection. We say this not only because of the increase in complexity and length, but, more substantially, because of the interaction of the characters and the addition of more speakers than we noted in the conventional two-character dialogue. The implicit scenery offered principally by the figures' giving their opinions in the surroundings of the Court and the lively discussion between them, are further developments. Let us not forget the appearance of the god of Love, and his secretary, as well as the judge-

ment of both them and D. Leonor, the woman whose beauty caused the debate.

Of a similar nature as the preceding series is the debate between Ayres Telez and the Conde de Vimioso (Fol.LXXX). It is dedicated to D. Margarida de Sousa and deals with Ayres Telez' belief that one cannot love without also desiring the woman. The Conde is actually the exponent of the platonic relationship in this debate. Although the poems conclude without the flurry of opinions and decisions in the "Cuydar e Sospirar," the selection offers perfect examples of some of the most beautiful lyric poetry found in the Cancioneiro Geral (Fol. LXXXv°):

Meu amor tanto vos amo
que meu desejo nam ousa
desejar nenhũa cousa.

Porque se a desejasse
logo a esperaria
e se a eu esperasse
sey que vos anojaria
mil vezes a morte chamo
e meu desejo nam ousa
dessejar me outra cousa.

It is also an example of what we will call the Portuguese "pergunta" and "resposta."

Duarte de Brito offers a dialogue in the tradition of both Dante and Petrarch, as well as Homer, by way of Vergil. In it he speaks with a nightingale, with Nature

serving as a reflection of reality. He also has a vision of Hell. The poem is entitled "De Duarte de Brito e que conta o que a ele e a outro lhaconteceu com huũ rrousynol e muitas cousas que vyo" (Fol.XXXVII-XL). The principal characters are the poet, a friend and a nightingale. The first two discuss their suffering and the bird serves as a guide. It will show the poet how others suffer in the "inferno dos namorados." The vision of Hell convinces the poet that it is not worthwhile for one to condemn himself to such a fate.

The poem offers some obvious dramatic qualities. Not only are the dialogical-allegorical elements important, but the scenic descriptions and quality of movement and action also heighten the contribution of this poem to the development of the theatre in its earliest stages. The personification of the nightingale offers a much more extended role than those "rouxinois" that made only brief appearances in previous Peninsular poetry. The work contains various scenes which are described in detail. The scene in which the poet and his friend are discussing their loves is set "debayxo das verdes ramas" and the voyage that the poet takes with the bird through the dark, strange, eerie-looking forests is realistically des-

cribed, as is the scenery in the vision:

> o logar era çereado
> darvoredos e rribeiras
> de verdes rramas cerrado
> de myl fresenras trocado
> de froles de myl maneyras
> tam fremosas excelentes
> com misura
> cardiam em vivas chamas
> as caras resprandeçentes
> de fermosura.

The planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac are also mentioned.

Aside from the bird, this allegorical poem is marked by the speeches of such abstract figures as "firmeza" and "esperança," in which they speak of their effect upon lovers. The scenery of the forests is surpassed only by the description of Lover's Hell, a horrid place where everything is frightening and disfigured. These elements, as well as the implied movement on the voyage to Hell and the vivid dialogue, make this poem one that contributes much to the growth of the dramatic text in Portugal.

Luis Anriuques, the author of an epic poem in this Cancioneiro, offers two other examples of dialogical poetry. The first poem is dedicated to the deceased Prince D. Afonso (Fol. XCIIv$^{o}$-XCVIIII). It is but one of many eulogies written by Anriques and is particularly noteworthy because of its similarity to many previously studied

poems in which many characters come to recite the good qualities of either a newly-born child or a recently crowned royal figure. There is no sense of movement, action, or scenery in the poem, but it is reminiscent of many liturgical works in which the authors wrote of the Passion of Christ.

The second poem is written entirely in Spanish, and contains many allegorical figures, again not unlike those of other works (Fol. CII). In it, the author speaks to "tristeza", "congoxa" and "esperança" and mentions his inner conflict caused by love. Each figure then responds to his desire to alleviate his suffering. They can only say, however, that we are each subject to the whims of love and can be spared only by Destiny. These two poems are quite simple and do not offer any new concepts. Their similarity with other more lengthy poems is, nevertheless, worthy of mention.

There also exist in this collection many examples of the question and answer series of poems, in which many authors participate and give their opinions on one particular subject. Pero de Sousa's poems to married men, together with their responses, form one example (Fol. CLXXI and ss.). Such poems also appear on Folio CXLIII for more than

fifty pages, although they appear to be more of a collection of scattered poems than one continuous discourse.

Of primary importance, however, are the excerpts from the Cancioneiro Geral which actually add to and complete our study of the "momos" and "entremeses." Since the basic elements of each have already been observed, let us offer the following three examples as further clarification:

1) Breve do cõde de Vimioso dũ momo q̃ fez sendo desavyndo no quall levava por antremes hũu anjo e hũu diabo e o anjo deu esta cantiga a sua dama...(LXXXVI)

2) vilãcete q̃ fez pero de sousa quãdo el rrey nosso señor veo de santyaguo que fez o sengular momo em santos o qual vilancete hyam cantando diante do entremes e carro em q̃ hya a santiago (CXCIII)

3) A vynte e nove dias de dezembro de mil e quatrocẽtos e noventa fez el rrey dõ joam em evora hũuas justas rreaes no casamento do pricipe dom affonso seu filho com a princesa dona ysabel de castela e foy i diaa daa mostra huua quynta feyra e aa sesta se começaram e durarã tee o domingo seguynte e el rrey com oyto mantedores manteve atea em hũa fortaleza de madeyra sengularmente feyta onde todos estavom de dya e noyte que tam bem justava e as letras e cimeyras que se tiram sam estes...(CLXXIIIss.)

The first two examples clearly indicate that they are the words accompanying, or forming part of, courtly "momos." Interestingly enough, the usage of the word "entremes"

¶ Vilãçete q̃fez pero de sou
sa quãdo el rrey nosso señor
veo de santyagno que fez o
sengular momo em santoso
qual vilançete hyam can/
tando diante do entremes e
carro em q̃ hya santiagno

¶ Alta rraynha senhora
santyagno por nos ora.

¶ Partymos de portugual
catar cura a nosso mal
sen° ele e vos nam val
tudo he perdido agora.

¶ Doys q̃ som° seus rromeyr°
e das damas tam enteyros
çessem jaa nossos marteyros
que nunca çessam hũ ora.

¶ Pedimos a vossa alteza
em questaa nossa firmeza
que nam consyntra crueza
neste feram dos de fora.

¶ Aquy n° tem ia presente
de nosso s males contentes
poys nom valem averentes
oje nos valey senhora.

is that which indicates the float, or "carro," which was part of the procession. In the first, the float bore an angel and a devil. The "breve," or script, of this "momo" seems to be similar to the tradition which inspired Gil Vicente's Auto de Alma, as we note with the "Diálogo del cuerpo y el alma." In the prose introduction of the "breve" we see that the author has been tempted by the devil, but is aided by the angel who chants the following Spanish verses to the poet's soul:

> Senhora no quieredlos
> que seais vos omeçyda
> em ser elhalma perdida
> de quien se perdio por vos.
>
> Ordeno vuestra crueza
> queste triste se matasse
> en dexar vos y neguasse
> vuestra fee ques su firmeza.
>
> mas ha permitido Dios
> que por my fuesse valida
> sualma y que su vyda
> se torna perder por vos.

Although this probably formed only a minute part of the script of the "momo," it was gratefully conserved in Resende's edition of the Cancioneiro Geral, as is also the case with the second example, a "vilancete," the words of which were dedicated to the Queen:

> Alta rraynha senhora
> Santyaguo por nos ora.

Partymos de Portugal
catar cura a nosso mal
se nos ele e vos nam val
tudo he perdido agora.

Poys q̃ somos seus rromeyros
e das damas tam enteyros
çessem ja a nossos marteyros
que nunca çessam hũ ora.

Pedimos a vossa alteza
em questaa nossa firmeza
que nam conssynta crueza
neste seram oos de fora.

Aquy nos tem ja presentes
de nossos males contentes
poys non valem aderentes
oje nos valey senhora.

As in the preceding case, these words are supposedly the introduction to a more complete script.

The third selection is a more concrete example of a procession of famous people during the 1490 marriage celebrations, to which we referred in an earlier chapter, and to which Garcia de Resende refers in both his chronicle of D. João II and his Miscellânea. The words describe the "cimeyras," or ornaments and costumes, worn by each of the participants, as well as record their brief roles. Some examples are as follows:

Dom Dioguo d'Almeida trazia hũua
boca d'ynferno com almas e dyzia:
Nẽbraos de mys passiones
animas e descanssareys
de quantas penas teneys
.....

Alvaro da Cũha trazia hũa
arpa sem cordas e dizia:
Quanto mas oye alegria
quien no alcança ventura
tanto mas siente tristura.

Afterwards, the Duke introduces his "justadores," each of whom carries one of the seven planets and proceeds to say his part:

Garcia affonso de melo trazia
a luũa e dizia:
ante la luz de su lumbre
de vuestra gran claridad
es la desta escuridad.

Dõ Rodrigo de castro levava a
torre de babylonia e dizia:
Es tan baxa my ventura
y tan alto elhadeficio
que no basta my servicio.[82]

.....

Thus, with our examination of these final examples taken from the Cancioneiro Geral, we have traced the development and evolution of the performance and the dramatic text from their European origins to their appearance in the Peninsula. Therefore, we have a clear picture of the state of the continually developing dialogue up to the time of the publication of the poetry of Henrique da Mota. He is, in our opinion, one of the principal poets of the Cancioneiro Geral. We also believe him to be one

82 This work is similar to one found in the Cancionero General, fol. cxlss.

of the most important writers to contribute to the relatively sparse history of the Portuguese theatre. This contemporary of Gil Vicente has been called one of the precursors of the drama in Portugal, as well as one of its founders. The term "founder" has generally been applied to Gil Vicente. However, let us bear in mind what I. S. Révah has suggested when discussing the origins of the performance in Portugal. He stated that the term founder does not mean inventor, but rather one whose talents are such that he is capable of coordinating previously existing elements into a well-structured work which may more properly be called drama.[83]

Although we cannot properly call Henrique da Mota the true founder, as we may tend to do in the case of Gil Vicente, he certainly was capable of writing a well-structured dialogue with many dramatic elements. His works do also coordinate many previously existing elements, while at the same time demonstrating a great deal of originality. We feel that this important poet, whose works appear primarily in the Cancioneiro Geral, is deserving of a study in depth in order to give him his due credit. We will

83 I.S. Révah, "Gil vicente, a-t-il été le fondateur du théâtre portugais," Bulletin D'Histoire du Théâtre Portugais, I, (1950), pp. 153-185.

first discuss his biography, adding documented facts to the general literary biographies written by other critics of Henrique da Mota. After studying his minor poetic works, and his letter concerning Inês de Castro, we will attempt to reinforce our position concerning the value of our author's five major dialogues. We shall endeavor to do so through an analytical examination of their plots, characters, influences, original elements, themes, language, and style. We should like to contribute towards the recognition of this relatively ignored contemporary of Gil Vicente.

# PART IV

# HENRIQUE DA MOTA

## IV - HENRIQUE DA MOTA

### A - The Life of Henrique da Mota

In writing the biography of an author who lived centuries ago, one occasionally encounters the problem of a lack of documentary evidence to support whatever information is available. This available information usually amounts to the bits and pieces one can extract from the facts offered in the works of the author himself. This includes places visited, references to the author's knowledge of other literatures, contemporaries with whom he associated, etc. In this manner, it appears that Andrée Crabbé Rocha and the Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira presented principally literary biographies of Henrique da Mota, supported by little documentary evidence.[1] This is also true of other studies, with the possible exception of partial references made by such critics as Braamcamp Freire, Jorge de Sena, and Eugenio Asensio.[2] Leite de Vasconcelos also limited him-

1 Andrée Crabée Rocha, Esboços Dramáticos no Cancioneiro Geral (Anrique da Mota), (Coimbra, 1951); Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira, (Lisboa e Rio, 1936-1960), 40 volumes.

2 Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, Vida e Obras de Gil Vicente, 2a edição (Lisboa, 1944); Jorge de Sena, "Anrique da Mota: ou Inês em prosa e verso," Ocidente, LXXIII, pp. 604-618; Eugenio Asensio, "Inés de Castro de la Crónica al Mito," Boletim de Filologia-Centro de Estudos Filológicos, XXI (1965), pp. 337-358.

self only to those facts related to the "Farsa do Alfaiate."[3] It will be our responsibility in this study to examine all existing information concerned with our author's life. This will be supported by whatever documentary evidence that is available, whether it be already established information or only recently discovered unpublished manuscripts.

## 1 The Literary Biography of Henrique da Mota

When dealing with our literary biography we can only naturally be concerned with that information which appears in the author's poetry, published in the Cancioneiro Geral (1516),[4] or in his letter concerning Inês de Castro, written in 1528.[5]

3 Leite de Vasconcelos, A Farsa do Alfaiate, (Lisboa, 1924).

4 Henrique da Mota's works appear on Folios CCI-CCXI in the Cancioneiro Geral. They are listed in the Index as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| D'anrrique da mota a hũa molher | f.cci |
| & Trovas e cantigas suas | ccii |
| & Trovas suas a hũ clerigo | cciii |
| & Outras suas a hũ alfayate | cciii |
| & Outras suas a hũ ortelam | ccv |
| & Outras suas a hũ seu amiguo | ccv |
| & Outras suas a Dom Joam | ccvi |
| & Outras suas a hũa mula | ccvi |
| & Outras suas a vasco abul | ccix |

5 Eugenio Asensio, op. cit., pp. 354-357.

As one of the principal poets of the Court, and a man whose poetry covers more than ten folios in the above collection, Henrique da Mota became acquainted with many of the well-known figures of his time. These included Queen Leonor, Gil Vicente, D. João III, and João Rodrigues de Sá, the most influential figures to whom he refers in his works. He must certainly have been familiar with some of the most noble Portuguese families, such as the Noronhas and the Meneses, judging from their extensive mention in certain poems. Speaking of certain poems mentioning various people known by our author, there is one which gives us the idea that our author is in love with a certain Antonya Vyeyra.[6] As we shall see in more detail in the following chapter, Henrique da Mota was asked by his lady to compose a poem in her honor. He proceeds to do so, in an acrostic using each of the letters of her name, praising her good qualities and informing Antonya of his love for her. It was quite typical for each Court poet to have at least one lady to whom he could direct his emotions in verse. In the majority of mediaeval poems, however, the lady's name was not mentioned. This trend in Portugal was changed in the Cancioneiro Geral.

6 Cancioneiro Geral, fol. CIv°-CII.

We do know that the poet traveled widely, at least in his own country. In his works he speaks of such cities and towns as Lisbon, Coimbra, Almada, Arelho, Alfeizarão, Pederneira, Alcobaça, Atouguia, Lourinhã, Óbidos, Bombarral, Caldas da Rainha, Nazaré, and Caparica. None of this information should be at all surprising, for, as B. Matthews has stated, "the collection of masterpieces of the drama extending over a score of centuries serves to make plain something which ought never to be overlooked. The dramatist takes thought of the performers of his own time and city."[7] It is, perhaps, for this reason, as well as the fact that the author probably traveled widely as judge, that so many cities and so many Court figures appear in his dialogues.

By placing himself in the role of "Juiz d'Orfãos" in the dialogues dealing with the Mule, the Gardener and Vasco Abul, it is suggested that H. da Mota had a degree in law, a fact which will be corroborated later. He specialized in problems related to orphans, as he mentions in the last poem. He was also probably knowledgeable in many areas of literature. Henrique da Mota quotes from the Bible, Vergil, Homer, Macias, the mediaeval love

7 Brander Matthews, The Chief European Dramatists, (Boston, 1944), p. x.

poet, and mentions the appearance of the Las Serqas de Esplandián.[8] He was also familiar with mythology, able to refer to Neptune, Phoebus, Orpheus, Cupid, Narcissus, and many others.

It is also known that either he or his family was quite involved in the wine industry in Portugal. This is a constant theme in his poetry. In fact, our author even mentions that he was the supplier for an armada heading towards Azamor, around 1513. We would not go so far as Andrée Crabbé Rocha, however, when she stated that Henrique da Mota's knowledge of wine and its best areas for cultivation made him a "bon vivant."[9] Nor would we say that he was "tight" where money was concerned simply because he desperately tried to receive a payment owed to him for the wines that he sold. However, we must agree with Senhora Crabbé Rocha, especially when she states that Henrique da Mota had an excellent imagination, astute psychological prowess, sharp powers of observation and a unique ability to present types and write with humorous talent and realism. The probability is certainly great that many of his works were based upon actual happenings.

8 This is the sequel to the famous Amadís de Gaula (1508).

9 Andrée Crabbé Rocha, op. cit., p. 13.

Last, but by no means least, we know that Henrique da Mota aided in the census procedures which involved all of Portugal in 1527 and 1528. This is alluded to in the preliminary remarks by the author in his letter to King D. João III in 1528. It refers specifically to Coimbra, but we have substantial evidence that he also wrote a census of Lisbon, to which we will later refer.

Such is the literary biography of the author. It is brief and it only includes that information which can be derived from his own writings. It is extremely valuable in so far as we make sure not to become too involved, thereby allowing ourselves to indulge in the fantasizing practiced by many biographers, as was clearly the case in the life of Gil Vicente. What is truly important, however, is the literary contribution of the author. Let us consider ourselves fortunate if we can write a biography of Henrique da Mota with the aid of other critics' findings, as well as other documentary evidence. It will be our task in the second part of this chapter to form a more exact picture of the poet's life, as well as the events surrounding it. We will attempt to accomplish this principally through a chronological documentation of the facts.

## 2 The Factual Biography of Henrique da Mota

D. Mem de Gondar, whose family name was later changed to Mota, was an aide to the parents of D. Alfonso Henriques, the first King of Portugal. Thus, his being in the service of D. Henrique, Count and the Lord of all Portugal, and D. Teresa, his wife, makes the Mota family one of the oldest and closest to the Portuguese monarchy in the earliest history of the country (c.1100).[10] To state that Henrique da Mota was a descendant of the same would be pure conjecture. However, since it is apparent that our author also served the King and the Court, as we shall soon note, its mention is worthwhile.

The first official document in which Henrique da Mota's name is mentioned is from the Chancelaria de D. Manuel I,[11] a book of records of proceedings in the Court. This first document, written in 1499, mentions our author as one of the King's squires. In it, Alvaro Camelo, of

10 Grande Enciclopedia, op. cit., vol. 17, p. 977.

11 Edition of the Torre de Tombo Archives, Livro 16, fol. 135v-136. The document may be found in Index I, p. 502-504. This refers to our own Index.

Atouguia, and "Anrrique da Mota,"[12] of Bombarral, were messengers who presented a "sesmaria," dealing with unused lands, to the royal accountant of the towns of Leiria, Óbidos, and Perderneira. The two squires were probably acting as messengers. The document dealt with an unfinished matter of 1485 in which various unclaimed lands near Peniche and Atouguia were presented to Gil Moreira by their owner, D. Martinho de Ataide. The date of the document informs us of a specific time in which the young squire Henrique da Mota was already in the Court. It also gives substantial evidence to the fact that he was certainly personally familiar with cities whose names he frequently mentioned in his works. Bombarral also appeared to be the city in which he was born, or at the very least, in which he grew up.

Aside from its value to our specific interests, the document is also worthy of mention for its historic, social and economic importance. It discusses the King's desire to attract foreigners to Portugal by developing and building upon unused lands. It points out the inheritance procedure to Gil Moreira's children and men-

12 Let us remember that we are using the modern spelling of the name Henrique, although most of the documents use either Anrrique, Amrrique or Anrique, the older versions of it.

tions the payments due.

The next available date in our author's life is 1516. As we have previously stated, it marks the appearance of the poet's works in print in the first edition of the Cancioneiro Geral.

> Acabouse de empremyr o cancyoneyro geerall. Com privilegio do muyto alto e muyto poderoso Rey Dom Maneul nosso senhor. Que nenhũa pessoa o possa empremir nẽ trova que nelle vaa sob pena de dozentos cruzados e mais perder todollos volumes que fixer. Nem menos o poderam trazer defora do reyno a vender aynda q̃ la fosse feito so a mesma pena atras escrita. Foy ordenado e emẽdado por Garcia de Reesende fidalguo da Casa del Rey nosso senhor e escrivam da fazenda do principe. Começouse em Almeyrym e acabouse na muyto nobre e sempre leall çidade de Lixboa. Per Hermã de cãpos alemã bõbardeyro del rey nosso senhor e empremidor. Aos XXXVIIJ Dias de setẽbro da era de nosso senhor Jesu Cristo de mil e quynhentos e XVI anos.[13]

Thus, on September 23, 1516, Henrique da Mota's works were published and available for generations to follow. We should be indebted to Garcia de Resende, the editor, who saved the poems from being lost amongst many other mediaeval documents by including them in his collection. Not so fortunate were his letter, only recently discovered, and his treatise on the population of Lisbon. Both will be discussed later, as will the possible dates of presentation of Henrique da Mota's poetic dialogues, assuming

13 Cancioneiro Geral, final page.

quite naturally, that they had to have been written before their actual publication.

The next crucial document is one in which H. da Mota's name is only briefly mentioned. This May 15, 1521 letter states that our author was already "Juiz de Órfaõs" in Óbidos.[14] This type of job was relegated to the magistrate who would take care of those matters relevant to orphans and family counseling.[15] This evidence supports the author's calling himself by such a title in his works:

> Bem posso eu cõ rrazam
> por ser dos orfãos juiz.[16]

Thus, we realize that Henrique da Mota did not merely create such a role for himself in order to resolve the debate concerning Vasco Abul and the dancer.

Continuing this chronological study, we note that the year 1527 seemed to be a critical one in the career of our author. Already having been a squire, a poet, and a judge, Henrique da Mota is now named "escrivão da Corte"

14 Gaspar Alvares de Lousada, Sumários da Torre do Tombo, III, fol. 274v., mihi in B. Freire, Vida e Obras de Gil Vicente, p. 64

15 Grande Enciclopédia, Vol. 14, p. 360.

16 Cancioneiro Geral, F.CCX, col. II

(Court scribe). This was a job worthy of the most trusted aides of the King. This was also the year in which the King, D. João III,[17] sent certain men throughout his kingdom to obtain an official census. Henrique da Mota was apparently charged with two cities, Lisbon and Coimbra.

Dealing with the first matter, we find a document dated August 12, 1527, in the Chancelaria de D. João III.[18] In it, the King names "cavaleiro Anrrique da Mota" as the "esprivam" (escrivão). He mentions that he knows of the loyalty and excellent qualities of the new scribe and realizes that he has always served honestly and faithfully. The King also mentions that Henrique da Mota was to be paid just as much as the other scribes (2160 "reais" a year) and would hold the same area of land as do they. The letter was written in and sent from Coimbra to wherever the newly-appointed scribe was staying. Also, to make the appointment more "official," the Bishop of Viseu was notified to furnish Henrique da Mota with whatever assistance he might need in his new position.

17 King João III was the second under whom Henrique da Mota served; his predecessor was D. Manuel I.

18 Chancelaria de D. João III, ed. da Torre do Tombo, Livro 30, fol. 131v., Index I, p. 505.

As far as the census was concerned, Braamcamp Freire mentions that various letters were sent to scribes all over the country asking them to go to certain towns and carefully note the size of the population.[19] In his article entitled "De Povoação de Entre Tejo e Guadiana," we note the following letter, written to a certain Diogo d'Andrade:

> Eu el Rei vos envio muyto saudar, por que folgarey de saber quantas çidades, villas e lugares ha em vossa correicam, e os nomes delles, e assi quamtas moradas nelles ha, vos emcomendo e mamdo que logo, tanto que esta vos fora dada, mandes hũu escrivam dessa correiçam qual vos parecer que ho milhor foraa, que va fazer esta dilligẽçia, a saber: Iraa a cada hũu das çidades, villas e lugares dessa comarca, e em cada hũ delles escrevera quantos moradores ha no corpo da çidade ou villa e arrabaldes, e quamtos no termo, declarando quantas aldeas ha no dito termo, por seus nomes, e quamtos moradores ha em cada hua dellas...[20]

It is our belief that Henrique da Mota was one of the scribes chosen for just such a task. We are led to believe this because of a reference to our author in a 1561 book entitled Chorographia de Alguns Lugares que estam em hum caminho que fez Gaspar Barreiros no anno MDXXXXVI.[21]

19 Braacamp Freire, Arquivo Histórico Português, (Lisboa, 1906-1908), vols. III-VI.

20 Ibid., vol. VI, pp. 93-94

21 Gaspar Barreiro, Chorographia de Alguns Lugares... (Coimbra, 1561) in Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Reservado Manuscript.

In this book, the author, Gaspar Barreiros, describes many cities that he visited in his travels in 1546, including Madrid. When discussing this city, he compares its population to that of Lisbon and states the following:

> ...sempre ouvemos respecto a cidade de Lisboa, á qual a sido povo como dos forasteiros e julgada por lugar de xxx mil vezinhos, que é bem desviado numero do que Anrique da Mota (scrivam da Camara que foi d'el rei nosso senhor) achou no anno de 1528 screvendo por mandado do dicto senhor com muyta diligençia todolos vezinhos da dicta cidade e arrabaldes, em q̃ fez hũ tractado q̃ ouvemos á nosso poder, contãdo inda como elle mesmo alguas vezes nos disse, todos os q̃ viviam de hũas portas para dentro.

The results of this census of Lisbon and its surroundings are unavailable today, because the census was either destroyed or misplaced. This is our conclusion after having searched all possible libraries and archives, as have critics before us. Braamcamp Freire, in writing about the census-taking in the region of Extremadura, in which Lisbon is located, also lamented the loss of the document. However, he assumes the author to have done a fine job. He stated:

> É muito para lastimar este estravio, tanto mais por que o censo de Lisboa (hoje infelizmente perdido) foi escrito por Henrique da Mota, escrivão da camara real e um dos

> poetas mais motejados do Cancioneiro Geral, onde se encontram muitas composições suas de fl. 201 em diante. Era pois de esperar que elle, no cumprimento da sua imposta tarefa, tivesse procedido judiciosa e minuciosamente, deixando-nos muitos dados preciosos para a monografia da velha cidade...[22]

Nevertheless, by the simple fact that we know the census to have been written by Henrique da Mota, certain other information and doubts are clarified. We are referring to the letter written by our author in 1528, in which he mentions being in Coimbra, "acabando ja denumerar ho grande povo desta muy nobre e sempre leal cidade...e seus arrabaldes e quimtaes, dos olivais pelas divisões de seus termos e lymites." It is quite possible that he did this in response to a request by the King quite similar to the circumstances which led him to write his "tratado de todos os vizinhos que tinha a cidade de Lisboa no ano 1528." In fact, Braamcamp Freire has also transcribed a letter by the King to a certain "Bartolameu Fernandez," asking that he do the same as Diogo d'Andrade, that is, appoint scribes to take the census of that region.[24]

22 Braamcamp Freire, Arquivo Histórico Português, op. cit., pp. 281-84.

23 Eugenio Asensio, "Inés de Castro de la Crónica al Mito," Boletim de Filologia-Centro de Estudos Filológicos (Lisboa) XXI (1965), p. 354.

24 Braamcamp Freire, op. cit., pp. 281-284.

The Coimbra letter to which we constantly refer contains a vision dealing with the Inês de Castro theme. It also includes a brief dialogue between Inês and Pedro. This will be studied in more detail in a later chapter, principally to avoid a literary analysis at this time and to refrain from repeating ourselves unnecessarily. Suffice it to say that the letter has a definite lyric quality, in both prose and verse. Its rudimentary dialogue is not uncommon in Henrique da Mota's works, nor are the vision and scenic descriptions. We also see the mythological references that are almost the same as those in other poems by our author.

We mention all of these facts in reference to certain doubts which have been cast as to the authenticity of this work by Henrique da Mota. More specifically, Armando Gusmão has suggested that the author of the letter may be a different Henrique da Mota than the poet of the Cancioneiro Geral.[25] Considering all of the evidence already mentioned, including the basic links between poet and judge, judge and scribe, and,of course, census and letter, we hope that these doubts are dispelled.

25 Armando Gusmão, "O Códice num. 348 da Biblioteca de Manizola," Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa, vol.II (1956) pp. 17-22.

Also noteworthy is the fact that while A. Gusmão considers the writer of the letter to be different from the poet, he does admit to the dramatic qualities of the verse.

Thus far we have seen Henrique da Mota as a squire in the Court at a presumably early age, putting his birth date somewhere within the last three decades of the fifteenth century. He was later named "Juiz de Orfãos" in Óbidos, quite near his possible birthplace of Bombarral. He participated in the festivities of the Court and had his works published in the 1516 Cancioneiro Geral. He was then named Court scribe and proceeded to be charged with the census of Coimbra and Lisbon. During this time, inspired by the city of Coimbra itself, he wrote a letter containing a dialogue valuable to the literary history of the Peninsula, as we shall soon hope to prove.

The final series of documents, all of which are extremely valuable in our study of the author's life, can be divided into three principal categories; those dealing with the da Mota family and their lands, those pertaining to the letters and receipts for monies granted to Henrique da Mota by the King, and, finally, those documents written by the author himself as the official scribe of the Court.

In the first category are three documents dated 1528, 1533 and 1537. The first concerns a letter written by the King in response to a complaint by Henrique da Mota that people have been trespassing on his land.[26] The obvious value of the document is the fact that it mentions that the lands, or pine-groves, are in the district of Bombarral. Since it also alludes to the fact that the property was inherited, we are led to believe, this time with documented evidence, that the da Mota family is definitely from that region north of Lisbon. The document goes on to describe the fine that the King will impose on anyone who trespasses or cuts down a pine tree without the owner's permission.

The second document is, without a doubt, one of the most informative of all of those which we have discovered.[27] It also deals with fines that the King will levy against anyone who hunts on the author's land or who, as in the previous document, is caught cutting down any of the owner's pine trees. However, it is not that which is

26 Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria de D. João III. Livro 11, fl. 98, Index I, p.506.

27 Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria de D. João III. Livro 46, fl. 90v-91. Index I, p.507-508.

most interesting. In the introduction to the document, the King not only mentions the author's name, but again says that the lands are near the "Villa d'Obidos no lugar de Bombarall". These are the two towns most often referred to in Henrique da Mota's works. Thus, once again, our previous suppositions are given documentary support.

Although the above is very important to our study, it is relatively minor information compared to other facts stated in the document. Aside from mentioning the noble lineage of the author, "Amrique da Mota cavaleiro fidalgo," his father's name is mentioned.

> "...ele tem no lugar de Bombarall termo da Villa d'Obidos hũu asentamento antiguo que foy de Gomçallo da Mota seu pay cryado que foy del Rey Dom Afonso e de El Rey Dom Joam..."

In seeking information concerning Gonçalo da Mota, we found three documents in the Torre de Tombo Archives.[28] Each was written during the reign of D. João II. The vital information extracted from these documents tells us that Gonçalo da Mota served both D. Afonso V and D. João II, that he was an "escudeiro" in both Courts, that he lived in Bombarral and, interestingly enough, that he

28 ANTT, Chancelaria de D. João II. Livro 20, fl. 129, Livro 20, fl. 188 and Livro 8, fl. 65. They are dated 1486 and 1487. Index I, pp. 509-512.

was a judge in both Bombarral and Óbidos. We also learn that he was once fined for pronouncing an incorrect decision, but was to earn a privileged position for both himself and his family in royal circles.

Thus, not only did Henrique da Mota inherit lands and a privileged position from his father, but he followed in his father's profession as well. The new information in no way contradicts any of the previously discussed "facts" mentioned in either the literary or factual biographies. The possibility that the author was born around 1470 or 1480 still holds true, suggesting that Henrique da Mota was born during the last years of the reign of D. Afonso V. It is interesting to note that Gonçalo da Mota will appear in "The Farce of the Tailor" in the role of a judge. This strengthens our later arguments that our author did indeed frequently use living models for many of his characters.

The final piece of information taken from this 1533 document is the fact that, aside from the pine and fruit-trees, the da Mota family lands also included vineyards. This is quite relevant to our study of the author, especially since wine becomes a repeated theme in both his minor poetry and in his dialogues.

The third document in this category, dated 1537, is rather brief. However, it does inform us that the property of Henrique da Mota not only included lands in Continental Portugal, but in the Madeira Islands as well. Obviously, with the discovery of each new document, the true prominence of the da Mota family becomes more apparent (see p. 515).

The second category of manuscripts, concerning money granted to the poet, consists of two letters from King João III, dated 1534 and 1539, in which he asks his royal treasurer to give the scribe Henrique da Mota one thousand, one hundred and sixty "reis" and twenty "cruzados," respectively.[29] The second does not state the purpose for which the money will be used, but the first states that it is to be used for clothing. Of more interest to us than the letters themselves is the fact that each is accompanied by a receipt for the money, signed by Henrique da Mota's own hand. We believe this to be both a curious and valuable addition to our collection of documents concerning our author.

The remaining documents are those related to da Mota's

29 ANTT Corpo Cronológico. Parte 2a, Maço 195, Doc. 32 and Parte 1ª, Maço 64, Doc. 63, Index I, pp. 514-515.

profession as Court scribe. They help us to show the last known date in which he acted as scribe and give us an idea of how long he served in that position.

The first two are both dated July 21, 1539.[30] They deal with a grant of lands to the fathers of the "Ordem de Piedade" Monastery in Coimbra. One copy of the letter was sent to the Sé of Coimbra, the most influential church in the region. H. da Mota was sent to the Judicial magistrate of Coimbra with another letter, asking that he reply by way of a sealed letter to the scribe. This second letter was almost an exact duplicate of the first. In both documents it appears that the King is very diplomatically asking for approval of his decision.

A July 3, 1540[31] document deals with King João III's desire to have an account of part of the estate of his deceased aunt, D. Leonor, former Queen of Portugal. She was also the protector of Gil Vicente and, very possibly, our own Henrique da Mota. The letter was sent to the

30 ANTT. Segunda Inc., M. 48, no. 1923 Original and M. 49, no. 1950 Original, from the Se de Coimbra. Index I, p516-517.

31 Chancelaria de D. João III, Livro 50, fol. 187-187v°, Index I, pp. 518-519.

treasurer Francisco Cardoso, and written by another Court scribe, Gaspar Godinho. This letter, however, is followed by an addition which mentions monies paid in 1524 and 1525, for which Henrique da Mota now issues a receipt.

The reason for the mention of the Queen's protection in connection with this letter is actually her role in inspiring the foundation and development of the Portuguese theatre. Two of her favorite poets appear to be Gil Vicente and Henrique da Mota. Both authors either wrote works in her honor or recited them in her presence. Henrique da Mota's participation in the activities of the Court and its festivities led Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro to suggest that our author was the last cultivator of the "entremes." The mention of the Queen in his dialogues concerning both the Gardener and Vasco Abul are similar, in this critic's opinion, to D. Leonor's inspiration in early Vicentine performances. The majority of the cities cited in the dialogues were also within the jurisdiction of the Queen. This leads Sampayo Ribeiro to believe that our author was "juiz d'orfãos" not only in Óbidos, but also in Alenquer and Almada. Both cities belonged to the "Casa del Rei." We are pleased to agree with Sampayo Ribeiro's

opinion that Henrique da Mota did play a fundamental role in the evolution of Portuguese theatre and respond to his call for a critical study of his dialogues.[32]

On March 10, 1544, Henrique da Mota also transcribed a petition from Vasco Eannes Corte Real to his son and relatives, asking that they respect his coat of arms.[33] Also interesting to note is the fact that the Corte Real family was influential in the Portuguese exploration, and perhaps the colonization, of the North American Continent.

The final piece of evidence concerning our author is one in which he again acted as scribe. It deals with a letter from King João III, on February 20, 1545, in which repairs for the Trinity Monastery are discussed.[34] It is the last time that we find Henrique da Mota in the role of scribe. It is also the last time that we see his name mentioned at all. This leads us to believe that he

32 Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro, "A Rainha D. Leonor de Lancastre e os Alvores do Teatro Português," Ocidente, LVI (1959), num. 250, pp 69-82.

33 Chancelaria de D. João III, Livro 41, fol. 16, Index I, pp. 520.

34 As described in the "Catálogo da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa." Index I, p. 521.

must no longer have been a scribe, nor have lived many years afterward. It is also quite evident that by 1545 he must have been quite old by sixteenth century standards. However, there is actually no documentary evidence to support any theory concerning his presence in the Court, or his death, after that date. Let us now concern ourselves with giving specific dates to the author's dialogues, as well as discuss the role of the Inquisition in relation to those works.

### 3 The dates of Henrique da Mota's Dialogues

The problem of giving specific dates to the dialogues is not an easy one. Often there is contradictory evidence and other times none at all.[35] However, let us attempt to offer dates for the works within a margin of a couple of years. Although we do agree with Jorge de Sena that many times it is safer not to assign specific dates when only vague information exists, we will critically examine the various possibilities. We will do so by combining all available information, including that which is presented in the studies of Jorge de Sena, Leite

35 Such was not the case with either the letter or the census, since the dates for these works were offered or derived from obvious information.

de Vasconcelos, Braamcamp Freire, and Eugenio Asensio.[36] Naturally, the only certainty is that each of the dialogues by Henrique da Mota was written or recited in the Court before 1516.

The first dialogue, popularly called "Pranto do Clérigo" ("The Priest's Lament"), was first given its date by Eugenio Asensio.[37] He stated that it had to have been performed after 1514, the year in which Ambassador Tristão da Cunha was given permission to collect tributes, "terças," from the clergy. This is a fact not only mentioned in this dialogue, but also in the 1514 Exhortação da Guerra by Gil Vicente. The priest says, after losing his wine, that the last few months in his life have been pretty bad:

> Que negra entrada de março
> se todo vay por estarte
> e as terças doutra parte
> am me de dar um comarco.[38]

It is surely enough to make him ill.

36 Jorge de Sena, op. cit.; Leite de Vasconcelos, op. cit.; Braamcamp Freire, Vida e Obras de Gil Vicente; and Eugenio Asensio, op. cit.

37 Eugenio Asensio, op. cit., p. 348.

38 Cancioneiro Geral, op. cit., fol. CCIII.

The historical background of this event is recorded in the Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel by Damião de Gois.[39] In Chapter LVI of his chronicle, the historian specifies the facts surrounding the diplomatic mission of Ambassador Tristão da Cunha, as well as his family and aides, to Pope Leo X in March of 1514. This was the well-known trip in which the King of Portugal made the Pope a present of an elephant. Amidst the gala celebrations in connection with the Ambassador's arrival, Tristão da Cunha asks the Pope for an audience. It is then that he relays the messages of D. Manuel to the Pope. He asks that the Councils to discuss the heresy of Luther be continued, that a league of nations be formed by the Christian powers to combat the Turks and that the Pope give the King the authority to tax the clergy. The last was the only point to which the Pope agreed, and the official Papal Bulls were sent to Portugal on April 29, 1514. Since the mission began in March, and since the priest in the dialogue speaks of the dark days of that same month, perhaps the work was written or performed in March of 1514.

39 Damião de Gois, Crónica de Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel, (Coimbra, 1954), vol. III, pp. 210-213.

The next dialogue, a poem entitled "A Farsa do Alfaiate"[40] ("The Farce of the Tailor"), was widely discussed by the aforementioned critics. Leite de Vasconcelos and Luciana Stegagno Picchio believe that it was written between 1496 and 1506.[41] Leite de Vasconcelos arrives at these dates by relating the characters that appear in the various dialogues, as well as certain information found within this dialogue. He concludes that the "Marques" referred to in the dialogue is the Marquis de Vila Real, D. Pedro de Meneses, D. Pedro had three known sons: D. Henrique de Meneses, D. Diogo de Noronha, and D. João de Noronha, and possibly also a bastard son named D. Sancho.[42] D. João, one of the characters in the dialogue, died in 1506, thus causing the reasonable assumption that the work was written before that date. Aside from this, the protagonist of the poem is a recently converted "Cristão-novo," who, according to Leite de Vasconcelos, must have been baptized after the general country-

40 The term "Farce" will be dealt with in a later chapter.

41 Leite de Vasconcelos, A Farsa do Alfaiate, op. cit., p. 34; Luciana Stegagno Picchio, Storia del Teatro Portoghese, op. cit., pp. 55-60.

42. We have found the name of D. Sancho de Noronha mentioned in Teófilo Braga, Poetas Palacianos (Porto, 1871), p. 184. He was a young squire in the Court in 1477. D. João is also mentioned.

wide conversion of 1496.[43] Thus we have the two limiting dates of 1496 and 1506. However, Jorge de Sena considers the dates quite improbable. First, he states that there were too many Noronhas and Meneses to allow for any specific conclusions. Second, he points out the fact that the former Jew's conversion was a voluntary one. Quoting from the poem, we observe the tailor stating the following:

> em mym poys tomey de grado
> esta ley nova de graça.[44]

In examining the information ourselves, we tend to agree more with Leite de Vasconcelos. Our reasons are many. We first note that Caetano de Sousa's Provas da História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa[45] speaks of D. João de Noronha, "Prior-mor de Santa Cruz de Coimbra." This D. João said his first mass there in 1485. It was attended by D. João II. Noronha died in 1506, just before being officially ordained Bishop of Ceuta. His brothers were D. Diogo and D. Henrique. His father was D. Pedro de Meneses, who married D. Joana de Castro in 1462, was named Count of Vila Real and was one of the most noble

43 Leite de Vasconcelos, op. cit., p. 34.

44 Cancioneiro Geral, op. cit., fol. CCIIII, Col. I

45 A. Caetano de Sousa, Provas da História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa (Lisboa, 1739), vol. V, pp. 196-200.

men of the Court. D. Pedro died in 1499. His son, D. Diogo, was just as important a figure. Besides various official positions in Portugal, he was captain in Ceuta and married into the family of the mayor of Bombarral. Perhaps by coincidence, Bombarral was the place in the dialogue in which the tailor lost his money. We find it quite probable, therefore, that the action in this work did take place in that city, although it is not a certainty. Bombarral, we must remember, is mentioned in the introduction of the poem. However, whatever the case may be, we do not have any doubts about this being the correct family.

As far as the date 1496 is concerned, we feel that it is applicable, even though Manuel admits to converting voluntarily. The dialogue could not have been written before 1496, voluntarily or not, especially since the protagonist mentions the new law and talks of the "ley nova de graça". Although there are varying opinions concerning the meaning of the expression, we believe that it actually refers to the law in the sense of confession. In this case the old law would be Judaism and the new one Christianity. "Graça" quite probably refers to the idea of salvation, which he would now find in the Catholic

Church. Thus, we then agree with the limiting dates of 1496 and 1506, not being able to specify them more exactly, due principally to the lack of further information.

The third dialogue, commonly called "A Farsa do Hortelão" ("The Farce of the Gardener"), has rarely been discussed and has never been assigned a specific date. The only information which we could possibly offer would be the fact that the gardener works on the Queen's private property in Caldas da Rainha. The Queen, D. Leonor, was the wife of D. João II and the sister of D. Manuel I. In 1485 she founded the Hospital of Caldas, in Caldas da Rainha. This town today has a monument dedicated to her. Historically, the waters of Caldas were assumed to have cured the Queen of her illnesses. Thus, it should not be surprising to find her name in Henrique da Mota's poetry, since she seemed to have taken a personal interest in his works, as we have previously noted.

Interesting to note is the fact that Gil Vicente's Auto de S. Martinho was performed before the Queen in Caldas in 1504. Although courtly representations many times commemorated the stay of a royal figure in one place or another, D. Leonor seems to have traveled to and

from Caldas too often to permit us to draw a definitive conclusion regarding the date in which the dialogue was first written or recited.

The "trovas a mula," popularly called "Lamentação da Mula" ("The Mule's Lament"), takes place in both Bombarral and Alcoentre and deals with the previously mentioned D. Henrique's inhumane treatment of the animal. D. Diogo, a brother of D. Henrique, also plays an important role. The mule speaks of the house of Noronha, the brothers and the father, as well as the cities within the jurisdiction of this noble family. This adds somewhat to our proof given in the second dialogue, concerning the tailor and the properly identified Noronha family. There are further facts which are important in our pinpointing of the date of this work.

In Fol. CCVIIIv°, the mule mentions to D. Diogo that she used to serve his father. Since we can suggest that she would change from the father to the son only if the father had died, it is quite probable that the work was written after 1499, the year D. Pedro died. The other fact is that the mule refers to the general famine ("fome geral") that has struck the country. Although there are specific references to such a famine in 1503,[46] it was

46 Aubrey F.G. Bell, Estudos Vicentinos (Lisboa, 1940), p. 207.

generally too long-lasting and wide-spread to claim any one year. This is because it is known that plagues and dry spells, as well as earthquakes and tremors, added to the general feeling of restlessness of the populace during much of the first two decades of the sixteenth century. Even the Court itself was moved four different times during those years to avoid those displeasures.[47] The final factor is the mule's age. She mentions that she was born "no tempo del rey Duarte" which would be between 1433 and 1438. The "Veador" in the work states that the Mule is over seventy years old, which, in turn, informs us that 1503 would be the earliest date of composition of the work.

The final dialogue, known as the "Processo de Vasco Abul" ("The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul"), has had dates attributed to it by various critics. Braamcamp Freire offers an extremely convincing proof of the date of representation. He criticizes Brito Rebello's choice of 1494, saying that the Queen, who is mentioned in the work, was not in Almada that year. Almada is the town mentioned in the poem's introduction. The town was within the jurisdiction

47 The Court moved in 1502, 1506, 1513 and 1521 according to Damião Peres, <u>História de Portugal</u> (Barcelos, 1931) Vol. III, p. 652.

of D. Beatriz and was not inherited by her daughter, D. Leonor, until the year of her death in 1506. Also, since the dialogue mentions that Henrique da Mota is "juiz d'orfãos", and the previously mentioned 1499 document did not, it must have been written after that date. Braamcamp Freire also mentions that it must have been written before July 16, 1511, the date in which one of its principal figures, Mestre Gil, died. He concludes that since the lawsuit[48] was brought before the Queen in Almada, the dialogue must have been performed in 1509, the same year in which she was in that town to witness Gil Vicente's Auto da India.[49] This is a distinct possibility. However, we are sure that the Queen must have visited Almada both before and after that date.

Eugenio Asensio dates the work a few years later, principally because of its mention of the Sergas de Espandián.[50] Asensio cites the first edition of the

48 The lawsuit, which will be described in detail in a later chapter, is concerned with Vasco Abul's desire to retrieve a chain which he had given to a dancer, supposedly as a gift.

49 B. Freire, Vida e Obras de Gil Vicente, pp. 62-64.

50 Cancioneiro Geral, folio CCX, column III. The novel is actually the fifth book of Garcí-Ordóñez de Montalvo's Amadís de Gaula. The date 1508 is referred to in the Grande Enciclopédia, volume IX, p. 297.

Sergas in the 1510 Amadís de Gaula edition printed in Seville. Both Braamcamp Freire's and Asensio's dates are certainly within reason. One final piece of information concerning the dialogue is the mention of the "ano bysexto" (leap year) on Fol. CCX, column III. This may even put the date of performance at 1512 or early 1516, with the first date being the more probable one. However, this is only conjecture on our part.

The poem, not dialogue, concerning João Ruiz de Sá (Folio CCIIv°) offers one final date that may be attached to our author's works. It deals with money owed to H. da Mota by relatives of Roiz de Sá, named D. Martinho de Castelo Branco and Jorge de Vasconcelos. The money is for wine sold to them by Henrique da Mota for the express purpose of supplying an armada headed for Azamor, one of the North African cities conquered by the Portuguese. Although the armada which was finally to gain control of the city was sent out on a mission in 1513, the presence of the Portuguese there was quite visible years earlier. In 1486, the inhabitants of Azamor were called the vassals of D. João II of Portugal, and in 1497 there was a peace treaty between the city and D. Manuel I. It was

actually the fact that there was unrest and piracy in Azamor that led to military intervention, according to the Portuguese officials of that period. Thus, even though the date 1513 appears to be the most attractive, an earlier date is quite possible. We would, therefore, suggest that it was written somewhere between 1504 and 1513. The first date represents the one in which D. Martinho de Castelo Branco was named a Count of Vila Nova, the title by which he is named in the poem.[51]

One final biographical fact that should be mentioned is the effect of the Inquisition and censorship on the works of Henrique da Mota. Although there have been various studies dealing with the general theme of the Inquisition during this period of Portuguese history,[52] none has actually dealt with how it affected the lives of the sixteenth century authors involved, even though there were many works written by those authors which were critized by the Holy Office. The reason is the obvious

51 Teófilo Braga, Poetas Palacianos, pp. 290-292.

52 António José Saraiva, Inquisição e Cristãos Novos (Porto, 1969); I.S. Révah, La Censure Inquisitoriale Portugaise au XVI siécle (Lisboa, 1960); Andrée Crabbé Rocha, Aspectos do Cancioneiro Geral (Coimbra, 1949), pp. 19-31; A. Braamcamp Freire, A Censura e o Cancioneiro Geral (Coimbra, 1921).

lack of documentation concerning the matter. Many critics have suggested that the lives of many authors were endangered because of this tragic institution, as was the case with the persecution of the dramatist António José da Silva, "O Judeu", years later. However, it is the impact or censorship on our author's works with which we concern ourselves at this time.

The 1581 Index Librorum Prohibitorum was a catalogue which contained a listing of those books which were prohibited in both Spain and Portugal.[53] Criticized in it are the works of Torres Naharro, Bernardim Ribeiro, Jorge de Montemor, Juan del Encina, and Gil Vicente, whose works were in "need of censorship and reform,"[54] Various references made to the works were the following:

> Comédias, Tragédias, Farsas, Autos, onde entram por figuras Ecclesiásticas e se representa algum sacramento ou acto sacramental, ou se reprende e pragueja das pessoas que frequentão os sacra-

53 Index Librorum Prohibitorum, published by Antonius Riberius, Olysippone por mandado do Ilustíssimo e Reverendíssimo Senhor D. Jorge d'Almeida Metropolytano, Arcebispo de Lisboa, Inquisidor Geral, 1581. Edição da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1418 Reservado.

54 Braamcamp Freire, A Censura e o Cancioneiro Geral, p. 21

> mentos, e os templos, ou se faz injúria a algũa ordem, ou estado aprovado pola igreja.[55]

Although Braamcamp Freire states that ecclesiastical censorship did not exist in Portugal prior to 1516, these criticisms are quite similar in nature to those mentioned in the sinodal constitutions and the laws of Alfonso X, King of Castile.

On page 21 of the same index we see that works which mentioned religious matters in a humorous vein were also censored. Those that were censored were the following:

> Obras de graças, zombarias, que andão no Cancioneiro geral, Português, ou Castellano, no que toca a devoção e cousas christãs, e da sagrada Scriptura, ou em outra qualquer parte onde estiveram.

Thus we note that two types of works were attacked: those that appeared to be risqué or dishonest, as stated in another paragraph of the Index, and those that made light of the clergy or devotion to the church.

Lisbon's National Library has three copies of the Cancioneiro Geral which suffered the abuse of the Inquisition. They show verses and stanzas that are outlined for censorship in the margins and completely covered by ink-drawn lines. The Inquisition also asked that those people who had an edition of the collection in their home

55 Ibid., p. 18.

cross out the proscribed verses. A 1624 Index listed those verses.

We observe that a majority of the well-known poets of the Cancioneiro Geral suffered some sort of censorship of their works. In the case of Henrique da Mota, we note that two of his poems are affected. The first, on Folio CCVIv°, is entitled "Danrrique da Mota a Dom Joam de Norõha e a Dom Sancho seu irmão porque se forã cõffesar a ssam Bernaldi na metade do verão levando comsyguo o vigayro Douvidos que he muyto gordo e vieram jãtar a hũ luguar que chamam os gyraldos e nom acharam vynho pera beber." This poem was totally censored, from the introduction and the name of the author to the very last verse. After reviewing once again the criteria by which the works were judged, its condemnation comes as no surprise. The poem makes references to confession, contrition, excommunication, the Three Wise Men, etc. It also speaks of Penitence as a sin which the poet believes to be worse than the crime committed. The phrase "domini michi" is uttered and the clergy and Vicar are criticized for their dependence on wine. The poem itself, as we shall see later, seems to call for church reform, especially concerning matters related to confession.

What confuses us, however, is the fact that the Inquisition could condemn this work completely, and leave others totally untouched. In "The Priest's Lament," for instance, there are specific references to a "passion" suffered by the protagonist when he loses his wine, as well as the foul language he uses to accuse the "perra de manicongo," an insulting term by which he refers to his black mistress-slave. Also uncriticized is the discussion involving the "Espirito Santo" in the "Farce of the Tailor." However, since many of the Inquisition's accusations themselves cannot be clearly explained, we cannot expect to answer this question.

The other work which was affected by the censorship was "The Lament of the Mule." It was only partially criticized, with one verse and one stanza subject to eradication. The verse, which is an obvious symbolic reference to the expression of the mule's torment, is as follows:

e na cruz muy marteyrada (CCVIII, col. II).

The reference to the crucifixion was destined to be condemned! The stanza that is crossed out makes certain references to confession, contrition, devotion, and fasting, all in a light vein. In fact, the Mule has not been given enough to eat and complains that it is like being

devout and having to fast. We note that the use of religion to entertain and to satirize has been outlawed by the Church since before mediaeval times. The selection states:

> Se aveys por confyssam
> açaz ssam de confessada
> eu nam como ja çevada
> isto porque ma nom dam
> E tomo por devaçam
> jẽ juar
> poys, quanta por contriçam
> assaz d'emffadada ssam
> de chorar. (CCVIIIvº)

In concluding our observation of the effect of the Inquisition, we can add only that Henrique da Mota was neither more nor less affected than his contemporaries. Although the decisions of that body were often haphazard, the most obvious violations of religious sanctity were almost always condemned.

Now that we have examined all of the pertinent information concerning the life of Henrique da Mota, let us attempt to write a chronological table of important events:

| | |
|---|---|
| c.1475-1480 | Henrique da Mota is born in one of the outlying districts of Lisbon, probably Bombarral. His father is Gonçalo da Mota. |
| 1499 | He is already a squire in the Court of D. Manuel I. |
| 1496-1516 | H. da Mota writes his minor poetry and five dialogues, with certain specific dates, as previously discussed. |

| | |
|---|---|
| 1499-1521 | Henrique da Mota is named "Juiz d'Orfãos" at some unspecified time within these years. |
| c.1513 | He sells wine to an armada headed towards Azamor. |
| 1516 | The publication of his works in the Cancioneiro Geral by Garcia de Resende occurs. |
| 1521 | He is referred to as "Juiz d' Orfãos," just as his father was before him. |
| 1527 | He is named Court scribe. |
| 1528 | He writes the census of Coimbra and Lisbon, as well as a letter to King João III dealing with Inês de Castro. |
| 1539-1544 | He writes official documents as scribe. |
| 1545 | The last official document bearing Henrique da Mota's name appears. |
| 1545-1550(?) | The possible date of our author's death. |

Henrique da Mota lived in an era in which there were plots by the nobles against the monarchy, Africa was explored and much of it conquered, Portugal reached India, Brazil, and the Far East, and Vasco da Gama and Bartolomeu Dias became so famous that their names would live on for centuries. The Treaty of Tordesillas divided the large expanse of unknown territories discovered by Peninsular explorers between the two Iberian Kingdoms, and the Jews were persecuted and forcibly converted or expelled from Spain and Portugal. There were far reaching social, political and economic reforms on many levels. Also, the

Peninsular theatre was born. The role of Henrique da Mota in the latter, as well as a detailed examination of the poetry, dialogues, and letter written by our author, will be our next task. More specifically, his dialogues will be studied as the important contribution to the development of the theatre that we believe them to be.

### B - The Minor Poetry of Henrique da Mota

The minor poetry of Henrique da Mota, so-called because it is not as important in our study as his dialogues, belongs to two general categories. In the first, we have brief "trovas,"[1] including "cantigas"[2] and "vilancetes."[3] The themes that are most prominent are those of love, sorrow, desperation, and fatalism. Their tone is extremely pessimistic at times, although their themes were

1 A "trova" was a generic term applied to any poetic composition.

2 A "cantiga" consisted of a "mote" of four or five verses and a "glosa" or "grosa" of eight or ten. The "mote" or "Moto" is the primary statement of the theme and the "glosa" is the development of that theme, with the "mote" usually represented at its end.

3 A "vilancete" consisted of a two or three-verse "mote" and "glosa" of seven verses.

quite universal. The poems are full of emotion and they are rather traditional, stylistically speaking. The group includes amatory and quasi-philosophical works.

The second group consists of three poems and is more personal, dealing for the main part in specific problems felt by the author, or events which were witnessed by him. These works will begin to introduce us to the true artistry of Henrique da Mota and will be mainly burlesque in nature. They include a criticism of religious traditions, a poem concerning wine sold to a Portuguese armada by the author and a vision of the god of Love in a response to a friend's letter. Their style is certainly more complex and more worthy of a true poet. They even contain some rudimentary dramatic elements. Let us, then, first examine their content and proceed to study their most typical stylistic and rhetorical devices.

### 1. The First Group of Minor Poems

Of the two amatory poems written by Henrique da Mota, the first is entitled "Danrrique da mota a hũa molher que lhe mãdou dyzer que a cada letra de seu nome lhe fyzesse uma trova e chamavasse antonia vyeyra."[4]

4 Cancioneiro Geral, folios CCIv-CCII. This first poem, as well as all of the other works by Henrique da Mota, may be found in Index II, in their facsimiles.

It is an acrostic, written in response to his lady's request. The poet replies to her in the introduction that he will do as she wishes because his heart is her servant.

> Se vossa merçe quysera
> eu não passar este vaso
> grande merçe me fezera
> porque se nam conheçera
> quam pouco ssey neste caso.
> Mas poys ja meu coraçam
> em tudo vos obedeçe
> sem temor de rrepressam
> dyrvosey minha tençam
> daquilo que me pareçe.

As her poet, he then proceeds to compose seven more stanzas, using two of the letters of the name Antonya Vyeyra in each one. The last stanza uses only one letter. These are not merely to express a few of the fine qualities that he sees in her, but rather to make his true feelings understood. For instance, "A" stands for the "amor" that he feels, "m"[5] for the "morte" that he is suffering, "t" for his "tristeza," or everlasting sadness, and "o" for the "olhos," the eyes that eternally represent the gateway to the soul:

> No. A. senhora sentende
> ho. Amor muyto sobejo
> que me mata e que mençende
> que me manda e me defende

5 "N" was often substituted by "M" due to their similar nasal sounds.

que nam cumpra meu desejo.
E o M. vos decrara
a. Morte. Que me causays
da qual eu nam ma queyxara
se das dores vos matara
que me vos a mym matays.

E. o. T. he a tristeza
que me days porque ssam vosso
mas nam tem poder crueza
de vençer minha fyrmeza
nem eu muyto menos posso.
Ho O. sam os Olhos Tristes
com que triste vos vy eu
e os com que me vos vystes
sam setas com que ferystes
meu coraçam ssendo meu.

The remaining letters in her first name all indicate the author's eternal suffering and denial of love by his lady:

Ho. N. nam quer dizer
se nam. Nam. que me dizeys
sem quererdes conçeder
em dizer ssy nem querer
o que quero que sabeys.
Ho. Y. diz que sos miga
do descansso queu quisera
aos vossos days fadigua
e que mays por vos obrigua
menos gualardam espera.

Ho. A. senhora vos chama
Auarenta. De favores
Desamays a quem vos ama
tendes de crua tal fama
cuanta tendes de primores.

With the letters of her last name we find out that Henrique da Mota is subject to his lady's whims ("Vontade"), that he has enduring ("ynmortal") faith in her, and that he

is envied ("enveja") by other poets who cannot write about this wonderful lady. Other letters express similar feelings, but it is the final "A" for "Ay" that is the most direct revelation of the poet's woes. As was the case with the innumerable poets before him, Henrique da Mota ends the poem by expressing his desire to offer his life in the service of Antonio Vyeyra.

Polo. V. sse manifesta
minha sojeita. Vontade.
que ssendo lyvre nam presta
e faz catyua moor festa
do que faz com lyberdade.
E diz o ssegundo Y.
que tenho ffe. Ynmortal
e creo que nam naçy
senam desque conheçy
ser moor bem o vosso mal.
Pello. E. tenho ssabido
a. Enueja. Que me tem algus
que tem conhecydo
quanto ssam por vos perdido
ganhado por querer bem.

No. Y. terçeyro conheço
senhora que soes. Ysenta.
poys que quanto vos mereço
tendes entam pouco preço
que tudo nam vos contenta.
Ho. R. he a. Rezam
que vos tendes de querer
tanto minha saluaçam
quanto vossa perfeyçam
foy causa de meu perder.

E o. A. por derradeyro
diz que digno ssempre. ay.
este he o pregoeyro
coraçam como lhe vay.
Este brada noyte e dia
por saber quem no ouuyr

vossa crua fantisya
e minha grande alegria
morrendo por vos seruyr.

The fact that the poet mentions his lady's name points out one particular characteristic of this courtly poetry of the fifteenth century. Notably, the typical poet of the Cancioneiro Geral was not opposed to mentioning the name of his "dama," while the troubadour of earlier mediaeval collections usually avoided doing so. This was particularly true in the "cantigas de amigo" and the "cantigas de amor."

This poem is followed by another entitled "Grosa sua a este moto que fez em que nam estam mays nem menos letras que as do nome d'antonya vyeyra."[6]

Ja vytorya nam e
Matar huũ homẽ vẽcido
preso sobre sua fee
ja vytorea nam he

Matardeme Vos senhora
pello meu nam me da nada
mas por vos que soes culpada
em matar quem vos adora.
E que me matays agora
poys nam matays minha fee
ja vytorea nam he.

Que vytorea leuareys
matar hu vosso catyuo
poys confesso que nam vyuo
se nam quanto vos quereys.
E posto que me mateys
sem vos lembrar minha fee
ja vytorea nam e.

6 Cancioneiro Geral, fol. CCII.

This poem curiously enough contains a verse within the "mote" that has exactly the same number of letters as the name of the subject of the first poem, thus linking the two.

The first three verses set the mood of the poem, later developed in the two seven-verse stanzas which follow. In this case, the poet figuratively informs his lover that she is causing his death. However, he adds, she should not consider herself literally victorious, for she is causing the death of one who is her servant and who has eternal faith in her. The "mors-amor" theme is one that is quite universal and which has its roots in classical times. In mediaeval poetry we have extensive examples of this theme in the afore-mentioned "cantigas." The principal source of the Portuguese "cantiga de amor" was the Provençal poetry in which the theme was quite common. The troubadour told how his life was an empty shell without his lady's love. In the "cantiga de amigo," we observed the woman who constantly stated the phrase "e morre-me d'amores." This was caused by the absence of her lover. In the Cancioneiro Geral, we have seen the perfect example of this theme in the previously studied vision of "lover's hell" in Duarte de Brito's poem. Minor examples

of the same are found in João Roiz de Castelo Branco ("da morte mais desejoso cem mil vezes que da vida"), the Conde de Vimioso ("mil vezes a morte chamo"), Bernardim Ribeiro, D. João Manuel, Jorge de Aguiar, and many others. Henrique da Mota himself expressed the idea in the preceding poem in which the "N" in Antonya Vyeyra was representative of death. These two love poems do not particularly present any stylistic characteristics which will be identifiable as that of Henrique da Mota, with the possible exception of the antithesis. It appears to us as though our author, being one of many learned men in the Court, was merely following a sort of troubadouresque tradition, shall we say, when he wrote these amatory poems. He simply imitated the majority of poets who were reciting material which was already commonplace, doing so in a manner which would not especially bring him recognition as an excellent poet. Many of the expressions he used were clichés of the period, to the point of being trite on occasion. However, they do have their commendable aspects.

In the first stanza of the poem dedicated to Antonya Vyeyra, for example, the "mors-amor" theme is highlighted. In order to express his love and suffering, the author has not sought any new or rich means of expression,

but leans rather heavily upon this very common practice of relating love to death. The use of the Eyes, meant to tell his lady how sad he felt, is observed quite often in previous "cancioneiros." Even to compare Henrique da Mota's brief mention of this theme to João Roiz de Castelo Branco's treatment of it would show the definite inferiority of the former. J. R. de Castelo Branco wrote:

> Senhor partem tam tristes
> meus olhos por vos meu bem
> que nunca tam tristes vistes
> outros nenhuns por ninguem.
>
> Tam tristes, tam saudosos
> tam doentes, da partida
> tam cansados, tam chorosos,
> da morte mais desejosos
> cem mil vezes que da vida.
>
> Partem tam tristes os tristes,
> tam fora desperar bem,
> que nunca tam tristes vistes
> outros nenhuns por ninguem.

Although the poem is dedicated to Antonya Vyeyra and can easily be considered enjoyable, it is more a statement of facts concerning the poet's love for her, rather than an example of beautiful lyric poetry. The acrostic does, however, show a certain inventive nature on the part of the author.

Including the introductory verses, the poem consists if eight ten-verse stanzas, each divided into two parts of five verses each. The rhyme scheme of these ten heptasyl-

labic verses is abaabcdccd. However, it is the acrostic form of the poem that is the most interesting. This example of the acrostic is not a very common one. In it, each verse or stanza begins with, or is based upon, one particular letter of the name of the subject of the poem. Although the acrostic is not one of the most common forms employed in poetry, there are other examples in which it appears in mediaeval verse. Oscar de Pratt said that this poem's form gives it a "bizarra originalidade."[7] Its form was to become even more popular with the advent of the Renaissance.

One of Alfonso X's Cantigas de Santa María is of a similar nature, although it contains more of a list of the Virgin's good qualities, rather than an expression of the mundane love shadowed in discontent implicit in Henrique da Mota's poem. A selection of the "cantiga" is as follows:

> Eno nome de Maria
> cinque letras, no mais, y á
> M mostra Madr' e Mayor
> e mais Mansa e mais Melhor
> .....
> A demostra Avogada,
> A posta, e Aorada,
> e Amiga e Amada.

7 Óscar de Pratt, Gil Vicente, Notas e Comentários, (Lisboa, 1931), p. 197.

R mostra Ram' e Rayz
e Reynn.....[8]

The "acróstico estrófico" of Henrique da Mota is also similar to two other acrostics in the Cancioneiro Geral, one by Diogo Brandão to Dona Violante:

Do grande malque causarã
os olhos quando vos virã
nestes dias o paguaram
a fora quando partiram.

Vida quassy atormenta
ja melhor se perderya
o penar q̃ sacrecenta
ledo morrer me forya
as lagrymas q̃ se dobram
no coraçam se syntyram
todas meus olhos chorarã
em vendo q̃ nam vos vyram. (XCIII-XCIIIv)

and another by Jorge de Resende to Dona Ilária:

De vos senhora e de mym
ousarey de maqueixar
nos males que nam tem fim
antes vam ou gualarim
jurando de macabar,
lastimando com rrejam
amores bem me fizeram
rresistir minha paixam
inteyra satisfaçam
aa mester pos me prenderã. (CLXXXVII)

These are truly acrostic in that each verse starts with one letter of the name of the person to whom the poem is dedicated.

8 Alfonso X, As Cantigas de Santa Maria, Walter Mettman ed., (Coimbra, 1959, 1961, 1964) Volume III, núm.70.

Two final poems which also demonstrate the acrostic, as well as other rhetorical devices, are those written by Alvaro de Brito Pestana, dedicated to the Catholic Monarchs, Fernando and Isabel. In these two, the poet uses one stanza for each of the letters of their names and, combining this with alliteration, the acrostic is carried to an extreme. For example:

> Forte fiel façanhoso
> fazendo feytos famosos
> floreçente frutuoso
> fundando fins frutosos
> fama fe fortalezando
> famosamente floreçe
> fydalguyas favoreçe
> francas franquezas firmando. (XXVIII)

The latter example demonstrates how an author can actually be carried away by the original purpose and abandon poetry for a list of verbs, adverbs, and adjectives which can become quite cumbersome.

Although the style, aside from the acrostic, is not particularly brilliant, it is interesting to note the poet's use of antitheses. As Joseph E. Gillet has stated, the antitheses and opposites found in much of the poetry of the period are definitely characteristic of mediaeval lyrics. He says that "the medieval world was marked by contrasts of quality and conduct such as cannot be found

in the antique or the modern age," and this was evident in the many disputes and debates found in the collections of the period. Gillet adds that a theory of opposites was also widespread, adopting the Platonic philosophy that the world is realized out of the union of these opposites.[9]

For instance, in this poem, we have "vos vy eu" and "vos vystes" in the third stanza, "mays" and "menos" in the fourth, "Desamays" and "ama," "sojeita - lyvre" and "catyua - lyberdade" in the fifth, "bem - mal" and "perdido - ganhado" in the sixth, and "saluaçam - perder" in the seventh.

With the acrostic, these antitheses serve to give the poem a certain structure. It is, perhaps, this structural style which saves the poem from mediocrity even though both the themes and style were common to the amatory poetry of the period.

In the second poem, Henrique da Mota took the opportunity to demonstrate his versatility and wit by composing a poem whose "mote" would contain the same number of letters as the name of his lady. Although an interesting idea, as

9 Joseph E. Gillet, Propalladia and other works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, vol. IV, transcribed, edited and completed by Otis Green (Philadelphia, 1961), pp 58-64.

well as proof that the first group of minor poems included in his part of the Cancioneiro were probably written in the order of their appearance, it does not actually add to the quality of the poetry. Besides, it is repetitious, in that the theme of death and love is again observed. The poem also contains antitheses, such as "preso - catyuo," "me matays - nam matays" and is built on the contradiction that such a victory cannot be considered as such. The poem is a "vilancete" whose three-verse "mote" and seven-verse "glosa" were also heptasyllabic and had a rhyme scheme of abb cddccbb.

The third and fourth poems of this first group represent Henrique da Mota's philosophical "contemptu vitae" poems. In them we observe the author's dissatisfaction with life and his pessimism towards it.

In the third poem, Henrique da Mota once again uses a negative sort of "mote":

Grosa sua a este moto.

Gram trabalho he vyuer

Poys nam sescusa perder
a vyda com grande afronta
lançando bem esta conta
gram trabalho he vyuer.

Es vyda tam estimada
quanto sam breves teus dias
que sendo por sempre dada
quanto es agora amada

tam desamada serias.
E poys nunca das prazer
que nam venha com afronta
lançando bem esta conta
gram trabalho he vyuer.

In this work, the poet continues to make his desperation well-known. He indirectly praises death, especially when he explains that life is loved very much only when it is short. The poet is despondent, although quite realistic, when he states that although someone may enjoy living at one moment, he may just as intensely dislike it the next. The poet also believes that the majority of the pleasures offered by life are always accompanied by hardships. Even though the theme is not at all uncommon, Henrique da Mota's attitude seems to be somewhat bitter, as will also be noted in the following poem

The fourth poem to be discussed enlarges greatly upon the same theme of despair, and even amplifies its scope:[10]

Outra grosa em vylancete

Quem nesta vida cuydar
pode bem certo saber
que e gram trabalho vyuer.

Quem cuydar nesta mudança
queste triste mundo faz
achara que nele jaz
a mayor desconfiança.
E poys nunca da bonança

10 Cancioneiro Geral, folios CCII-CCIIv.

sem temor de se perder
gram trabalho he vyuer.

Cada hũ em sseu estado
meta bem a mão no sseo
achara segundo creo
muyta dor muyto cuydado
E poys ante de ganhado
este bem ssa de perder
gram trabalho he vyuer.

Estes bẽes de tanta brigua
com fadigua sam avydos
com fadigua possuydos
e leyxados com fadigua.
E poys este mal sogygua
no ganhar e no poder
gram trabalho he vyuer.

Loguo meu contẽtarya
se nesta vyda presente
alguem vyuesse contente
ou descanssado huu soo dia
Mas por quysto queu querya
nunca foy nem ha de sser
gram trabalho he vyuer.

Reflecting upon the state of affairs of his sad world, the poet says that he who interests himself in this life will eventually find out that all is not easy. He will surely be disillusioned as the world changes, noting that there is much to be lost. People who strive for what they want will surely be overcome by many problems and will inevitably lose whatever it is they are striving for, even before they attain it. Life causes one to work very hard, which leads Henrique da Mota to say that he himself would be very happy to see just one

person, or one who was able to rest free from cares for just one day. He concludes, however, that there was never such a person, nor will there ever be one.

The philosophy expressed by Henrique da Mota in this poem is reminiscent of the quasi-platonic philosophy expounded by Camões in the sixteenth century. In his oft-quoted poem entitled "Babel e Sião", as well as in numerous other poems, Camões expressed the philosophy of the ill-fated destiny of man's life on Earth. He frequently refers to the desperation caused by the fleeting of time and the disappearance of happiness, as we note in the following selection:

> E vi que todos os danos
> Se causavam das mudanças
> E as mudanças dos anos;
> Onde vi quantos enganos
> Faz o tempo as esperanças.
>
> ... vi o maior bem
> Quão pouco espaço que dura;
> O mal que depressa vem,
> E quão triste estado tem
> Quem se fia da ventura.
>
> Vi aquilo que mais vale,
> Que então se entende melhor
> Quanto mais perdido for;
> Vi o bem suceder mal
> E ao mal, muito pior.
>
> E vi com muito trabalho
> comprar arrependimento
> vi nenhum contentamento,
> .....

Um gosto que hoje se alcança
Amanhã já não vejo.[11]

Our author's final two poems appear to be more valuable and interesting for their content, rather than their style, even though antitheses and internal rhyme patterns occasionally offer bright moments. In both, Henrique da Mota speaks directly to life itself and accuses it of being contradictory, much in the same way love was constantly censured in previously examined poems. Both works are united in theme, with the second being an extension of the first and using more rhetorical devices. They are specifically written to show the give-and-take nature of life during the continual struggle it offers man. Words such as work, fight, and fatigue, valuable to the structure of the poem, are often repeated to emphasize the author's main ideas.

Although, as we have already mentioned, the sentiments expressed are not uncommon in the poetry of that period, they do express a certain dissatisfaction on the part of the poet. This feeling of discontentment was certainly a personal one on the part of the poet, but it might also have been a general view of the times. We must remember that the reign of D. João II caused many

11 Luis de Camões, Obras Completas, prefácio e notas de Hernâni Cidade, 3ª edição (Lisboa, 1962), vol. I, pp. 102-105.

problems in the Court. The nobles, who enjoyed many freedoms under the liberal D. Afonso V, were now more restricted in their actions, accused of corruption, and required to offer documentary proof of their land holdings. They literally became the enemies of the monarch. Some of the results were widespread conspiracies, countless deaths, the centralization of power, and the almost total downfall of the nobility. These results were to linger on for many years afterwards.[12] Perhaps events such as these affected outlooks adopted by many of the Court poets, leading eventually to an expression of pessimism.

One element which will separate these four minor poems from the three that will follow is the manner in which they were written. Aside from a few important exceptions, these poems expressed their ideas rather straight-forwardly and relied on fewer rhetorical and stylistic devices than the more extensive poems to follow. They were also more traditional in their presentation and, with a few exceptions, uninspiring.

The third poem is a "cantiga" with a four verse "mote"

12 The effects and changes brought about by the advent of D. João II to the throne are discussed by Teófilo Braga, Poetas Palacianos, (Porto, 1871), pp. 263 and ss. O Cancioneiro Geral e os Desastres da Corte .

and a nine-verse "glosa." They again are heptasyllabic and have a rhyme scheme of abba cdccdabba. The poet continues to use the second person singular form of "tu" in addressing the subject of the poem, which in the case of this poem is life itself.

The fourth work was a "vilancete," with a three-verse "mote" and four seven-verse heptasyllabic stanzas. Its rhyme scheme which is very regular is abb cddccbb. While there are many oft-seen rhetorical devices, such as anastrophe, anaphora, and repetitions, so common in the works of other poets, we do note, once again, the use of antitheses. The example of "bẽes - mal" and "ganhado - perder" seem typical of almost every poem written by Henrique da Mota. The previously referred to inner rhyme, produced by "com fadigua sam auidos / com fadigua possuydos," also gives the style a personal touch.

In the four poems just discussed, we noted various themes. From a poem about a specific lady, Antonya Vyeyra, Henrique da Mota proceeded to express a personal case of unfulfilled love. He then widened his viewpoint to include a general philosophy of life in a world in which it was quite difficult to live. He finally withdraws all restrictions, expressing emphatically his pessi-

mistic view of a world which deprives a man of success, while overburdening him and never leaving him content. It is almost as though the last three poems were linked in a sort of progressive desperation.

Aside from the acrostic, the "vilancete" and "cantiga," and the oft-repeated antitheses, there is little else, in our opinion, that would represent a stylistic trait worthy of mention. Even the personification of the heart and the eyes, expressing the poet's lament and true feelings, were quite common in "cancioneiro" poetry. We even examined one particular poem in the Cancioneiro Geral in which the heart and eyes were the main subjects. The anastrophic word order, of which we will see more in the following three poems, is clearly visible, but does not appear to enhance the value of the poems in any particular manner. We must conclude, then, that in the first four poems to be discussed, Henrique da Mota expounds his sentiments and philosophical ideas generally without dependence upon special stylistic or rhetorical elements, in direct contrast to his later works. The orthographic characteristics of the texts themselves simply serve to reflect the inconsistent manner of writing of the period in which they were written. These same early developmental stages were

faced by all languages at one time or another. Some examples that we note, although they do not offer any new material for study, are the substitutions of "y" for "i," "n" for "m," "guo" for "go," "ce" for "ce," "l" for "r," "q" for "que," "v$^{s}$" for "vos," and "ds" for Deus." There were also many contractions, such as "sentende" and "queste," for instance. Because these observations can be applied to all of the poets of the period, we will refrain from dealing with the subject in the following poems to be studied.

## 2 The Second Group of Minor Poems

Whereas the first group of poems did not characterize Henrique da Mota as one of the better poets of his era, the second category is infinitely more promising. It is in this second group of three comparatively complex and extensive poems that the author's wit and artistry are apparent. We even note the first dramatic elements in these selections. Imagery, metaphors, and a completely satirical-burlesque nature are traits which are representative of Henrique da Mota's style of writing. These works will lead us directly to the poet's principal works: his dialogues.

The first of the poems is entitled "Danrrique da mota

a joã rroiz de ssaa para que falasse por ele ao conde seu sogro e a jorge de vascocelos seu cunhado sobre dinheiro que lhe nã pagavã de vynhos q̃ lhe vendeo para hũa armada."[13] It consists of one principal section, followed by two related "vilancetes." By using all of the information provided within the poem, including deductions made by the relation of certain characters to others, we are able to offer the following thematic details. Aside from the obvious biographical information already discussed, the poem deals with the Poet's asking the famous Court poet, João Roiz (or Rodrigues) de Sá, to help him obtain money owed to him.

It seems that Henrique da Mota had sold a certain quantity of wine to D. Martinho de Castelo Branco[14] and Jorge de Vasconcelos, father-in-law and brother-in-law of

13 Cancioneiro Geral, op. cit., fol. CCIIv°-CCIII.

14 According to Braamcamp Freire, Crítica e História, Vol. I, (Lisboa, 1910), p. 22 and Teófilo Braga, Poetas Palacianos, op. cit., p. 210, D. Martinho was treasurer under D. João II, D. Manuel and D. João III. He also organized royal celebrations during their reigns. He was, finally, named the first Count of Vila Nova. His daughter, D. Leonor de Noronha married Ruy de Sousa, author of various "momos," as was Pedro de Sousa. D. Martinho's daughter, D. Camila, was to marry J. R. de Sá. We can also deduce that he had a son named Jorge de Vasconcelos. Aside from the previously mentioned information, concerning D. Martinho, it is also worthwhile mentioning the fact that since he was in charge of planning and organizing celebrations, such as

João de Sa. They were to use the wine to supply an armada in 1513. When our author did not receive his due payment, he went to speak with D. Martinho, who happened to be in charge of the treasury. When this attempt to receive the money failed, he proceeded to speak to King D. Manuel, who could only refer him back to the treasurer. As he mentions in his work, this was the background of the situation which led him to beseech the aid of João R. de Sa:

> Faley tres vezes a el rrey
> neste tam mao paguamento
> sua alteza com bom tento
> ouuyo quanto lhe faley.
> Mas porem sempre me disse
> que Dom Martinho ouuysse
> meu agrauo
> nam ssey U jaz este crauo
> nem menos ssey que no vysse.
>
> Eu andando ssem ssaber
> quem posesse nysto meo
> em sonhos senhor me veo
> que vos me podeys valer.
> Vasconcelos mo comprou
> Castelbranco mo gastou
> em Azamor
> mas eu nam acho senhor
> quem digua que me pagou.
>
> Eu fiz senhor hũu partido
> cõ senhor vosso cunhado
> no qual perdy o ganhado

the previously studied festivities in Evora in 1490, one could suggest that Henrique da Mota's dialogues may have been performed with his help. Add this to the suggestion of Sampayo Ribeiro, in relation to our author's being the last cultivator of the "entremes," and the possibility becomes more evident. However, this is a matter of pure conjecture.

e nam ganhey o perdido.
Compry com ele ssem brigua
por me tirar de fadigua
e agora
fazme na pagua tal mora
que nam ssey ja que lhe digua.

E por mays me agravar
rremeteme a Dom Martinho
que mandou gastalo vinho
quele mo mande paguar.
Dom Martinho nam me cre
se lhe falo nam ve
nem me ouue
vede senhor quem trouue
a pedilo meu por merçe.

As a respected member of the Court, and one of the principal poets of the Çancioneiro Geral, Henrique da Mota hopes to obtain the help of R. de Sá, and hopes that the latter's position and family will be of some use. Trying to praise him as much as possible, Henrique da Mota states that R. de Sá is a great poet, inspired by Phoebus and the god of Love, who gave him a Virgilian tongue. He also praises the poet's lineage, as well as his artistry and virtues:

Senhor a quem febo deu
lyngoa virgyliana
de que corre de que mana
quanta fama ouço eu.
E alem deste primor
o muy alto deos damor
triumfante
vos fez hũu gentil galante
de damas gram seruidor.

De nobreza e fydalguya
escuso de vos louuar
poys vosso claro solar
como sol rresplandeçia.
E das artes liberays
e vertudes cardeays
nam vos guabo
por que nysto nam tem cabo
a gram fama que cadays.

Eu senhor porque conheço
vosso alto naçimento
quys tomar atreuymento
perdimos jsto que peço.
E que seja desygual
perdir esta merçe tal
sem sseruyr
fazeo por consseguyr
vosso lyndo natural.

He even goes so far as to compare him to the Lord who has come to offer Henrique da Mota redemption, or to Theseus and Ariadne, who will lead him from the Labyrinth constructed by Daedalus:

E poys vos ssoes hũ teseo
em esforço e bom destinto
lyurayme do laberinto
de que sayr nunca creo.
Por que acho desta vez
que o dedalo fez
nam foy tal
poys que fedra nam me val
nem o grande pelouro de pez.

Mas vos que tendes na mão
o cordel per U sayr
se me quyserdes ouuyr
podes me dar rredençam.
E poys ssous bom luytador
e podeys lutar senhor
per dous erros
lyurayme destes desterros
e ganhays hũ seruydor.

The selection actually ends with two "vilancetes." In the first, our author mentions that there was no difficulty when the deal was originally made, but that it has ended rather poorly. Since, according to Henrique da Mota, J.R. de Sá was born to help others, he would especially appreciate his help. It is a sort of final plea of frustration and desperation, expressing the idea that he is always repaid for his favors, or selling of the wine, by troubles:

Fym em vilancete

Destas jdas destas vindas
destas paguas destamores
por hũu prazer cem dolores.

No tempo do contratar
andã tam bem assombrados
que nam venham namorados
que mays saybam lynsõjar
Mas este negro paguar
nos causa com desfauores
por hũ prazer cem dolores.

E poys que vossa merce
naçeo pera bem fazer
folguay de me socorrer
poys magraua ssem por que.
E por vosso me ave
por que quãte mil louuores
de vossos grandes primores.

The second "vilancete," "ao conde de vila nova," is directed specifically at D. Martinho. The poet states that he is sure that the Count would not like Henrique da Mota

to spend money he has not yet been paid. With this sarcasm, he adds that it is not only fair that the Count pay him, but that it is even God's will. The last verse, or refrain, in each stanza further clarifies the poet's feeling in this matter. When he says "derodes pera pylatos," he is symbolically referring to Christ's being sent back and forth between those two tyrants, with each too weak to make a decision. Henrique da Mota has been given the same sort of treatment. He adds, finally, that he literally has been wearing out his shoes trying to resolve this unpleasant matter:

Outro vilançete ao cõde de
vyla noua sobre este caso.

Quanto gãho nos partidos
tanto gasto em çapatos
Derodes pera pylatos.

Ex me vou e ex me venho
como barca de carreyra
quanto guanho quanto tenho
tudo leva a tauerneyra
E assy desta maneyra
guasto todos meus çapatos
Derodes pera pilatos.

Quãdo cuido questou bem
emtam acho questou mal
quando cuido sser alem
sam aquem de portugal.
E per este modo tal
guasto todos meus çapatos
Derodes pera pilatos.

Ando muyto mays bolido
do que he ssaco de malha
tenho gram monte de palha
mas o gram nam he auido.

Sem chegar a ser ouuido
rrompo todos meus ¢apatos
Derodes pera pilatos.

E poys que senhor o meu
fiz de vossa juridiçam
daymo daymo que e rrezam
daymo poys que Deus mo deu.
Nam queirays que guaste eu
o que nam guanhey nos tratos
Derodes pera pilatos.

Stylistically speaking, this work is far superior to any of the previously discussed minor poems. In those first works we were oblivious to any existing elements of time and space. In this one, we are not only aware of a certain movement described by the author, but also are fairly certain as to when the poem was written.

The author mentions his "travel" back and forth between the Count and the King and gives us the impression that he is now reciting the poem in the Court, in the presence of João Roiz de Sá. The time element is suggested in the armada to Azamor, supposing the sale to be made shortly before 1513 and the plea for payment not long afterwards.

Whereas the author did not search for any stylistically fresh means of expressing himself in the first group of poems, he now makes ample use of images, metaphors, and mythological references. In the introduction

of his idea to J. R. de Sá, Henrique da Mota refers to the great poet as the "senhor a quem febo deu lyngoa virgyliana," from which great fame has emanated. He then refers to "o muy alto Deus damor," whom we observe later on as the subject of one of the poems in this second category. His metaphors do not seem to end, comparing the poet's nobility to a "claro solar" and his ethicality to "virtudes cardeays." There are imaginary parentheses then placed in this selection, between which Henrique da Mota pauses in his praises of J. R. de Sá in order to reveal his story. Once the reason for this "nail in his back" is told, our author ends the poem with beautifully expressed metaphorical images.

He compares the situation that he is in to a labyrinth. More specifically, he refers to the mythological adventure of Theseus, who freed the kingdom from the Minotaur and was able to come out of the labyrinth through the aid of Ariadne. She was the woman who left a thread as a clue to the trail out of the maze. In this case, he hopes that João Roiz de Sá will help him out of this poor situation. At this time not even the help of Phaedra, wife of Theseus, is worth a "pelouro de pez,"[15] according to

15 This refers to a little ball of resinous substance secreted from the pine tree.

Henrique da Mota. Our author wishes to be saved from this situation. He would, as we have mentioned, be eternally grateful should he be helped. We also notice the author's desperation and play on words in "tenho gram monte de palha / mas a gram nam he avido."

Not only was this poem more interesting in its rich treatment of what could easily have been a dull theme, but it was related very cleverly to the two succeeding "vilancetes." The first, as we have already mentioned, is a continuation, or reinforcement, of the same plea for assistance. However, the second could actually stand by itself. Taking the idea that Henrique da Mota was forced to go from the Count to the King and back to the Count several times, he takes the refrain, "from Herod to Pilate," and makes it the subject of the poem.[16]

This demonstrates once again that Henrique da Mota could do much better than the hackneyed style he employed in his first few poems. It proves that his true place is among the better poets of the Court, and, as we shall soon note, among the best writers of burlesque poetry and dramatic dialogues. In this final "vilancete" he also comically complains of the shoe leather he has wasted in the running around.

16 This expression was also quite commonly used to express the idea of going from bad to worse, and is

This work is also far richer in rhetorical devices than any of the previously examined poems by our author. There are many examples of anastrophic word order, such as the example "o muyto alto Deos damor / triumfante / vos fez." There are numerous synonyms, enumerations, and repetitions, as in "de que corre / de que mana," "guasto todos meus capatos.../ rrompo todos meus capatos," and "daymo, daymo que rrezam, daymo poys que Deus mo deu" which is also an example of anaphora, as is "Es das artes liberays / e virtudes cardeays." The latter also serves as a reference to J. Roiz de Sá's cardinal virtues. There are examples of metaphors ("poys vosso claro solar / como sol rresplandia"), antonomasia or paraphrase ("o senhor que febo deu / lyngoa virgyliana") and chiasmus, or the repetitious crossing of word order, ("no qual perdi o ganhado / e nam ganhey o perdido"). We also see many opposites ("destas idas destas vindas" and "Ex me vou e ex me venho," "cuido que estou bem,...acho que estou mal," and "per hũu prazer cem dolores").

Although, as we previously mentioned, these rheto-

similarly compared to the verse in the first "vilancete" (mote) in this poem, "destas idas, destas vindas." Both clearly demonstrate the poet's frustration in the matter. The same is true of the phrase "ex me vou e ex me venho."

rical devices are not original and were commonplace in the poetry of the period, we feel that we must repeat the notion that the antithesis was typical of Henrique da Mota's style. Just as in the first group of poems, the works in the second category utilize this device to underline the contradictions that our author saw in various moments of life. The other devices are mere repetitions of already trite expressions in both the mediaeval and courtly poetry.

As far as the versification of the poem is concerned, the work consists of nine stanzas and two "vilancetes." Each stanza in the principal section of the poem contains nine heptasyllabic verses, with the exception of the seventh verse, which contains only three syllables. The rhyme is principally consonant, as it was in the previous poem, and it has a rhyme scheme of abbaccDdc.

The first "vilancete" consists of a three-verse "mote" and two seven-verse stanzas. Each stanza repeats the last verse of the "mote." Once again the verses are heptasyllabic and have a rhyme scheme of abb cddcbb. The second "vilancete" contains a three-verse "mote" and four seven verse heptasyllabic stanzas, of the rhyme scheme abb cdcddbb.

In the second work of this group, the theme of wine is

again prevalent. The poem is entitled "Danrrique da mota a Dom joam de noronha e a dom ssancho seu yrmão porque se forã cõfessar a ssam Bernaldi na metade do verão levando comssyguo o vigayro douvidos que he muyto gordo, e vieram jãtar a hũ lugar que chamam os gyraldos e nom acharam vynho pera beber."[17] As we have previously mentioned, this poem was condemned by the officials of the Inquisition. It appears that the poet uses this work as a vehicle to criticize the Church in an era when cries for reform were widespread. Aside from the references to confession and contrition, the characters that are presented are not the best representatives of ecclesiastical virtue. Both the Vicar and the "Frade" are depicted in a humorous, if not sarcastic manner. This is an Erasmian attitude which will be further developed in the "Priest's Lament."

The poem itself begins with the mention of confession which, when made in the summertime, is an awful task. Since heat is the worst part of Hell, in the poet's opinion, it would be better to face excommunication than confess under such circumstances. He even suggests that when the body is treated so poorly, it perhaps represents a greater sin, especially when there is so little benefit to the soul. Con-

17 Cancioneiro Geral, fol. CCVIv°

tinuing this sarcastic appraisal of one of the sacraments of the Church, he adds that the repentance that one must then face is also so terrible that even if one were to cleanse his soul, the body would be beset by illness:

No verão hyr confessar
na força dos dias grandes
nam a hy bamcos de frandes
pera tanto arrecear
O frade muy deuagar
assentado a seu prazer
a cegua rregua a cantar
emtam estar e ssuar
ysto he mais que morrer

Por tanto foy ordenado
o confessar no inverno
por quo mor mal do inverno
he sser muyto emcalmado
ante sser escommungado
que hyr confessar por calma
que açaz he gram pecado
ser o corpo maltratado
com pouco proveito dalma.

Ora ponhamos que jaa
seja feita confissam
com muy grande contriçam
como creo que sseraa.
vejamos quem poderaa
comprir aguora pendença
a qual he cousa tam maa
que se nalma vida daa
no corpo causa doença.

Further on, the theme of wine is introduced. The poet remarks that, on a hot day, a good wine poured over fruits is considered an excellent idea. He even mentions various types of wine, including "atouguia," "lourinhã,"

and "caparica." Since the Mota family was almost certainly in that business, it should come as no surprise that the poet shows this familiarity with different types of wine:

> He hũa cousa muy ssaã
> pera os corrutos aares
> nos dias caniculares
> o beber pela menhaa
> atouguya ou lourinhaã.
> Quem nam tever caparica
> sobre pera ou maçaã
> e o al he cousa vaã
> em ssaluo esta quem rrepica.

The clergy then becomes the target of the poet's satirical remarks. Henrique da Mota says that should the "frade" not agree with his ideas concerning the wines, he had better know that it was by drinking this very tasty product that the "padre" cured himself of various illnesses.[18] In a play on words, he adds that the father spends more time praying over his "bibayro" than his "rrosayro." Note the obvious similarity between this expression and the goliardic tradition already discussed. As we have already mentioned, those poets substituted "bibamus" for "oramus" and frequently referred to wine as the subject of their works.

18 Maximiliano Lemos discusses the curative effects of wine in his book entitled A Medicina no Cancioneiro de Resende (Porto, 1920), p. 48.

E sse disser o contrayro
esse frade por ventura
dizeylhe cassy sse cura
o padre do campanayro.
Porque tem hum bibayro
em que rreza ssem periguo
muyto mays que no rrosayro
nam diguays que e o viguairo
por queu senhor nã no diguo.

Continuing his apparently sarcastic letter to D. João, Henrique da Mota mentions that he cannot really vouch for the Vicar's sobriety. However, he can confirm the fact that the Vicar did speak in a typically Vicentine juxtaposition of Latin and Portuguese. He adds that he dare not speak of the Vicar's drinking habit, for fear of excommunication:

Nem eu çerto nam diria
do senhor vigayro nada
nem da ssua imbiguada
por que mescomungaria.
Mas porem eu juraria
na ssaya de ssam bernaldo
que la ele rrezaria
hum rresponso que dizia
libera me do giraldo.
In die illa tremenda
quando for o ceo movido
e o vinho faleçido
que nam achem quẽ o vẽda
nẽ per força nem per rroguo
Domine michi defenda
de tam aspera emmenda
ante me julgue per fogue.

Not being able to find wine was surely a terrible punishment! After all, he says, while paraphrasing a hymn, that

it would be better to go to Hell than be without wine. The author then compares the three fat men involved in this poem, to the Three Wise Men. The difference is that the Fat Men from the West are searching for wine, while the Wise Men from the East were following a star, hoping to find their Savior.

In his final statement, Henrique da Mota scorns the "frade" who seems not to be concerned with those who confess. In fact, he speaks rather sarcastically of this "frade" who is "muyto contente / na ssua cela muy fria." The priest is as frigid as his quarters:

Açaz gram pendença era
a que fez vossa merçe
querer beber ssem ter que
Oo que pendença tam fera
ssempre ouuy que nesta era
he periguo ter barrigua
e eu vy na primavera
e o cursso da espera
ca vyẽs de ter fadigua.

Vierom do oriente
tres rreys magos que ssabeys
e vos fostes todos tres
muyto gordos em ponente.

O frade muyto contente
na sua cela muy fria
e vos per calma muy quente
eu mespanto certamente
ssayrdes daquele dia.

Fym.

Ora ja vos confessastes
goarday vos de jejuũar

caçaz vos deus abastar
o ssuor que laa ssuastes.
por que doulhe que cotastes
mays pecados do que eram
eu mafirmo que paguastes
na fronta que la passastes
a pendença que vos deram.

There is certainly no doubt in our minds that Henrique da Mota is clearly criticizing the corruption within the Church, a matter that was to be the center of controversy for years to come. In this respect, he shows a spirit quite similar to that of his contemporary, Gil Vicente, although on a much smaller scale than the latter.

Henrique da Mota uses his knowledge of wines to criticize the clergy in a burlesque fashion. Although it is but a small matter, it is suggested that imbibing is one of many faults to be found in these men of the cloth. When Henrique da Mota spoke of the supposed healing powers of wine, we are reminded of the goliardic traditions related to the same subject. A verse such as "be sure you drink your fill so that you'll not fall ill" is found in many poems of the "clerici vagante."[19] This burlesque tradition is also found in the description of the fat clerics and the generally satirized Church traditions and

19 George Whicher, The Goliard Poets (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), p. 93.

corruption related to them. Our author's manner of describing those elements makes his true artistry apparent.

The two brothers mentioned in the introduction to this poem are referred to in the Livro das Moradias da Casa de Dom Affonso V.[20] Both D. João and D. Sancho were "moços fidalgos" in 1462 and 1469. D. João is also mentioned as a "cavaleiro de conselho" in 1477. Also interesting to note is the fact that the Vicar in the poem is of the same obesity and character as the hypocritical priest who appears in the "Lament of the Priest," which we shall later examine. The town of Óbidos was the one which employed Henrique da Mota as the "juiz d'orfãos." One final piece of coincidental information is the fact that the three men in the poem, all of whom were searching for the wine, just happen to be going to "ssam bernaldi," referring to the Order of St. Bernard. Today the adjective "bernardo" has a connotation of gluttony and stupidity in Portuguese.[21]

The poem consists of ten heptasyllabic nine-verse stanzas with a rhyme scheme of abbaacaac. While Henrique da Mota uses many common rhetorical devices, he does empha-

20 Teófilo Braga, op. cit., pp. 180-185

21 Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa, 14a ed. (Lisboa, 1937).

size certain ones which appear to be typical of much of his poetry. Such is the case with the previously mentioned contrasting comparisons and plays on words. We also note many personifications ("cegua regua", "aares corrutos," and "vinho falecido") and the frequent repetition of negatives ("Nem eu certo nam diria / do senhor vygayro nada/ nem da sua imbiguada"). While such devices do occur in the poetry of other authors, they are worth mentioning because of their appearance in every one of H. da Mota's works.

It should be evident that the poems in this category are far more complex, thematically and stylistically, than any poem encountered in the first group of compositions that we examined. The philosophical overtones and overt criticism of Church types and their foibles, make our author one of many sixteenth century humanists who were not afraid to express their opinions. Although it might appear that Henrique da Mota is referring to one specific case in his letter to D. João, we believe it to be more of an opportunity for him to express his feelings. While this is only a matter of conjecture, it might also suggest that his previously studied poem, "grande trabalho he viver," dealt with more than just a personal problem, and was

rather an individual plea for the improvement of the society in which Henrique da Mota lived.

The final work of the more extensive poems in this second category written by our author is entitled "Danrrique da mota a huũ seu amiguo em rresposta a hũa carta q̃ lhe madou em q̃ lhe cõtavam hũa visam q̃ vyra e pedia consselho e decraraçã̃o da dita visam." The principal elements of the poem are the author's description of a vision, the scenic details accompanying it, and the brief encounter with the god of Love. It was a temptation for us to include this poem with the poet's other dialogues. However, due to its relative brevity and sparse dialogue, as well as its similarity to other such previously examined poems in mediaeval collections, we decided to include it in this chapter. It would have detracted from the following works, all of which are completely written in the form of the dialogue.

As the author himself states, the poem was written in response to a letter he received from a friend. In that letter the friend asks for Henrique da Mota's interpretation of one particular vision that he had had. He describes the season and time of year in detail, using mythological references. More specifically, Henrique da Mota

writes of Ceres, Proserpina, and Scorpio to indicate Autumn, the period in which he read the letter:

Descriçam do tepo:

A madre que começaua
de rramar sseus lauradores
a filha de nouas frores
o mundo ja vistaua.
e neptuno derramaua
sseus tesouros
sobre cristãos ssobre mouros
febo sseus cabelos louros
rreservaua
e ssem graça sse mostraua.

O qual hya rrepousando
na casa do animal
que co rrabo fere mal
e da boca he muy brando.
Neste tempo era quando
me foy dado
hũ escrito muy carrado
que me deu muyto cuidado
em cuidando
no que nele vou achando.

After pondering the letter's contents, the poet sets out on a journey, although he fears that he may lose his way. In the strange land in which he finds himself, he feels as though he were guided by Rhamnusia or Nemesis, an infernal deity who traveled in search of wickedness. He is led to a land uninhabited by humans, but plentiful, though, in animals, birds, and plants.

E depois de o ter lido
fiquey todo ssem prazer
por nam poder entender
seu estilo muy ssobido.
E assy entristeçido
me party
na qual yda me temy
de maconteçer assy

como ey lido
que omero foy perdido.

E com tam gram desatino
prosseguy por minha vya
rramusya tomeu por guya
como fez el rrey cadino.
E acheime tam mofino
caminhante
que quãto mays vou auante
me acho tam ynorante
de contino
muyto mays que hum menino.

E hya tam tresportado
que nam vya çeo nem terra
a mym mesmo daua guerra
coeste nouo cuidado.
Porquya tam emleuado
em cuydar
que ssem caminho achar
a hum prado
dhumanos desabitado.

O qual todo sse cerraua
dũa sserra per tal arte
tam alta de cada parte
que as nuueẽs traspassava.
No qual sserra vy camdaua
montesyna
muyta fera salagina
e toda ave de rrapina
se criaua
naquesta sselua tam braua.

He finds himself lost, but cannot see any way home. He is encircled by mountains and darkness and accompanied by fear. He compares the situation to that of Orpheus when he saw Hell and to the labyrinth constructed by Daedalus, as well as the death of Ictys, and Procne's being followed by Tisiphone, one of the Furies:

E eu vendo que errey
o caminho da pousada
começey buscar entrada
por ssayr per hu entrey
E depois que trabalhey
em buscalo
sem poder jamais achalo
desejey
quando çercado machey.

E desque nam achey meyo
pera ssayr da montanha
bradaua com grande ssanha
mesturada com rreceo.
Porem o carro febeo
caminhando
me foy toda luz tirando
em tais treuas me leixando
como orfeo/quando o inferno veo.

E depois que me cercou
a ssombra de tesifone
fiquey mais triste que prone
quando sseu filho matou.
Por que desque ssapartou
a luz do dia
fogio de mim alegria
e por minha companhia
me ficou/temor que macompanhou.

He then prays to Cupid, asking that the god of Love explain the reasons for the author's being lost in such a place. Suddenly, a flash of light appears and we observe that Cupid has come to the author's aid. He is described as a beautiful youth, who is sometimes happy and sometimes sad. The lad is carrying his well-known bow and arrows;

E com quãto mal dobrado
ate qui passey tam duro
com rreçeo do futuro
mesqueçia do passado.
Por que me vy muy çercado
de bestiguos
de minha vida imiguos
e eu por fogyr periguos
foy forçado
em hũa aruor sser trepado.

E depois daly passar
gram parte da noyte escura
mal disse minha ventura
quem aly veo portar.
E começey de rroguar
a cupido
qualomie'meu ssentido
e pera fuy trazido
a tal luguar
me quisesse decrarar.

E eu nam acabaua
meu rroguo tam paçiente
quando vy supitamente
hum craror que me çercaua.
E no meyo deste estaua
poderoso
hum moço çeguo fremoso
ora ledo ora cuidoso
se mostraua
e tinha aas com que voaua.

E trazia por synal
de suas obras secretas
hum coldre cõ muytas ssetas.
e hum arco muy rreal.
e a quem he mays leal
a sseu mandado
esse vive mays penado
esse tem tanto cuidado
que mays val
fogyr do sseu arrayal.

After briefly describing love's powers, Henrique da Mota asks to be freed from his terrible plight:

E aqueles que feria
com sseus furtosos tiros
fazia lhe dar ssospiros
Sem canssar noyte nem dia.
E vy que tanto podia
seu poder
que nam presta defender
nem o humano ssaber
nam ssabia
rresestir ssua perfia.

E eu com alteraçam
que tinha so grande medo
faley hum pouco mais çedo
do que mãdaua rrezam.
E disse com coraçam:
"OO senhor
se tu es o deos damor
liura liura de tal dor
meu coraçam
que nam moyra de payxam."

Cupid then speaks, telling how man is his subject and mentioning the obedience which he expects to receive:

O qual loguo rrespondeo
eu ssam o grande cupido
eu fuy amado e temido
de quanta gente naçeo.
E quem me nam conheçeo
nem amou
poucas cousas acabou
nunca gualante andou
nem viueo
que ssem amores morreo.

E posso dar cuidados
eu dou pena e eu groria
por mym alcançam vitoria
os confiantes namorados.

E os que ssam mais honrrados
e seruidos
se quero ssam abatidos

e por contrayro queridos
e amadaos
os tristes desesperados.

E assy que meu poder
he a chaue dos amores
e por tanto os amadores
me deuem obedeçer.
Deuem me rreconheçer
obedençia
poys mynha grande excelẽçia
por mays alta priminençia
tem poder/pera dar dor e prazer.

Because Henrique da Mota has acted in such a humble manner, Cupid decides to tell him what his friend has asked. It seems that the friend's vision, which we find out was one in which he was being devoured by a beast, actually means that, according to Cupid, he should expect some future happiness:

E por que tu incucaste
minha grande magestade
com tam umilde vontade
grande graça percalcaste.
Mas nam cuides quescapaste.
da gram pena
que te ssaber ordena
mas desquesta mais pequena
te liuraste
quãdo meu nome chamaste

E diras a teu amiguo
que nam cure de cuidar
na visam que vyo passar
que o pos em gram periguo.
Por que alquele bestiguo
quele via
que as carnes lhe comia
sera grande alegria
que consiguo
lograra como te digou.

Henrique da Mota is bewildered and Cupid suddenly disappears in a large bright cloud. The poem ends with our author making his way back to his friend, telling him what he found out, and making a final declaration of the powers of the god of Love:

E tanto quisto falou
hũa nuuem o cobrio
e assy sse transluzio
que os olhos me ceguo
E desque sse aparyou
sem no ver
trabalhey por me deçer
e acheyme ssem ssaber
quem me leuou
nesta terra onde estou.

Fym.

Aguora ssenhor olhay
estroutra vysam que vy
e entenderes aquy
vosso feyto como vay.
Mas de mym vos affirmay
que ssoo a vista
me da tam forte conquista
que nam ssey que lhe rresista
nem sse ssay
minha dor por dizer ay.

This work is definitely part of a general trend in the Peninsula to use the god of Love, either in a vision or a debate, to resolve certain matters. Rodrigo de Cota's "Dialogo..." emphasized Cupid's powers and ability to deceive. The Comendador Escrivá's work, "Una quexa que da de sua amiga ante el Dios de Amor...," reinforced Cupid's

role of consoling those who obey him and condemning those who refuse to do so. In a poem by Alfonso de Cartagena, in the Cancionero General, the poet petitioned the god of Love to relieve him of his suffering. This was followed by a brief vision in which the son of Venus again boasts of his authority and in which he offers the poet his aid if he is loyal.

In the Cancionero de Baena, Love wailed and lamented his stay in Castile in Alfonso Alvaro de Villasandino's poem number 40. We also note the mention of Love in the various visions in Francisco Imperial's poetry.

The Cancioneiro Geral offered the god of Love in the role of judge and jury in the "Cuidar e Sospirar" debates. We also observed "Lover's Hell" in Duarte de Brito's vision.

"Amor" was again a character in various plays written by Juan del Encina. In the "Pastoral de Amores," Love spoke with various shepherds who scorned him. Love is also angered by the attitudes of the shepherds in the play concerning Cristino, Justino, and Febea. Let us not forget, finally, the role of both Venus and Cupid in Plácida y Vitoriano, in which they return Plácida to life so that the lovers may be together once again.

In this poem by Henrique da Mota, it is his style

which gives the work added significance. The dialogue and the scenic descriptions bring it one step further in the development of the dramatic text and the theatre. The poet writes a "descriçam do tempo" in which he speaks of scenery and offers the time period in which the poem was recited, "na casa do animal / que cõ rrabo fere mal / e da boca he muy brando." This refers to the astrological sign of Scorpio, between October 14 and November 12. The darkness and the appearance of the mountains are also well described. Aside from this, throughout the entire poem we follow the author's wandering, as well as the arrival and departure of Cupid. This adds to the action and movement and makes what might traditionally be a rather static work one that comes alive. The dialogue between the two, although extremely brief, adds to the work's dramatic qualities. With the knowledge that we have already accumulated concerning the author's presence in the Court and his supposed relation with the "momos" and "entremeses," a strong possibility exists that this work, with its allegorical elements, movement, and scenic qualities, may have easily been recited as part of courtly festivities.

The poem itself consists of twenty-two stanzas, of ten verses each, generally divided into sections of four

and six verses. Each is heptasyllabic, with the exception of the sixth and ninth verses, which contain but three syllables. The rhyme scheme is abbaCccAa. Orthographic qualities of the poem are the same as those in previously discussed poems.

There are many stylistic devices used by the author to enrich his poetry. We observe antonomastic and periphrastic expressions, especially when he refers to Nature and the seasons as "a madre que comecava / de rramar seus lavradores/ a filha de novas frores/ o munda ja vistava." As we previously said, this refers to Ceres, daughter of Saturn and Vesta, goddess of corn and harvests. She was the mother of Proserpina, who was raped and carried away by Pluto while gathering flowers. She was allowed to return to earth once a year. Hence, we have the season of Spring. The descriptions of Cupid are also antonomastic. Aside from these examples, we note the comparison of Neptune showering his treasures over Christians and Moors. Interestingly enough, the Jews were omitted, possibly to avoid the recriminations of an inquisitorial scrutiny. Henrique da Mota also included various mythological references, analogies, and comparisons.

For example, in describing the darkening of the forest, the poet states that he saw "o carro febeo caminhando/ me

foy toda luz tirando." This is also an anastrophe. The poet also mentions "Prone" or "Progne." She was the wife of Tereus and mother of Ictis. She took vengeance on husband's wrong doings by killing her son and feeding the corpse to her husband. The comparison that Henrique da Mota is making is that when he felt himself lost, he was even sadder than was Procne after killing her son. Another mythological figure to which our author refers is Phoebus. While it was quite common to observe the usage of the golden hairs of Phoebus to represent the dawn or the sunrise in other poets of the period, this is one additional phrase which is typical of our author. In the total of only thirteen major and minor works by Henrique da Mota, the expression is used in four different places and always in the same tone. In fact, it is this coincidental repetition, among other facts, which will suggest that the authorship of a letter concerning Inês de Castro can be traced to our Henrique da Mota.

Once again, Henrique da Mota refers to Daedalus. As we noted in the poem directed to João R. de Sá, our author again finds himself in a labyrinth. The only difference is that in the first case it was created by humans, while

in this poem it was perhaps caused by supernatural forces. These supernatural effects, as well as the theme of the vision, will be discussed the following chapter. We also noted three other mythological references: Homer, Rhamnusia, or Nemesia, and Tisiphone. It should actually be obvious that this poem was thus far the richest, stylistically, and the most inventive, thematically, of all of the previous poems. This is enhanced by the presence of mythological figures.

Thus we have examined the two principal categories into which we placed Henrique da Mota's minor poetry. As we previously stated, we call these works "minor" only in comparing them to the poet's more complex dialogues. They are by no means trite, and they are certainly a welcome addition to the Cancioneiro's collection, which served as a reflection of the social, political, and economic affairs of the period. We have discussed the works in an order which has been convenient to us in demonstrating how Henrique da Mota could write simple poems, not bringing him any particular honors as a poet, and complex ones, proving his true artistry. These more complex works, with their dramatic and burlesque qualities, bring us closer to the five principal dialogues of the author. This is also evident in the additional number of characters and

the scenic descriptions, as well as in a certain movement typical of a dramatic text.

However, before examining those dialogues, let us first discuss the letter written by Henrique da Mota to King D. João III concerning Inês de Castro. We hope to show that it is also important in the development of the theatre in Portugal.

### C - Henrique da Mota's letter concerning Inês de Castro

Needless to say, Inês de Castro is one of the best known romantic figures of mediaeval Peninsular history. Her tragic story has become a love myth in European literature. Inês de Castro is also the protagonist of many novels, poems, and dramatic works of the last five centuries, as we shall soon observe.

The story and myth revolve around Inês Pires de Castro. She was the daughter of Pedro Fernandes de Castro, an influential Galician nobelman who fought in the Battle of Salado. Inês accompanied the party of D. Constanza, the princess who came to Portugal to marry King Afonso IV's son D. Pedro, in 1340. This principally political marriage ended in 1345 with Constanza's untimely death. Shortly afterwards, D. Pedro, apparently

overcome by Inês' beauty, fell in love with her and had three children by her. They were João, Denis, and Beatriz. There are actually contradictory reports as to whether or not the couple ever married. The majority of views seem to indicate that they were not. The illegitimacy of their children was to become an important factor years later in the determination of the heir to the Portuguese throne in 1385. D. Pedro's father, D. Afonso IV, already realized the problems that could arise because of the introduction of bastards into the royal family. D. Afonso's displeasure with his son's actions were accentuated by D. Pedro's refusal to marry officially, a second time, as well as by the apparent pressure exercised upon him by Inês' brothers, Alvaro Pires de Castro and Pedro Fernandes de Castro.

Little by little, the King was being persuaded by his royal counselors that the relationship between the two lovers was dangerous to the security of the country. When they told the King that there was a danger that a Castilian family would rule Portugal after his death, D. Afonso IV was finally convinced and eventually succumbed to their pressure. Inês de Castro was murdered in 1355, only to be revered as Queen of Portugal after D. Pedro

assumed the throne. The new King ordered the execution of two of the three men who killed Inês.

During the last six hundred years, this tragic theme has been used in the literature of many European countries. This includes both narrative and lyrical, as well as dramatic works. It was in the Peninsula itself that the majority of those works were written, as is to be expected.

Chronologically, the first works in which her name appears are Fernão Lopes' Crónica de el Rei D. Pedro de Portugal and Crónica del El Rei Dom João I (c. 1435-43), Rui de Pina's Crónica de D. Afonso IV (c.1490), and Pero López de Ayala's Crónica de Pedro I (c.1380).[1] Eugenio Asensio discussed the differences encountered in the treatment of the theme in the various chronicles.[2] He mentions that Rui de Pina appears to give a cold, factual

1 Fernão Lopes, Crónica de El Rei D. Pedro de Portugal (Lisboa, 1925); _____, Crónica de El Rei D. João I (Lisboa, 1897); Rui de Pina, Crónica de D. Afonso IV (Lisboa, 1653) and Pero López de Ayala, Crónica de Pedro I (Madrid, 1931) are editions to which we have referred.

2 Eugenio Asensio, "Inés de Castro de la Crónica al Mito," op. cit.

account of the episode. Inês is described as not married to Pedro. She pleads with the King to allow her to remain alive to care for her children. He relents, only to go back on his word after being prodded by his nobles. Ayala, while giving many of the same facts and descriptions, differs when he tells of Inês' immediate death.

Fernão Lopes appears to feel more pain and sympathy for the heroine in his descriptions of the event. He leans, however, towards the general trend of opinions that Inês and Pedro were never married. He does so in his retelling of João das Regras decisions concerning the selection of D. João, Mestre de Avis, as the New King of Portugal in 1385. Fernão Lopes also mentions the illegitimacy of Inês and Pedro's children, and he writes of the latter's undying love, his anguish and proclamation of Inês as Queen of Portugal after her death.

Aside from the above works, there is another mediaeval chronicle which discusses the tragedy. Asensio discovered it in the Manizola Library.[3] It amplifies the beauty of the heroine and idealizes her lineage. Her marriage is considered real and her children, therefore,

3 Ibid. p. 345. The document in question is Códice núm. 348, fols. 4-119 v.

legitimate. It also discusses the terrible vengeance undertaken by D. Pedro on the lives of the advisors who caused Inês' murder. A romantic vision of the two, united after death, is the final interpolation.[4]

The first truly literary work dealing with the theme is Garcia de Resende's "Trovas a morte de D. Inês de Castro."[5] The editor of the Cancioneiro Geral seems to have styled this lament after the Petrarchan themes of death triumphing over love and fame over death.[6] In a beautifully written poem, Resende first addresses the ladies of the Court, warning them of the dangers of love. Inês then begins her lament, after death. While emphasizing her innocence, loyalty and love, Inês questions the cruelty of those who had condemned her. In a retrospective look, the protagonist retells the series of events which led to her murder. She speaks of her first encounter with Pedro and their love at first sight. However, she reminds us that she had constant premonitions of her sad fate. We are then brought closer to the tragic climax of the story. Inês was in Coimbra one day, dreaming of her

4 Ibid. pp. 346.

5 The selection appears on fols. CCXXI-CCXXII of the Cancioneiro Geral, op. cit. Obviously, its date is 1516.

6 Asensio, p. 397.

lover, when a group of riders, including the King, approached her home. Sensing her destiny, Inês tearfully begged the King to have pity on her and spare her life. He should do so for the sake of his son and his grandchildren. D. Afonso was reminded that the grandchildren would become defenseless orphans should she die.

Moved by the heroine's heart-rending story, the King relented. However, the cruel men accompanying him finally shamed D. Afonso into reversing his decision. They told him of the possibility of war with Castile. The counselors added that a person in such a powerful position should not be affected by a woman's tears. The indecisive King then leaves the final coice up to his hearless "cavaleiros," even though he seems not to want her execution. Two of the nobles proceed to murder her, with her poor children helplessly standing by. "This is what love has brought me," she concludes.

Resende ends his poem with a very brief mention of Pedro's vengeance and the placing of the two lovers side by side in Alcobaça. He again warns the women of the Court to be wary of love's deceits. In this first poetic interpretation of the tragic event, the author seems to follow Fernão Lopes' opinion that the two were not married, but that Pedro claims Inês as his wife and Queen of Portugal

only after her death. Little attention is paid to her executioners, except to describe their heartlessness. The indecisiveness of the King is also more emphasized here than in the chronicles of the period.

The work is quite interesting from a thematic point of view, but it is also valuable stylistically. It transcribes the dramatic aspects of the events into a poem with intense lyric quality. There is little actual scenic description, although the manner in which the work was written certainly evokes dramatic qualities. The dialogue between Inês and the King is not a static one. It is, in fact, very moving. In summary, the work is pregnant with dramatic elements which will be born in theatrical plays of years to come.

One sixteenth century Portuguese dramatist, A. Ferreira, wrote an extremely successful piece based on the theme. A Castro,[7] using classical molds, brought the tragic elements of the event to the forefront. The first edition appeared posthumously in 1587, although it was written years before António Ferreira's death in 1569. This tragedy, while including much movement and interaction of characters, has the notable exception of avoiding any

7 Antonio Ferreira, A Castro, prólogo de Mendes dos Remédios (Coimbra, 1915)

encounter between Pedro and Inês. This is considered the main "fault" of the play.

Act I contains many beautiful lyric monologues by Inês, as she converses with her "confidente." As was the case in Resende's "trovas," the protagonist retells the series of events which brought the two lovers together for the first time. She fearfully speaks of the risks involved and of the premonitions that she has experienced. In the second scene of the act, Pedro and his aide discuss the same matter, with the aide warning Pedro of the possible consequences of his potentially tragic love affair. Both the "confidante" and the aide, as well as the Chorus, echo the voice of destiny in the tragedy.

Act II serves to demonstrate King Afonso IV's confusion and hesitation over the matter of Pedro and Inês' love. His advisors constantly evoke the idea of Ines' harmful effect upon the future of Portugal. Their reasoning is similar to that of the counselors in Resende's poem. The Chorus once again highlights the principal aspect of the act: Afonso's indecision. As the play continues, it becomes more and more apparent that the King is being criticized by the dramatist.

The next act, actually setting the stage for the climatic fourth act, presents the Chorus foreseeing the

early death of both Pedro and Inês. This will be caused, as is evident, only by their love for each other. Once again, we note the role of Fate, emphasized this time by the heroine's prophetic dream. It tells of Inês in a dark forest. She encounters a lion and embraces her children. Suddenly, the lion backs away and leaves. Inês thinks that she is safe. However, hungry wolves appear and kill her. This allegorical dream will come true in the next act.

Act IV presents the climactic moment in which Inês and the King are hopelessly confronted by the situation. The frightened heroine begs for mercy, not so mucy for herself, but for her children and the Prince. The indecisive King is moved to believe that she is innocent. The aides, nevertheless, take advantage of their weak leader. Once again, they are allowed to murder the helpless protagonist. It is the Chorus that announces her death: "já morreo Dona Inês, matou-a Amor."

The tragedy, however, has not yet ended. Act V is the one around which a controversy has raged for years. This is principally because the lovers still do not meet, and because it is anti-climactic. It presents a messenger informing Pedro of his lover's death, followed by Pedro's

bitter promise of vengeance. He states that "Amor" is to blame for his death as well. Although we are not permitted to watch Pedro carry out his promise, it is firmly suggested that nothing will deter him.

It is evident that this work has united all of the dramatic episodes of the event in a well-structured work. Every aspect of the story-turned-myth has been dealt with rather completely, leaving little to the imagination. However, although the drama does contain many moving lyric passages, critics generally agree that the Castro episode in Camões' Os Lusíadas is more touching.[8] In his 1572 epic poem, Camões, perhaps the best, and certainly the most universally known of all Portuguese poets, includes his version of the tragedy in the third "canto." This is the section in which Vasco da Gama, after an already long and arduous journey around the Cape of Good Hope, relates the milestones in Portuguese history to the King of Melinde. Camões begins by directing himself to Love:

> Tu, só tu, puro Amor, com força crua,
> Que os corações humanos tanto obriga,
> Deste causa a molesta morte sua,
> Como se fora pérfida inimiga.
> .....
> Estavas, linda Inês, posta em sossêgo,
> .....

8 Luis de Camões, Os Lusíadas, notas e paráfrases de Campos Monteiro (Porto, 1927).

The first lines of these two oft-quoted stanzas set the tone of the unsurpassed lyric quality of this Camonian episode. Prose could never equal the sense of beauty evoked by these verses. The poet describes Inês as she is resting peacefully in her garden. As is quite natural, all of her thoughts turn to her lover, D. Pedro. She is surrounded by beautifully dressed ladies-in-waiting when, suddenly, she is brought before the King. He had been persuaded by "falsas e ferozes razões" to execute the heroine. However, he is moved by her pleas and wants to pardon her. "O povo," forever reminding the King of his duty to the kingdom, kills her. It appears as though Camões does not blame the King, as do Resende and Ferreira. He places the guilt on the heads of the people. The myth is greatly enhanced by Camões, especially with the various references to mythological figures and the immortality granted Inês herself:

> As filhas do Mondego a morte escura
> Longo tempo chorando memoraram,
> E, por memória eterna, em fonte pura
> As lágrimas choradas transformaram.
> O nome lhe puseram, que ainda dura,
> Dos amores de Inês, que ali passaram.
> .....

Camões terminates the episode with an attack on the King, saying that certain misfortunes befell the kingdom as a

result of the tragedy. Thus, it becomes the fault of both the people and their leader.

While works written in following years are not directly involved in our study, it is interesting to note that the theme of Inês de Castro as a tragic heroine became the subject of many Portuguese, Spanish, and French works. For a detailed outline of those works, Ester de Lemos[9] and Martin Nozick[10] should be consulted.

Remaining in the sixteenth century, we note that this tragic heroine is one of the principal characters in a letter written by our author, Henrique da Mota. Until relatively recently, only Resende's, Ferreira's, and Camões' works had been representative of Portuguese interpretations of the theme in the sixteenth century. However, owing principally to the publication of an index of certain documents in the Manizola Library in Évora,[11] and the ensuing transcription and study of the document containing our author's letter by Eugenio Asensio,[12] as well

9 E[ster de] L[emos], "Inês de Castro, "Dicionário dos Literaturas Portuguesa, Galega e Brasileira, Direcção de Jacinto do Prado Coelho (Porto, 1960), pp. 359-362.

10 Martin Nozick, "The Inez de Castro Theme in European Literature," Comparative Literature, III (1951), pp. 330-341.

11 Armando Gusmão, op. cit. pp. 17-22

12 loc. cit.

as Jorge de Sena,[13] Henrique da Mota's name has been added to the afore-mentioned list.

Our author's letter was written to King João III in 1528, just after Henrique da Mota had completed the task of census-taking in Coimbra. The brief introduction states:

> treslado de hũa carta que anrique da mota mandou a elrey dom Joham o terceiro deste nome da cidade de coimbra honde estava fazendo hũa diligẽncia que lhe sua alteza mandara sobre esta morte de dona Inẽs.[14]

The text continues:

> continuando meu propósito começado segundo ho dito de vosa A/ acabando já denumerar ho grande povo desta mui nobre e sempre leal çedade de Coimbra e seus arabaldes e quimtaes dos olivais pelas divisões de seus termos e lymites...

As the introductory remarks indicate, the unknown person who originally transcribed this letter assumed the reason for Henrique da Mota's trip to be the gathering of information concerning Inês de Castro. However, as we note from the text itself, it was probably after his duties as scribe that he wrote this piece about the tragic love affair.

13 loc. cit.

14 The entire text of the letter is found on pp.354-357 of E. Asensio's article and is transcribed in our Index II, pp. 522-526.

In this important link in the development of the Portuguese theatre, we observe a combination of narrative, lyric, and dramatic elements. More interestingly, we have an encounter between the two lovers. This version of the theme of Pedro and Inês begins with a description of the arrival of Spring, including the flowers that accompany it, and the Sun that brings in the new day. As Phoebus breaks through the darkness, we compare this to the similar scene in Henrique da Mota's vision of Cupid. While this was a rather common topic in the poetry of the period, we feel it appears so frequently in Henrique da Mota's works as to offer further proof, along with the lyrical and prosaic descriptions that enhance it, that this Henrique da Mota is the same as the poet of the Cancioneiro Geral. The description of the mountains in which the poet now finds himself is also quite similar to those mountains encountered in the poem to which we referred.

As the work continues, suddenly a dark cloud appears. This marks the beginning of the author's vision. He is fearful and calls out to the squire who is with him. H. da Mota soon hears an answer, but realizes that it is an echo that is deceiving him, thus increasing his fears.

Then, for some unknown reason, his horse begins to run at a rapid pace, as though pushed by a mysterious force. He is led to a large house:

> me pos as portas de hũs grandes paços e jardỹs estavam com que se Reguava as mui verdes laranjeiras...

The description of the house and its surroundings are truly poetry in prose. Following this, he sees a richly dressed Princess, sitting with her ladies-in-waiting. Although their mode of dress does not express their feelings, the ladies' faces are clues to their sadness. The Princess separates herself from the others and, with a bouquet of roses in her hand, she begins to speak in the first of three sections in verse contained in the letter. Speaking in the past tense, as though already deceased, she states that Love killer her and, at the same time, made her Queen of Portugal. The Princess continues by saying that she was always well-loved and always did all that was asked of her by the Prince. She blames Love for punishing the Prince, who last saw her when they were both happy. The real crime, she insists, is not her death, but the anguish which her lover will doubtlessly feel:

> Amores vos me matastes
> por meu bem e por meu mal
> por meu mal pois me matastes
> por meu bem pois me deixastes
> Rainha de Portugal.
> .....

não me perdi por alarve
mas por gentil cavaleiro
gualante pricipe herdeiro
deste Reyno e do alguarve
o amor que mal andaste
em minha morte Real
não sinto que me matastes
mas a maguoa que deixaste
ao principe de purtugal.

The antithetical nature of the statement, as well as the Petrarchan influence and mythological motives are characteristic of this and other works by our author.

After this beautiful soliloquy, the elegantly-dressed lady is suddenly possessed by a great fear which cannot be explained. Two of her children unexpectedly appear at her side. Then we find out that the Princess becomes the victim of "grandes feridas e mortaes," the sources of which are not revealed. This is followed by a view of her clothing, suddenly covered with blood. The poet, who is witness to it all, sees the precipitous arrival of a "gentil cavaleiro." The horse that bore him was running so fast that it fell dead beneath the rider.

After his long journey, the royal horseman sees the dying young lady and embraces her. In a second section in verse, recited by the Prince, he asks who killed her and, except for the fact that he would like to avenge the tragedy, he states that he would have liked to have physically

died with his lady. He blames himself for the misfortune and takes her as "Rainha de Portugal" and his "Senhora." He concludes his lament by generally blaming injustice for his tears and the Princess' bloodshed.

Reverting back to prose, Henrique da Mota says that he notices the Princess coming back to life for a moment, after hearing the Prince's words. With one final breath she states: "minha alma lembrayvos della" (my soul, remember it). The Prince begins to cry and takes the two children close to himself. In prose, he tells them the following:

...filhos muito amados nasçidos da disdytosa may lembreuos que ja ha matarão por amor de mim/querendo me apartar della/ mas aguora pera todo sempre/ e pera quanto viver uos permeto que me nam facam esquecer ho seu nome/ e posto que não posais herdar estes Reinos por ja terdes Ifante uoso Irmão mais uelho / tende esperança em deus e em mĩ que sempre direi que soes meus filhos/ e uosa may nomearey sempre por Raynha/ por que eu lhe mandarey fazer sua sepultura Junto da minha honde pera sempre como Rainha será honrrada/...

In Pedro's final soliloquy in verse he directs himself to Love, who first united him with his Princess, and who has now made their affection for each other stronger in death.

Henrique da Mota then sees many people enter the scene. They are shocked by what they observe and begin to cry. As though he were in suspended animation, the

author begins to wonder where he is. Just as before, his horse begins to run quickly, once again spurred by an unknown force. Henrique da Mota finds himself at his inn, whereupon his squire and the local people inform him that he has been gone for three days. Realizing the probable interest that there would be in his vision, our author writes of it to the King, which then brings us back to the beginning of the work.

Let us now examine the traits which are characteristic of this letter and study the means through which the poet expressed himself. This will be followed by placing the composition within its proper perspective in relation to other previously reviewed versions of the theme.

One particularly noteworthy trait of this work is the vision itself, which serves as the principal vehicle of expression. This was not the only time that Henrique da Mota resorted to visions. We already noted the verses in which our author has a vision in which he converses with Cupid. The introductions to both poems are actually quite similar, as we previously pointed out. The use of such a supernatural setting serves to give the author license to include or omit any historical fact which he deems necessary for the success of his interpretation.

The vision itself had already been a successful means of expression in other works of literature. Dante's famous compositions, for example, served to inspire the already discussed Lover's Hell in Duarte de Brito's poem in the Cancioneiro Geral, as well as others. There are also numerous accounts of visions of Paradise. Prudentius, Valerius, Bonelus, and Baldarius are some who have discussed such revelations in their hagiographic compositions.[15]. Christian literature of visions includes a well-known legend of Túngdalo, also known as the vision of the monastery of Claraval. There is also a version of this in Portuguese mediaeval prose.[16] It is the story of a Gaelic warrior who is apparently dead. However, after three days he awakens to tell of his visit to Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven in a Dantesque fashion.[17] This is, as should be quite evident, very similar to Henrique da Mota's situation of returning home after three days to tell of his vision of Inês de Castro.

15 Filgueira Valverde, La Cantiga CIII-Nocion del tiempo y gozo eterno en la narrativa medieval, (Compostela, 1936), p. 16.

16 J.J. Nunes, Crestomatia Arcáica, 5a ed. (Lisboa, 1959), pp. 65-68.

17 Valverde, p. 16.

Islamic traditions also recount stories of dreams and visions, as does medieval Peninsular poetry, including that of Gonzalo de Berceo and Alfonso X. Filgueira Valverde further refers to subdivisions of visions: those of Christian legends concerning a biblical paradise on Earth; those of Nordic and Irish traditions, and those of a voyage to an interior paradise and a celestial paradise.[18] Of these groups, perhaps the most interesting for our study is the second. It includes chivalric and Irish Arthurian legendary literature. The Irish and Welsh element, so closely related to mythology, offers and "atmosphere of wonder and supernatural paraphernalia such as are characteristic of mythology revolving castles, sword-like bridges...enchantresses who take the form only of birds, hags changed by a kiss into damsels of peerless beauty, vessels of inexhaustible plenty, vessels moved by no visible agency, etc."[19]

The last detail appears in Henrique da Mota's vision as well. To repeat, our author was riding along with a companion when, suddenly, he found himself and his horse traveling very fast, as though spurred on by an unknown

18 Ibid., pp. 21-38.

19 Roger Sherman Loomis, The Grail: From Celtic Myth to Christian Legend, (Cardiff, 1963), p. 23.

force. This occurs at the beginning of the work and at its conclusion.

Roger Loomis translated one particular account of the series concerned with the search for the Holy Grail which is interesting in comparison with Henrique da Mota's letter. The critic describes Perceval as he is traveling through a forest, much in the same way our author traveled through a forest in his minor poetry and vision. Loomis describes what Perceval sees:

> Then he galloped through a forest as long as the tracks lasted, until he spied by chance a maiden under an oak tree, crying and lamenting in her distress. "Alas, wretch that I am, in an evil hour was I born! Cursed be that hour and that in which I was begotten...Would that God had not pleased to make me hold my dear lover in my arms. He would have done better to let me die and let my lover live. O Death, why did you take his soul rather than mine?...Without him I care nothing for my life and my body."[20]

The similarity that exists between this and the scene in Henrique da Mota's vision in which he sees Pedro saying the same exact words over the body of Ines is actually extraordinary.

In various Irish Echtrai, or versions of the Grail legends, similar scenes appear. An air of mystery and supernatural events permeate these stories. Beautiful palaces surrounded by well-dressed princesses, as well as

20 Ibid., p. 35.

various promises of vengeance by one character for the murder of another, are additional elements that appear in these legends and also in our author's letter.[21]

Influenced by mystery and the supernatural, the aberration of time and space is often quite common. Although much later than da Mota's work, Cervantes' Don Quijote contains an episode using those elements. Cervantes intended to utilize this motive with all of its accoutrements--visions of the dead who speak and retell their lives, the aberration of time, etc.--with a parodic and mocking purpose. In the episode of the "Cueva de Montesinos," the protagonist feels as though one hour has lasted three days. There are also many examples, in other literatures, where just the opposite occurs and the passage of three days feels like only one hour. The latter case also takes place in H. da Mota's Castro letter. The very same theme can be found in various cycles, such as "el ciclo oriental, el ciclo clásico, el ciclo rabínico, el ciclo de viajes," and the "ciclo cristiano," which includes the famous "Leyenda de los Siete Durmientes." Washington Irving's Rip Van Winkle also contains similar elements.[22]

21 Ibid., pp. 47-129.

22 Valverde, p. 68.

The purpose of this brief summary of the possible sources of Henrique da Mota's vision is to show the tradition to which our author belongs, possibly indicating, as well, his extensive knowledge of those other literatures and legends.

In the vision itself, as we have already suggested, the accompanying descriptions of the darkness and the mysterious happenings serve to add to the supernatural ambience of this interpretation of the tragedy. Waves of fantasy and realism are constantly interwoven. Since Henrique da Mota does not involve himself in the political motives of the murder, not even mentioning Inês' killers, or the King, it is a supernatural force which seems to be the cause of the heroine's death and momentary revival. Our author gives sufficient importance to both the lyrical and tragic aspects of the event, and none at all to the political causes of it. Even the Prince's promise of vengeance does not inform us of any political motives. When the blood flows down Inês' body, it is not stated that the King's aides did it, once again leaving politics out of the vision. The absence of the King and the counselors makes this the only work studied thus far in which their presence is not considered absolutely

necessary to the theme.

It is also interesting to note that the two lovers are never actually named within the composition. However, they are well-known especially since they are described according to history and tradition as Inês and Pedro. Another important element in the work is the encounter of the Prince and his lady. This is an aspect not found in either Resende, Ferreira, or Camões.

Evidently it was the tragedy of the love affair that Henrique da Mota wanted to emphasize more than any other detail, to the point of eliminating political motives, as we have stated. D. de Rougement states:

> "love and death, a fatal love in these phrases is summed up, if not the whole of poetry, at least whatever is popular. Whatever is universally moving in European literature, alike as regards the oldest legends and the sweetest songs. Happy love has no history. Romance only comes into existence where love is fatal, frowned upon and doomed by life itself."[23] What better description of the case of Inês and Pedro? The same critic characterizes a myth as a story which has the profound... power to win us over, usually without our knowing.[24]

23 Denis de Rougement, Love in the Western World, (New York, 1956), p. 15.

24 Ibid., p. 19.

Once again, we can see how the Inês de Castro episode has turned into a myth throughout the ages.

In this letter about Inês de Castro, we observe the theme of unhappy love that has been characteristic of many works of literature, from mediaeval times to the present. The courtly love of the troubadours was perpetually an unsatisfied one, as was the tragic love of Tristan and Iseult. We have only to remember the "saudade" expressed in the Portuguese "cantigas de amigo" to find further examples of sadness in love poetry. This was the influence of Provence. Such well-known authors as Petrarch, in his love for Laura, Fernando de Rojas, in La Celestina, Cervantes, in the parodic Don Quijote, Shakespeare, in Romeo and Juliet, Racine, Corneille, and writers who dealt with the theme of Don Juan, and just about every poet, novelist, and dramatist of the Romantic period wrote of tragic love affairs. Inês de Castro and Prince D. Pedro were excellent subjects for such a theme, as we have amply shown.

Eugenio Asensio states that the combination of prose and verse give the work an expression already evoked by Juan de Mena, Boetius, and Count D. Pedro of Portugal.[25]

25 Asensio, op. cit. p. 350.

Actually, due to its lyric qualities, we believe that the entire prose section of the work could have been easily transformed into verse. The prose style itself is very archaic, belonging somewhere between the style of the sixteenth century historiographical writings and Bernardim Ribeiro's Menina e Moça. The orthography is also archaic. The "ç" is still used unnecessarily before the "e" and the "o" and "u" are interchangeable. The same is true of "e" and "i" and "m" and "n." The "h" is also put before many words where it is not needed. The "go" and "guo," "aa" and "a," and "i" and "y" letters are other examples of the inconsistent manner of writing characteristic of the period. The words "mui" and "muito," "pera" and "para," "per" and "por" many times appear in their variant forms in the very same sentence. There is also a general lack of accents, as well as the substitution, on occasion, of the "til" (~) for the nasal consonants.

The lyrical element of the work consists of thirteen stanzas in all. They are written in the same traditional "redondilha maior," as the works we studied in Henrique da Mota's minor poetry. They are characterized by antithetical phrases, so typical of all of our author's works. The most common examples appear in Inês' first poetic

section: "por meu bem e por meu mal," "mui grande bem me queria/ mui ledo vos apartastes/ triste de mi por meu mal," and, of course, the antithetical nature of love itself that causes happiness, as well as death. Anaphoric expressions are also observed in the first verses: "por meu bem.../ por meu mal.../ por meu bem," and "minha alma e minha vida." Inês' monologue consists of five stanzas. There is one of five verses, with a consonant rhyme scheme of abaab. We find three nine-verse stanzas with abbacdccd, and one final eight-verse stanza with abbacdcd. Of course, Love itself is personified and blamed for the tragedy.

Pedro's first section in verse consists of five stanzas. Four have nine verses, with a consonant rhyme scheme of abbacdccd in each. The one eight-verse stanza is rhymed abbacddc. This section includes a sort of marriage-after-death ceremony and the personification of Inês' wounds and soul. There is also a euphemistic description of death, "senhora descansada."

The final poetic section consists of three stanzas. They contain four, five, and four verses. Their heptasyllabic rhyme scheme is an abba, cddcd, and abab, re-

spectively. It is principally an admonition directed towards Love for having acted in such an unjust fasion. Even though Inês' death made their bond a stronger one, Pedro would naturally have preferred that his Princess live.

In discussing the dramatic aspects of the letter, we begin by stating that the existence of a vision enabled the author to overcome the problems of time and space. It allows for a three-day time lapse, in which all of the action takes place, whether or not specific days are identified. In fact, they are not. It also permits Inês to speak in the past tense, as though she were explaining what had happened even before she received her wounds. These occurrences could not have taken place so easily had the work been performed. The work definitely has many theatrical aspects, though not necessarily intended as such. Additional dramatic value is given to the letter by the various scenic descriptions of the gardens and the house, not to mention the detailed descriptions of the two principal figures. The sumptuous dress of the ladies-in-waiting, as well as the flowers and trees that surround them, are given much attention in the author's

use of adjectives. The appearance of the Prince, the ensuing flow of blood, and the couple's two children are clearly visible to the possible audience. It is almost as though the descriptions in prose are merely the introduction and the scenic directions for the characters present. The encounter of the two lovers themselves is perhaps the most striking dramatic element of the work. It seems that the dramatic element in other works was placed in the scene between the heroine and the King. Henrique da Mota believes it to belong in the scene between Inês and Pedro. Fittingly enough, perhaps it is in the latter where it truly belongs.

Adding to the theatrical qualities of the work is the brief exchange between the poet and the echo. Another aspect that is even more touching occurs when Pedro speaks directly to his two children. The various lyrical speeches given by Inês and Pedro also enhance the quasi-dialogical nature of the work. Admittedly, the composition is but a letter written to the King. However, we feel that it is just one small step from true theatre. It is, we must remember, this one step, with careful moulding and additional characters, which leads us to Ferreira's A Castro. Thus the narrative, lyric, and dramatic aspects of the work

make it one of the most interesting of its period in relation to the tragic theme of Inês and Pedro.

Two excellent studies which bring this piece of literature some of its due recognition are those previously mentioned articles by Eugenio Asensio and Jorge de Sena. They also compare it with other works dealing with the same theme. Jorge de Sena suggests that the maidens who surround the Princess in the garden are the precursors of the Chorus in Ferreira's tragedy.[26] Asensio states that the letter is much more reminiscent of Ferreira than Camões, and he adds that it is certainly less touching then Resende. Speaking of the work's dramatic qualities, he mentions that, perhaps with dramatic impulse, the author has reduced the action to a few critical moments, lengthening the time and unifying the action.[27] Asensio points out other dramatic aspects and even suggests that this work was known by others, including Ferreira. There are

26 Jorge de Sena contributes very much to the study of Henrique da Mota's letter, discussing its style, content etc. We believe, however, that it might have been interesting for him to mention that Pedro actually had three children by Inês: João, Dinis, and Beatriz. Constanza had already given birth to another, Fernando, the next King of Portugal.

27 op. cit., p. 352.

many verses in both the letter and in A Castro that are strikingly similar.[28]

In summary, when we compare this letter to the other similar works of the same period, there are certain conclusions that can be made. It appears that Henrique d Mota basically followed the story as told by the chroniclers, omitting those elements which he considered superfluous to the successful presentation of the tragedy, and which he considered necessary to perpetuate the already popular myth. He eliminated political motives altogether and emphasized the tragic and lyrical qualities. The role of the King and his aides was excluded. It was the fact that he described all of the events within a visision that allowed him to do as he pleased. It also seems as though our author considered himself honored to be a witness to the events, as well as the "chronicler" of its parts. This is in direct contrast to the other works.

28 Various examples are pointed out: "Amores, vos me matastes," in the letter and "Já morreu Dona Inês, matou-a amor" in A Castro, Act IV, v.1526; "Senhora, eu vos matei," in the letter, and "Eu te matei, Sehora, eu te matei" in A Castro, V,v.1748. The promise of vengeance is also quite similar: H. da Mota's "Hi senhora descansada/ pois que vos eu fiquo qua/ que vosa morte será/ se eu viver bem vîguada" and Ferreira's "Tu, senhora, estás lá nos ceus, eu fico em quanto te vingar." Ibid., pp. 352-353.

In those, the story is generally told by the characters themselves, as in Resende, Ferreira, and only part of Camões' handling of the theme. Henrique da Mota took the beauty of the heroine and emphasized it in his prose as the narrator. He obviously considered the marriage of the lovers to have taken place only after Inês' death, but allows for the possibility of Pedro's children becoming heirs to the Portuguese throne. He also followed the tradition of having Inês honored as Queen after her death.

Resende's "two hearts beating as one" theme is continued, as is Inês' speech after death scene. The emotional, romantic Inês is in direct contract to the classical heroine of A Castro. A final important comparison is the encounter of the two principal figures upon which Henrique da Mota based his work. Although possible phrases have been duplicated by his Portuguese contemporaries, this was an element not to be found in their works. For its originality, richness of style and overall dramatic qualities, we believe this work to have contributed to the theme of Inês de Castro, and to its evolution in the dramatic genre.

Having first studied Henrique da Mota's minor works,

in which we observed various theatrical elements, we then examined the author's letter to the King, a work in which his potential as a dramatist was quite evident. Although the letter was written years after his dialogues in the Cancioneiro Geral, it is in this collection that Henrique da Mota's ability as a writer of a performable dramatic dialogue is truly apparent. Let us now analyze those dialogues and bring due attention to our author's right to be considered one of the true founders of the theatre in Portugal.

## D The Dramatic Dialogues of Henrique da Mota

The oral tradition that led to the appearance of written poetic works in which there were simple descriptions of heroic deeds or expressions of love, also involved works in which a dialogue was a basic element. This tradition was as prevalent in classical literatures as it was in mediaeval and Renaissance literatures. As an additional element, the translations of classical theatre into the vernacular Romance languages was to influence the Renaissance drama in Spain, Portugal, and other Western European countries.

The evolution of the Church-oriented drama, from brief tropes to more fully developed performances for all liturgical events, led to the introduction of the principal religious and pastoral traditions in the first "official" plays. This is evidenced in Spain, from the Auto de los Reyes Magos to the Églogas of Juan del Encina. In Portugal it is documented in Vulgar Latin texts of mediaeval religious celebrations and synodal constitutions and in the majority of the early works of Gil Vicente.

It is, however, the secular influence which was to lend itself to the more fruitful, more varied and continual

development of the Peninsular theatre. Divided into both textual and visual works, we first note the brief "cantigas" and early debates, certainly the most rudimentary contributions to the dialogue, which seem also to have been quite fundamental in literary development. The extension of these debates and the inclusion of scenic descriptions, allegorical characterizations and contrasting opinions and figures were primary forerunners of Peninsular theatre, as we have already amply illustrated with the examples taken from mediaeval collections of poetry. On the other hand, a combination of fact and fantasy, mime and dialogue, music and dance, as well as varied courtly representations and festivities, made the "arremedilhos," "entremeses," and "momos" principal contributors to the evolution of the drama and its performance. The dialogues, descriptions, and dates of those events are available in various documents, including the "breves" and scripts present in the chronicles and literature of the times.

Luciana Stegagno Picchio discusses many terms related to various representations, including the "entremes."[1]

1 Luciana Stegagno Picchio, "Observatione sull'uso di Alcuni Termini nell'Antico Teatro Portoghese," Boletim de Filologia, XIX, (1960), pp. 131-143.

She compares the latter quite closely to a "farsa," stating that the "entremes," like the "farsa," was a brief theatrical composition that was comical, satirical and burlesque in nature, in the vein of the previously mentioned "cantigas de escárnio e maldizer." They were quite frequently realistic in style and presentation and were often direct reflections of the social atmosphere of the period. It was in this manner that many of the elucidating dialogues that we have already discussed were written. It is also in a similar fashion that the dialogues of Henrique da Mota have been called both "entremes" by Dr. Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro,[2] and "farsas" by others, including Dr. Leite de Vasconcelos.[3]

As we have previously noted in the biography of our author, Henrique da Mota was responsible for five dialogues, or brief farces, in the Cancioneiro Geral. Of the two hundred and twenty-seven folios which make up this collection, the dialogues of our author are found between those numbered CCIII and CCXI, even though his minor poetry begins on CCI. The poet immediately preceding Henrique da Mota is Diogo Velho. He is followed by Bernardim Ribeiro.

2 Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro, op. cit., p. 73.

3 Leite de Vasconcelos, op. cit., title page.

It would be difficult for us to say that the editor of the Cancioneiro Geral showed little interest in these dialogues by placing them towards the end of his prestigious publication, especially since Garcia de Resende's own poems actually follow those of our author.

The dialogues appear in the following order, according to the collection's table of contents:

| | |
|---|---|
| ..... | |
| trovas suas a hũ clerigo | fo.CCIII |
| Outras suas a hũ alfayate | fo.CCIII |
| Outras suas a hũ ortelam | fo.CCV |
| ..... | |
| Outras a hũa mula | fo.CCVI |
| Outras suas a vasco abul | fo.CCIX |

Each work is further clarified by a brief introductory statement, immediately preceding the first character's spoken words. In the poem called the "Pranto do Clérigo,"[4] we read the following:

> Danrrique da mota a hũ creligo sobre huũa pypa de vynho que se lhe foy polo chã e lamẽtaua o desta maneyra.

The "Farsa do Alfaiate" is introduced in this manner:

> Danrrique da mota a huũ alfayate de dom dioguo sobre hũ cruzado que lhe furtarã no bombarral.

The most extensive description preceds the "Farsa do Hortelão":

4 This and the following titles are those suggested by critics who have studied this poetry: "A Farsa do Alfaiate," "A Farsa do Ortelão," "A Lamentação da Mula," and "O Processo de Vasco Abul," "O Pranto do Clérigo."

> Danrrique da mota ao ortelam que a rrainha tẽ nas caldas que he hũ omẽ muyto pequeno e chamase joã grade e passou estas palauras cõ ele por trazer a carreto de dizer que o puedor das caldas que chamã jeronymo dayres era muyto seco e suas cousas e começa a bater a porta da orta e falam ambos hũ com o outro.

The "Lamentação da Mula" has the following introduction:

> Trovas danrrique da mota a hũa mula muyto magra e velha que vyo estar no bonbarral ha porta de dom dioguo filho do marques e era de dom anrrique seu yrmão que hya em rromaria a nossa senhora de nazarete e leuaua nela hum seu amo.

The fifth dialogue, "O Processo de Vasco Abul," is preceded by this final introduction:

> Anrrique da mota a vasco abul porque andando hũa moça baylãdo em alenquer deulhe zombando hũa cadea douro e depois a moça nam lha quys tornar e andaram sobre jsso em demanda e veo vasco abul falar sobre jsso ha rraynha estando em almada e ha hy lhe fez estas trouas.

As one can infer from their given titles, these dialogues are of varied themes and plots: "By Anrrique da Mota to a Priest whose wine had spilled from its cask to the ground and who now lamented the matter;" "By Anrrique da Mota to one of Dom Diogo's Tailors concerning a 'cruzado' that was stolen from him in Bombarral;" "By Anrrique da Mota to Queen Leonor's Gardener in Caldas, João Grande (John the Large)," and the ensuing dialogue concerning his size, as well as the purveyor, Jerónimo d'Aires; "By Anrrique da Mota to an emaciated old Mule..;"

and "By Anrrique da Mota to Vasco Abul, dealing with the court case of a dancer to whom the protagonist had given a golden chain and who now would not return it to him." Critics who have dealt with the history of the Portuguese theatre have more recently named these works "The Priest's Lament," "The Farce of the Tailor," "The Farce of the Gardener," "The Mule's Lament," and "The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul."

One of the most interesting facets of these five dialogues by Henrique da Mota is that each presents an entirely different perspective on life. We are witness to a criticism of certain sacraments of the Church, as well as the immoral and hypocritical life led by one of its clerics. The problems faced by a Jewish convert and his efforts to resolve a matter concerning the whereabouts of a lost coin are the subjects of another work. Our author also wrote about a proud midget gardener, a famished mule and an unjustly criticized man who wants a lady to return a gift which he had supposedly given to her. Each work presents its material in a comical and satirical manner, relying principally on burlesque descriptions of the main characters and vivid exchanges between them and the other figures that appear. The plot of each work is basically simple, but extremely interesting

and certainly very well constructed.

"The Priest's Lament," for example, takes us from the initial speech by the cleric, who sincerely expresses his woe over wine that had been spilled, to a conversation between him and his servant, a black woman. After deciding that she is innocent of tipping over the cask of wine, the Priest again mentions his suffering, and asks that others sympathize with him. It is the dispute between the cleric and the Negress, however, around which the main interest of the work is centered, as we shall soon see.

The charm of "The Farce of the Tailor" lies in the farcical value of the protagonist's station in life, as presented by the author, as well as his discussions with an unintelligent rustic and a seemingly well-educated judge.

Although the stated purpose of "The Farce of the Gardener" is to speak with the proud little man concerning a possible, or hoped for, change in the character of the present purveyor of the district, the humorous element rests in the antonomastic effect of the name of the protagonist, João Grande, who is actually a man of very slight stature.

"The Mule's Lament" is a rather symbolic work. In it Henrique da Mota presents a rather grim, but sarcastic, view of a period deeply affected by a nation-wide famine. He shows a Mule as she travels along in desperation, hoping to find food, as well as someone who will treat her well. Again the clergy are criticized as being the only ones in the crisis who always seem to have enough to eat. The quasi-allegorical nature of the work makes it but one of many similar dialogues of the period which deal with a mule or a horse conversing with its owner.

The final piece is a vehicle for the author himself to play the major role in a position to which he is quite accustomed: a lawyer and judge. Henrique da Mota even takes the opportunity to show his "superiority" over Gil Vicente.

The number of characters appearing in each work varies. "The Priest's Lament" has two principal figures: the cleric himself and an important secondary character, a Negro woman, whom he accuses of spilling his wine. There are also four tertiary figures, with whom the Priest discusses his lamentable situation: the "Vigário," Alvaro Lopes, the "Almoxarife," and the "Juiz d'Orfãos," or Henrique da Mota himself.

"The Farce of the Tailor" also has various secondary characters, all of whom inter-relate with the protagonist's desire to find his lost "cruzado." They are D. João, João de Belas, Gonçalo da Mota, and the omnipresent Holy Spirit, a figure who does not actually appear, but whose mention has an important role within the structure of the work.

The only two figures apparent in "The Farce of the Gardener" are João Grande, the protagonist, and Henrique da Mota, acting as an emissary of the Queen. However, almost one half of the dialogue revolves around another figure: Jeronimo D'Aires, the purveyor of the district whose character needs drastic changes. It is hoped that the Gardener's special skills will permit him to cure the "secura" of the "puedor," as Henrique da Mota suggests.

The final two works are the most lengthy. In "The Mule's Lament," the principal speaker is the beast herself. She converses with various secondary characters - Henrique da Mota, the instigator; D. Diogo, her strongest ally; D. Henrique, her cruel master; and two tertiary figures, Bastiam da Costa, the "veador," or man in charge of the Mule's provisions; and Gomez Anrriques, a passerby.

"The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul" once again shows Henrique da Mota as one of the principal figures in his works. In this case he somewhat overshadows the protagonist, Vasco Abul. He does so in having the larger and ultimately more important speaking role, including his encounter with another secondary character, Gil Vicente. There are many tertiary figures in this final dialogue, each of whom gives his opinion in the lawsuit. They are as follows: the Mestre Gil, Agostinho Gyram, Affonso Fernandez Montarroyo, Joam Alvarez, the "secretareo," Diogo de Lemos, Dyoguo Gonçalvez, Tome Toscano, Bastiam da Costa, the "cantor," Fernam Diaz, and Branca Alvarez, the "crystaleyra."

As is already quite evident, the principal types that appear in these works are a burlesque cleric, a servant from the Congo, a recently converted Jew, a magistrate, a completely illogical rustic, a proud, vain little gardener, a difficult purveyor, a starved and unhappy mule (the only nonhuman character in these dialogues), the Queen, and various members of the prominent Noronha family, as well as a capricious Vasco Abul. The latter is representative of a man who can easily be carried away by a woman's beauty and acts in a fickle way. We also see Henrique da Mota in the roles of instigator, messenger,

judge, and lawyer. We actually have a small cross-section of the society of the period, including all social levels and many vocations. This is a miniature panorama of society that will later appear and expand in Gil Vicente's dramatic works.

The manner of presentation of each of the characters varies according to the work in which they appear. In "The Priest's Lament" and "The Farce of the Tailor" the protagonists open the dialogues lamenting a woeful situation. In the remaining three works, the initial remarks are made by Henrique da Mota, either to find out the reason for the Mule's and Vasco Abul's problems, or to gain entry to the garden to seek the aid of its keeper.

From this point on, lively dialogues are begun. In the works in which there are but two or three characters, there is a successive presentation of the principal figures who then engage in simultaneous discussions with the protagonists. In the two works in which there are a substantial number of tertiary characters, namely "The Priest's Lament" and "The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul," it almost appears as though we have collective singing. This is especially true in view of the fact that each of these minor figures repeats almost the exact words of the person who directly precedes or follows him.

We also see various other characteristics which are common to dramatic performances. Aside from the initiatory monologues, the successive dialogues, and the collective singing, we often witness asides, occurring principally when there is a change of characters entering or leaving the scene of the action. The Priest uses the aside in discussing whether or not to pursue his verbal attack on the black woman. The Mule does the same to remark about her being treated so poorly. Dramatic objects, such as the cask in "The Priest's Lament," the barley in "The Mule's Lament," and other props, as well as the scenery described in a couple of the dialogues, add to the theatrical value of the works. Each work also contains vivid scenic descriptions, elements of time and space, and a sense of movement and action. They also contain quasi-scenic divisions, adding to their dramatic potential.

Each piece is quite realistic, burlesque, and satirical. Of the many other factors which focus upon this closeness to life, the language spoken by certain characters is perhaps one of the most basic. The Tailor and the black woman both speak in a manner which reflects their origins and present station in life. In the case of the Tailor, his Portuguese speech is at times interrupted by

Hebraic expressions. Although he is a "Cristão Novo," his ancestry is immediately apparent. The Negro woman speaks a sort of macaronic Portuguese, obviating the author's intent to imitate what he imagines to be the dialect spoken by these strangers to Portuguese soil. Also adding to the realism is the manner of speaking of the author himself, especially during his legalistic summation of the case of Vasco Abul.

Throughout each of the dialogues, the versification and rhyme patterns are very regular. The number of verses contained within each stanza varies from seven to ten. The heptasyllabic "redondilha maior" is quite common and the rhyme schemes, while usually regular within each work, vary from dialogue to dialogue.

In forming an overall view of these five major works by our author, we would first say that they, in themselves, actually do give a portrait of many aspects of the life of the period. The general conversion of Jews to the Christian faith and an Erasmian-like satire of a cowardly, hypocritical cleric and his Negress mistress are two particularly critical views of the time. The same is true of the portrait of various classes during a famine that struck the country in the early sixteenth century in "The Mule's Lament." A local official and the importance of

the town of Caldas in Queen Leonor's life seem to be the focus of the burlesque "Farce of the Gardener." The final work, concerning Vasco Abul, seems to serve as a vehicle for Henrique da Mota himself to show his skills as an expert in juris_prudence, his actual vocation in life. It is also a study of human nature and a chance for our author to be victorious in a legal dispute with the founder of the Portuguese theatre. Henrique da Mota is often biting and humorous in both his human and social satire. In the ensuing detailed studies of each individual dialogue, we hope that his true talents as a writer of dramatic dialogues will become more evident.

1 - "The Priest's Lament"

The first dialogue in order of appearance in the Cancioneiro Geral, is "The Priest's Lament." This work appears to continue successfully the author's use of the theme of wine in various poems, as well as develop more fully the attack made by Henrique da Mota upon the clergy.

In the first group of minor poems written by our author, we noted two works in which wine played an important role. The first of these was the poem dedicated to João Roiz de Sá. Henrique da Mota asked that this famous poet use his influence to force D. Martinho de Castelo Branco and Jorge de Vasconcelos to pay for wines which they had bought from our author to supply an armada headed towards Azamor. Another poem, written to D. João de Noronha, talks of three men who set out to "Os Giraldos" after their confessions. "Os Giraldos" was a place in which they could find no wine to quench their thirst and renew their spirit. We also found out about the healing powers generally attributed to wine, as well as the fine treat that one could enjoy by pouring certain types of this tasty product over various fruits. In this second poem the wine-motive also served to help Henrique to continue

an already well-established goliardesque tradition and criticize the drinking habits of the clergy.

In "The Priest's Lament," these themes are developed even further. This time Henrique da Mota focuses his criticism on one particular "creligo," as he is called, and demonstrates the value of wine to this hearty figure. It actually appears that the wine is more important to him than his calling. This is definitely a more evident criticism than that suggested in the previously discussed poems by our author. This does not mean that all members of the clergy were subject to Henrique da Mota's commentary, but rather that there were a number of individuals within the Church who were not performing their duties as they should have been doing. This clearly Erasmian attitude, also common in the works of numerous other poets of the period, including Gil Vicente, is evoked in an extremely burlesque manner, using a tone which would not be offensive.

The Priest's discussion with his black servant also shows the character of this cleric. Not only does the author satirize the Priest, but he also has these two figures criticize each other. They resort to mutual name-calling, insults, and actual threats on their respective positions and very lives. In fact, it is ironic

that the mistreated Negress, who is also the Priest's mistress, becomes the one who is victorious in their feud. Thus, the cleric is humiliated even further.

The use of the theme of wine is not a new one, nor is the relationship of that wine to the clergy. A black figure in mediaeval literature also has its predecessors. Both the themes and characters apparently have definite sources, as well as influences. Before examining these points more closely, let us first discuss the basis plot of this first dialogue.

"The Priest's Lament" begins exactly as the title indicates:

> Danrrique da mota a hũ creligo sobre huũa pypa de vynho que se lhe foy polo chã e lamẽtaua o desta maneyra.

After discovering that his precious wine spilled on the ground, the Priest speaks of his disgust, suffering, and anger. In a series of grievous cries, the Priest talks to the wine as though it were his close friend. With the loss of the treasure he valued most, he blames everything and everyone for the disaster. He comically yells at the wooden supports which held the container in place and criticizes the man who manufactured the cask itself. Ac-

cording to the Priest, the cask maker should be the first to be blamed, because he actually sold it to him in the beginning. The entire scene is described in a tongue-in-cheek fashion:

Ay, ay, ay, ay que farey
ay que dores me cercaram
ay que nottas me cheguaram
ay de mym onde me yrey.
Que farey triste mezquinho
com payxam
tudo leva maao caminho
poys que vay todo meu vynho
pelo cham.

Oo meu bem tã escolhido
que farey em vossa aussencia/nam posso ter pacienCia/por vos ver assim perdido/ Oo pypa tam mal fundada/desditosa
de foguo sejas queymada
por teres tam mal goardada
esta rrosa.

OO vinho quem te perdera
primeyro que te comprara
oo quem nunca te prouara
ou prouando te morrera.
O quem nunca fora nado
neste mundo
pois vejo tam mal logrado
hum tal bem tam estimado
tam profundo.

Oo arcos por que ssuxastes
oo vimeẽs de maldicam
por que nam tiuestes mao
assy como me ficastes.
Oo mao vilão tenoeyro
desalmado
tu teẽs a culpa primeyro
pois leuastes o meu dinheyro mal leuado.

In the next scene the Priest's poor black servant enters and it is she who becomes the target of her master's wrath. The dialogue between the two of them is quite interesting and extremely humorous.

The cleric calls the "negra" names and accuses her of having spilled the wine. She responds by saying that she did not spill it. The woman insists that she was not even present when the "disaster" occurred. To add insult to injury, she says it was her master's fault for having had too much to drink in the first place:

Fala com a ssua negra

Oo perra de maniconguo
tu entornaste este vynho
hũa posta de touçinho
tey de guastar nesse lombo,

N. a nym nunca nũca mym
entornar
mym andar augoa jardim
a mym nunca ssar rroym
por que bradar.

C. Se nam fosse por alguem
perra eu te çertefico
bradar com almexerico
alvaro lopo tam bem.

N. Vos loguo todos chamar
vos beber
vos pipo nunca tapar
vos a mym quero pinquar
mym morrer.

The Priest warns her to keep quiet if she values her life or if she does not want hot oil spilled on her as punishment. She then warns him that she will complain to the judge and when he hears that, the Priest thinks it over. He realizes that in order to avenge the lamentable treatment given her by him, the servant might even reveal that she is his mistress. Taking these facts into consideration, he decides that it would be better for him to drop the issue rather than face charges of which he might be found guilty. The cowardice of the braggart Priest is now evident, and he takes all of the blame upon himself:

C. Ora perra calte ja
se nam matartey agora

N. aquystar juyz no fora
a mym loguo vay te laa.
Mym tã bẽ falar mourinho
ssacriuam
mym nã merro no toussinho
guardar nã sser mais quevinho
creliguam.

C. Ora te dou oo diabo
rroguote ja que te cales
que bẽ mabastã meus males
que me vem de cada cabo.
Olhay a perra que diz
que fara
jra dizer oo juyz
o que fiz e que nam fiz
e crelaa.

E poys ela he tam rroym
bem ssera que me perçeba
diraa que e minha manceba
pera sse vinguar de mym.
em tam em prouas na prouas
guastarey
yram dar de mym mas novas
e faram ssobre mym trouas
que farey.

O ssyso ssera calar
pera num buscar desculpa
poys a negra nam tem culpa
pera que lha quero dar.
Eu ssam aquy o culpado
e outram nam
eu ssam o denificado
e eu ssam o magoado
eu o ssam.

The servant leaves and, in the final section of the work, the Priest continues his lament. He asks that the audience mourn with him. He refers to the new previously-mentioned "terças" as well as his lost wealth from Caparica (the wine), and asks that his friends give him

moral support in these bad times: (Folio CCIII-2)

Que negra entrada de março
sse todo vay por estarte
e as terças doutra parte
am me de dar hum camarço.
Oo vos outros que passays
pelas vinhas
rrespondey assy viuays
se vistes dores ygoays
coas mynhas.

Fym em vilancete

Pois nã tẽho aquy parẽtes
saltem vos amici mei
chorareys como chorey.
Chorareys a minha pipa
chorareys o ano caro
chorareys o desamparo
do meu bem de caparica.
E poys tanta dor me fica
saltem vos amici mei
chorareys como chorey.

The latter two stanzas para-phrase certain verses from the Vulgate Bible. The first stanza repeats Jeremiah's Lament, I, verse 12:

Let it not come unto you, all ye that
pass by:
Behold, and see if there be any paid like
unto my pain
Which is done unto me...

The second stanza is similar to verse 21 in Chapter XIX of the Book of Job:

Have pity upon me, have pity upon me,
O ye my friends.

Calling upon his "amici mei," he first turns to the

Vicar. The latter was probably the very same fat character we encountered in the poet's minor works. In the minor poem, we remember that the Vicar spoke more of his "bibyayro" than his "rosayro." The Priest tells him that even losing a prayer book does not equal the suffering caused by his loss of wine. The Vicar responds by saying that he hopes never to suffer so, and that since the pain is so great, he will cry forever. This is exactly the same impression given by the Vicar in the poem dedicated to D. João de Noronha:

Fala como o viguayro

O guordo padre viguayro
vos que ssabeys que dor he,
ajuday por vossa fee
a chorar este fadayro
Se perdera o breuiayro,
nem a capa que comprey,
nam chorara o que chorey!

Responde o vigayro

Oo yrmão, muyto perdeste,
e ssegundo em muyto bem ssento,
nam tevera atrevimento
de ssofrer o que sofreste.
he hum tam grande mal este,
que com doo que de ty ey
pera ssempre chorarey.

He next directs himself to Alvaro Lopes. The Priest is sure that Alvaro could not possibly have cried so much when King D. João II died as he will now cry over the lost wine. The former agrees with him and says that

even if he lost his job ten thousand times, he could not suffer so much. He will certainly join in the lament:

Fala cõ alvaro lopez
Oo alvaro yrmão amiguo,
velo jaz aqui no chão
pois perdeste teu quinham,
vem, e choraras comyguo.
Certamente eu te diguo,
que quando morreo el rrey,
pardeos tanto nam chorey

Resposta Dalvaro lopes
Milhor me fora perder
dez mil vezes meu offiçio
ou hum grande benefiçio
que tanta pena sofrer.
Poys nam temos que beber
o yrmão onde mirey
poy que choras chorarey.

The next speaker is the "Almoxarife," the royal treasurer. The two of them go to pick up the cask to see if anything remains, but this proves fruitless. The "Almoxarife" will cry too:

fala cõ o almoxarife.
Oo almoxarife, yrmão
levantemos esta pipa
e veremos sse lhe fica
aynda algum membro ssão
mas eu tenho tal payxão
do triste que nam logrey,
que por sempre chorarey.

Responde o almoxarife.
poys que nam tem alma jaa
pera que e a levantada
mas muyto pior sseraa
que dizem que ficaraa
esta casa vyolada:
a confraria he danada
Oo yrmão que te farey,
se chorares chorarey.

The last person with whom the Priest speaks is the "juiz d'orfaos." The Priest compares himself to an or orphan who has lost his father. In this case hehas lost his wine. The judge says that he will comfort the Priest, as will his servant, and adds that he ought not to think of killing himself because of his loss. He seems to be the only one to decide that it is not worth lamenting the loss, especially since he still has the Negress to help console him. Naturally, our author will not appear to be as foolish as the others:

Fala cõ o juiz d'orfãos.

Vos, que tendes jurdiçam
naqueles que nam tem pay,
vynde, vinde aquy, choray,
que eu tam bem orfão ssão.
e que vossa condiçam
seja dagua, como sey,
chorareys como chorey.

Resposta do juiz d'orfãos.

Esforçay nam vos mateys,
perto he daquy a agosto:
a negra fica com vosco,
com que vos confortareys,
Do perdido nam cureys
nem chameys aque del rrey,
e eu vos conssolarey.

In conclusion, the Priest states that he will cry forever and asks that all those present lament the wine that lay helplessly on the floor. It is as though they were eulogizing a dear departed friend, rather than a mere cask

of wine. He laments in the style of mediaeval "pranto," which we will soon discuss:

Fym 'da lementaçam
do créliguo.

Todo genero honrrado
em que vertude conssiste
ajuday chorar o triste
que jaz aquy emtornado.
E poys eu por meu pecado
pera tanto mal fiquey
pera ssempre chorarey.

What is perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of this dialogue is its farcical nature. When discussing the general characteristics of the farce, António José Saraiva mentions that it may have two distinct qualities: a definite plot, with development and "denouement." or the presentation of a series of well-defined characters.[5] We believe the latter to be more applicable in "The Priest's Lament." In this work we are introduced to two special figures: the Priest himself and a Negro woman. The others that appear are relatively unimportant secondary speakers. They include "O Viguayro," Alvaro Lopez, the "Almoxarife" and the "Juiz d'Orfãos." Although this dialogue does have a certain thread of plot, we feel the presentation of the principal characters to be its most important element.

5 A. J. Saraiva, Gil Vicente e o Fim do Teatro Medieval, 2ª edição (Lisboa, 1965), p. 96.

The Priest, who is not given a specific name in the work, is a completely burlesque figure. He resembles the type of man of the cloth who is rather satisfied when he has his wine, as were many of the "Clerici Vaganti." However, when he loses this valuable possession, everyone and everything around him become subject to his abuse. He is rather boastful and egocentric. He is stubborn and insulting, until confronted by fear. This shows him to be a coward, especially when he is threatened by his lowly servant with telling the judge of their relationship. He is completely dissatisfied with his present situation, caused primarily by the loss of the wine and the Papal Bull subjecting the clergy to new taxes, or "terças." He is a hypocritical rascal who is certainly not the best representative of the Church. He evidently does not practice what he preaches.

He not only indulges in wine, but self-pity as well, needing to be consoled by all those in his presence. On the other hand, we can imagine him taking part in the sport of the Goliards and "Clerici Vaganti," when he is in a better mood. These games, drinking ones, in which the priests frequently participated, are exemplified in many goliardic poems.[6]

6 George F. Whicher, op. cit., pp. 227 ss.

The actual character of our cleric, who is more interested in his wine than anything else, and who is rather immoral, appears to come directly from those poems. The Goliards' buffoonery and burlesque manner of writing was particularly evident in poems in which the drinking habits of the clergy were most prominent. The criticism of the men of the cloth was not limited to this one aspect. The joys of the flest and the failings of monks were also common themes. However, it was the renowned "Song of the Tavern" that made the goliardesque tradition what it was. This tradition was continued by and developed in the Portuguese "arremedilhos," works recited by jesters and buffoons. They were often satirical critiques of the times, as were the ensuing "cantigas de escárnio e maldizer" in the mediaeval Portuguese "cancioneiros" to which we previously referred. The same manner of expression is also common in the Arcipreste de Hita's Libro de Buen Amor, especially in his criticism of the clerics of Talavera. Combine this literary tradition with the philosophy of the Reformation and we have the protagonist of Henrique da Mota's "The Priest's Lament." Clerics were often charged with pride, avarice, and sensuality, apparent traits of Henrique da Mota's protagonist

as well. The clergy was also criticized for the prevalence of concubinage, another abuse referred to in this dialogue.

Although the figure of the Priest is the principal one found in this first work, with his character amply defined, he is not the only one deserving of attention. We note his black servant, whom the Priest calls his "perra do manicongo."[7]

The Black in Portuguese literature was quite naturally influenced by the appearance of the first slaves to arrive in the country as a result of the Age of Discoveries. The use of slaves to cultivate and populate the lands abandoned by adventurers provided a solution for the economic disaster which loomed as a result of the sharp decline of available manpower within Portugal. Many fifteenth and sixteenth century chroniclers observed the rapid growth of the Negro population.[8] Thus, it should not be surprising to find such figures as subjects in the literature of the period. The "preto" or "negro" is mentioned both in "momos" in Rui de Pina's Crónica de Dom Afonso V and Garcia de Resende's Crónica de D. João II,

7 Cancioneiro Geral, op. cit., fol. CCIII.

8 Raymond Sayers, O Negro na Literatura Brasileira, trad. de António Howaiss (Rio, 1958), pp. 23-24.

in which the participants are, or appear, dressed as African "selvagens."[9] In the Cancioneiro Geral, aside from the dialogue by Henrique da Mota, there are two minor selections and one slightly more extensive one in which the speech of the slave is imitated. We observe D. Rodrigo de Monsanto's address to Lourenço de Faria concerning the sending of a slave to cure a mule. In the two parts of this selection, a type of Portuguese patois is spoken. Incorrect tenses and the wrong usage of pronouns accompany poor grammatical structure. In both selections, it seems that the treatment of the slaves by their owners is criticized:

Lourenço conprar
pastel de pam aluo
dizendo o escrauo
querer jaa chofrar.
Escravo com medo
senhor chofrarey
lourenço azedo
assinha dom perro
azpera moley.

De joam foguaça

Senhor my alcar
cuberta de rrabo
vos estar diabo
com tanto mandar.
Quam a rreneguado
eu te matarey
sem rrabo lauado
e con o chofrado
mey dyr para el rrey.
(Fol. CLVIII)

The final selection, which is also the most interesting, was written by the Caudel Mor, Fernão da Silveira.

9 Loc. cit.

It is entitled "caudel moor por breue de hũa mourisca rratorta que mandou fazer a senhora princeza quando esposou." (Fol. XXIII) In the text we note the same infantile syntax that we observed in the previous examples. Pronouns are used incorrectly, verbs are left in their infinitives, and words are clearly mispelled. A King of the Blacks from Sierra Leone appears to address a Portuguese princess at the time of her wedding. He praises Henry IV's choice of Queen and says that the Blacks approve. He also mentions that since he does not know any local dances, he will rely upon his heritage and dance what he can:

> A min rrey de negro estar Serra Lyoa
> Lonje muyto terra onde viver nos,
> Lodar caytbela Tubao de Lixboa,
> falar muao novas casar pera vos.
> Querer a mym logo ver vos como vay.
> Leyxar molher meu, partyr muyto synha,
> porque sempre nos servyr vosso pay;
> folgar muyto negro estar vos rraynha.
>
> Aqueste gente meu taybo: terra nossa
> nunca folguar, andar sempre guerra.
> Nam saber quy que balhar terra vossa.
> Balhar que saber nossa terra.
> Se logo vos quer mandar a mym venha,
> fazer que saber, tomar que achar.
> Mandar fazer taybo lugar, Des mantenha!
> e loguo meu negro, senhora, balhar.[10]

10 For convenience, we adopted the transcription of Paul Teyssier in his La Langue de Gil Vicente (Paris, 1959), p. 228.

This brings us to the figure of the black woman in "The Priest's Lament." There is little to be learned of her actual character. However, from the brief dialogue, which includes only a twenty-one verse exchange between the Cleric and the Negress, some facts are learned. First, the slave is by no means timid. She is stubborn and answers the Priest directly. In fact, she is not afraid to criticize him and negate the charges that he brings against her. Besides, we learn that she was not present when the wine was spilled. We also find out that she is the cleric's mistress. The goliard poets and the Arcipreste de Hita already informed us that men of the cloth were wont to have such women in their household. It was a fact, however, that the Priest wanted to conceal, for fear that he would naturally be subject to ridicule and be accused of mistreating his servant, as well as living immorally. After all, he also promised to punish her by pouring hot drops of fat on her. The Negress is a lively character, is quite sharp in her attack on the cleric, and is rather comical.

As is the case with the macaronic Latin paraphrases spoken by the Priest, the language spoken by the "Negra" is one of the principal aspects of this dialogue. Not only does it add to the comic value of the work, but it also

contributes very effectively to characterization.

According to Paul Teyssier, "la langue de cette négresse est, comme on voit, tout a fait comparable à celle du nègre de Fernão da Silveira."[11] He gives the following examples:

> syntaxe et morphologie rudimentaries, verbes à l'infinitif, "a min" pour "eu", "estar" pour "ser." L'auteur utilise cette façon pittoresque d'écorcher la langue pour faire des jeux des mots: au lieu de dire "almoxarife" (intendent des propriétés royales) la néggresse dit "almexerico," ou l'on reconnaît le mot "mexerico" (racontar, commérage), et au lieu de dire "falar Meirinho" elle dit "falar mourinho." Les transformations des mots, comme dans le texte précédent, ne révèlent pas de tendance phonétique bien nette, sauf dans "ssacrivam" ("escrivão") ou le groupe de trois consonnes "scr" est éliminé par l'ajdonction d'un "a", et dans "augoa" et "té" ou le "r" final n'est pas prononcé.[12]

Teyssier concludes that he is convinced that the appearance of these texts in the Cancioneiro Geral makes it impossible for Gil Vicente to have been the originator of the "língua de preto" in Portuguese.[13] From the information, one would suppose the texts from the Cancioneiro Geral to have had a direct influence in Vicentine plays. This is an element which will be examined in greater detail later on in our study.

11 Ibid., p. 230.

12 Loc. cit.

13 Loc. cit.

Leite de Vasconcelos also studied various aspects of the language found in this dialogue. He speaks of the expression "a perra do manicongo," which we termed an insult. L. de Vasconcelos makes this clearer by stating that "os nossos amigos chamavam com frequência 'perros,' como injúria, a Judeus, Mouros, Pretos, escravos etc."[14] He also points out the typical expression used in Portuguese to make fun of or imitate a foreigner speaking the language: "mim falar português."[15] Leite de Vasconcelos discusses other linguistic peculiarities of the dialect, in the same manner as Paul Teyssier. As Raymond Sayers suggests, it is not really important whether or not the "African" dialect spoken by the black figure was truly imitated. What is important is to show that the slave, or mistress in this case, did not speak as well as the master, and to realize the final objective of entertaining the reader or audience.[16]

In this respect, Henrique da Mota was very successful.

14 Leite de Vasconcelos, "A Língua de Preto num texto de Henrique da Mota," in Estudos de Filologia (Rio, 1969), p. 309.

15 Ibid., p. 310.

16 R. Sayers, op. cit., p. 33.

Not only is the utilization of the dialogue important, both socially and artistically, but it added to the veracity of the characterization and had obvious comic value. We are wont to laugh at the black servant as she attempts to make her point clear through a manner of speech that is anything but that. This linguistic aspect has been studied quite amply by both Paul Teyssier and Leite de Vasconcelos.

The black woman and her language will later appear in various Vicentine works as key elements in many burlesque scenes. The relationship of those works to this one will be truly apparent.

The final figures that appear in this dialogue are the Vicar, Alvaro Lopez, the town Treasurer, and the Orphan's Judge. The "guordo padre viguayro" is as fat as the one who appeared in Henrique da Mota's minor poetry. Both characters seem to be more concerned with matters other than those of their call. One loved his wine and the other prayed over his "bibyayro." In addition, both Vicars lament the fact that either the wine cannot be found or that the wine has been lost. There is little doubt in our minds that these two men are one and

the same. It is suggested that there might have been a living model from whom Henrique da Mota drew his material, but this is a matter for conjecture. It appears as though Henrique da Mota were using this figure once again in his sarcastic commentary on the men of the Church.

The Priest's neighbor, Alvaro Lopez, and the town "Almoxarife," or treasurer, also mourn with the poor cleric. Nothing can be ascertained as to the nature of their character, except for the fact that they, like the cleric, seem to value wine more than their professions. One is willing to give up his position, while the other does not care whether or not his is disturbed, as long as he has his wine.

Interestingly enough, it is the appearance of the "Juiz d'Orfãos" that adds a bit of stability and tranquility to the situation. It appears to us that this was Henrique da Mota himself intervening in the work, although other critics seem to have omitted this possibility. Our author also makes appearances in "The Farce of the Gardener," The Mule's Lament," and "The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul," playing a different role in each.

The idea of the author as a character in his own work is quite an important one. In a previous chapter we discussed how "actor" and "autor" were often interchangeable, and how this was evident in both Encina's and Vicente's rudimentary works. We are also quite naturally reminded of Juan Ruiz, the Arcipreste de Hita, who is actually the central figure throughout his Libro de Buen Amor.

While the other characters in "The Priest's Lament" all claim that they will mourn with the cleric, only the judge says that he will but console him. He does not say that he will cry, as do the others, but advises the Priest not to trouble himself so much over the matter. Besides, he cannot regain what he has lost and is advised that it is not worthwhile to kill himself over the spilled wine. Within the work, Henrique da Mota emphasizes the over-reaction of the cleric to what has happened, and uses the "Negra" as a motif in his speech. Thus he completes a cycle begun earlier in the dialogue.

After having discussed the characters, as well as the antecedents and principal literary and historical sources, let us proceed to examine the structure and dramatic potential of "The Priest's Lament." Although not speci-

fically designated as such, the work itself appears to be divided into three, or perhaps four, separate parts. In the first, we observe the Priest as he mourns the loss of his wine. This lament, or "pranto," although written in a burlesque fashion, is reminiscent of the "planctus" recited for the death of a loved-one or a noble figure. It was a popular mediaeval and Renaissance form that appeared in France, Italy, and Spain, as well as in Portugal. In the Cancioneiro Geral, in particular, we notice the poems of D. João Manuel, Diogo Brandão, A. de Brito, and Luis Anriquez, lamenting the deaths of Prince Afonso and King João II. In one of Luis Anriquez' works, for example, the structure is similar to that of the Priest's lament:

> O pueblo de Portugal
> llorad la triste cayda
> en que perdystes
> vuestro emparo y vyda
> de vos tristes.
> Y llorad vuestro moryr
> .....
> llorad su triste partyr.[17]

The "llorad" of this poem and the "chorar" of Henrique da Mota's dialogue, while different in tone, appear to come from similar sources. Both laments have elements that

17 Cancioneiro Geral, op. cit., fol. XCVII.

suggest a possible source in the "Lamentations of Jeremiah," as we previously noted. However, as a comical form in Portuguese literature, we refer to the "cantigas de escárnio e maldizer." They, in turn, took as their source the Provençal laments, both liturgical and secular. Poets such as Pero da Ponte wrote poems of this sort, including sarcastic and burlesque elements. Take, for example, the following selection:

Mort' é dom Martim Marcos,
Ai! Deus, se é verdade,
sei cá, se ele é morto,
morta é torpidade,
morta é bavequia
é morta meicidade,
morta é covardia
e morta é maldade.
.....

The poor cleric in our dialogue laments the "death" of his close friend and companion, the wine, continuing the burlesque tradition.

The second part of the poem includes the dialogue between the Priest and the black woman. These "trovas" are quite reminiscent of the mediaeval debate in lyric poetry. The Negress and the cleric do not simply discuss the wine that has spilled, but they argue over who is at fault. This lively dispute between the two principal characters gives the poem an air similar to that of such debates

as those of "Agua y Vino," "Elena y María," and "Cuerpo y Alma," with one always blaming or proclaiming superiority over the other. The same is true in "The Priest's Lament."

After the dialogue between the "Negra" and the Priest, we have an "aside." The Priest speaks to himself, or to a potential audience, as though he wanted everyone but the Negro woman to hear what he says. He expresses his fears and good sense in dropping the issue. With this statement, and dramatic technique, which serves as a basic element in theatrical performances, the principal part of the work comes to an end. This is followed by the final section of the "Priest's Lament." In it, as we have previously mentioned, we have a sort of collective singing. This involves each of three characters speaking no more than one stanza each, in response to pleas by the cleric. They all express the same idea, except for the fourth and final speaker, the "Juiz d'Orfãos." One could actually compare this to a chorus or to the responsive nature of the liturgical trope singing.

In discussing the dramatic potential of the dialogue in more specific terms, it appears to us that it is

divided into brief sections that may be properly called small scenes. One could also suggest that if we were to divide it into two acts, the first would be composed of the main section of the dialogue, and the second of the introduction of the minor characters.

The first scene would show the cleric as he enters and laments the loss of the wine, pointing to the ground and the cask, and criticizing everyone and everything for the loss. Implied in what our protagonist says are brief scenic descriptions.

To divide the first scene from the second, Henrique da Mota inserts the words "Fala com a ssua negra" (he speaks with his "Negra"), implying her entrance upon the scene. We can assume that she has appeared on stage, so to speak. After her final words with the cleric, we can assume that she has left. The end of the third scene is signaled by the "fym em vilancete" phrase. The beginning of the second section, or act, occurs almost immediately. Although the Priest actually speaks with four different characters in this part, it would not be proper to subdivide this section into smaller scenes, especially judging from their miniscule roles.

Interestingly enough, Crabbé Rocha, referring to the work concerning Vasco Abul, suggests that the other characters that appear are speaking dialogue and not in the third person. Although this is possible in "The Priest's Lament" as well, we doubt it to be the case. We say this not only because of the repetition of the character of the Vicar, but also because of the speech by the "juiz d'orfãos" himself. Besides, even if it were true, this would make H. da Mota the director of the work as well, with the monologues of these characters being similar to the "ajudas," or the verses written by various courtly poets to complement, or interpret, the "mote" of the original poem.

The appearance of the secondary characters serves to amplify the dramatic scope of the dialogue. In the first category of minor poems written by Henrique da Mota, there were no characters of which to speak. In the second category, the author spoke directly to João Roiz da Sá in the first poem. He then spoke about three characters in the following one, in which the Vicar speaks a few verses. He has a brief dialogue with Cupid in the final one. Thus, "The Priest's Lament" shows a substantial increase both in

the number of figures involved and the number that actually speak.

In addition, it is in this very work that the range of the characters' social positions vary far more than in any other dialogue by our author. We observe a representative of the lower class, the black woman, representatives of the clergy, in the persons of the Vicar and the Priest, and faithful servants of the Crown, such as the Treasurer and the Judge. All of these characterizations, drawn from life itself, enhance both the social and literary value of the dialogue. These secondary characters actually serve to develop the theme set forth in the principal section of the poem and give the work a sense of movement. We picture the cleric as he converses with each one of them who comes to him, asking that they support him. In fact, the "Almoxarife" and the Priest actually talk of lifting the cask to see if any wine remains, a task which proves fruitless. The mention of the cask also serves to demonstrate that props were used. The protagonist notes that the cask "nam tem alma jaa." In addition, who can deny that a definite picture of despair on the part of the cleric and his companions is clearly visible?

References to time and space are few, but informative, none the less. As we previously stated in Henrique da Mota's biography, we know that the action in the work was set in March. This information is given in the cleric's own words:

Que negra entrada de março.[18]

It was probably in the year 1514, judging from the reference to the new taxes forced upon the clergy ("terças"). These were the taxes asked for in Tristão da Cunha's ambassadorial mission to see the Pope in that year. It is difficult to say where the poem took place. However, no matter whether it be in the city or in the countryside, or even in the Court, we know for sure that there is a garden nearby. The "Negra" stated it could not have been she who spilled the wine, for she was in the garden when it happened:

a mym nunca nũca mym
entornar
mym andar augoa jardim.

Thus, it appears to us that this dialogue has many of the elements necessary for an actual performance of its text even if that representation never took place.

18 Cancioneiro Geral, op. cit., Fol. CCIII$^{v}$

As we have previously noted, it is in these burlesque, satirical works that the true style of Henrique da Mota's writing is apparent. In this little farce, aside from the dialogical elements and dramatic characterizations, we noted the use of the lament and the grotesque paraphrasing of biblical verses to make the figure of the cleric both more comical and more convincing through language. We also noted the speech of the Negress, an element which again added to the characterization evoked by our author. The cleric speaks to his wine as though it were a deceased friend, addressing it in the familiar "tu" form. He already feels "saudade" for this close friend and compares it to a rose ("tam mal goardada esta rrosa").

The work is full of exclamations, as would become apparent in an analysis of the written text. However, in a recited work, they would serve to intensify the feeling of the "planctus." For example, the second, third, fourth, and fifth stanzas all commence with "Oo," a clear statement of lament. The first stanza begins with the repetition "ay, ay, ay, ay" and proceeds to use this word at the start of the next three verses in the same stanza. The second half of the sixth stanza has the word "vos" beginning four out of five verses. The principal stanza of

the final "vilancete" repeats the verb "chorareys" at the beginning of its first three verses. There are also other minor examples of the same. It is the obvious effect of this repetition to increase the sense of despair, as well as evoke the wailing of the cleric.

As is the case in almost all mediaeval poetry, anastrophes are quite common. This dialogue is no exception. There is at least one example of this inversion of word order in every stanza. The wine is referred to metaphorically and periphrastically at various times. The Priest calls it "o meu bem," "esta rrosa," "a minha pipa" (referring to the cask and its contents), and "o meu bem de caparica." We also observe the comparison between this tragic loss and the Vicar's losing his breviary and cape, as well as another between the despair felt by the cleric on this occasion and that felt by others when the King died. This comparison once again shows the relationship between this "pranto" and the lament offered in honor of a departed leader.

The principal section of the poem contains eleven stanzas and one "vilancete." Each stanza contains nine verses, most of which are heptasyllabic, with only the

sixth and ninth verses containing but three syllables. The "vilancete" contains a "mote" of three verses and a "glosa" of seven, all of which are heptasyllabic. In the first eleven stanzas the rhyme scheme is abbacBccB, and in the "vilancete" it is abb cddccbb.

The final section of the poem consists of nine stanzas. Each one contains seven heptasyllabic-verses, except for the sixth which contains one verse more. The nine stanzas are "glosas" of the cleric's final "vilancete." The rhyme scheme of each stanza spoken by the cleric in this section is the same as the "glosa" of the "vilancete," cddccbb. This shows the apparent desire on the part of the author to be as uniform in these longer works as he was in his minor poetry. In addition, Henrique da Mota proves his artistry in developing the "mote" at different times to fit the characters speaking it. With the "mote" understood in each case, the rhyme schemes of the other four speakers is also cddccbb, with the exception of the stanza by the "Almoxarife," which is cdccddbb.

In summary, this first dialogue by Henrique da Mota has much to offer. Aside from its intense burlesque and satirical nature, the work presented very humorous and

artistic characterizations of the two main characters. It introduced a wider range of characters, with each having a definite speaking part and role in the work. The dialogue contained many dramatic elements, including quasi-scenic divisions, a sense of movement and action, although minor, and a slight description of time and space, and scenery and props. The dialogue was both entertaining and lively, and the language used was appropriate to the station in life of the minor characters, as was the case with the two principal ones. The work's style was proof of the talent that Henrique da Mota possessed in writing burlesque dialogues. The various rhetorical devices served to enrich the expression of ideas in a manner that is dramatic, theatrical, and extremely convincing.

## 2 - "The Farce of the Tailor"

The second dialogue, "The Farce of the Tailor," was the only work by Henrique da Mota for which a critical edition was written. Its purpose was to study our author in connection with his contribution to the growth of the Portuguese theatre. Leite de Vasconcelos realized the true dramatic quality and burlesque tone of this dialogue and, therefore, edited his valuable study.[19]

This "farce" again exhibits the artistry of the author in such a way as to reinforce our arguments concerning Henrique da Mota's important place in the evolution of the dramatic text in Portugal. The theme of this work actually deals with the covert in Portugal during the reign of Manuel I, beginning in 1496. The "Cristão-Novo," named Manuel, is the protagonist in this entirely burlesque presentation of the tight-fisted Jew who hoarded his money and who complained when he lost a coin. However, it is his acceptance, or non-acceptance of his new religion that is also scrutinized, as is the

19 Leite de Vasconcelos, A Farsa do Alfaiate: uma das mais antigas peças do teatro português (Lisboa, 1921).

comic quality of the character named João de Belas. Adding to the humorous quality of the work is the author's introduction of a judge who gives unintelligible sentences based upon arguments which are not well-founded. We would almost get the impression that in spite of his ridiculous Manuel, Henrique da Mota was sympathizing with him, and perhaps ridiculing even more the unjust decision of the judge, Gonçalo da Mota. In any case, the dialogue seems to present what may very well be the picture of the early sixteenth century convert who was not very confortable in his new precarious and dubious position. Before examining these ideas further, let us first give a detailed summary of the plot of the second work.

"The Farce of the Tailor"[20] appears to be divided into a significant structure of four small acts, or scenes. The first presents the convert, Manuel, as he laments the loss of one "cruzado."[21] He is so disturbed that he does not know what to do, although he does a fine job of complaining. He compares his life to a cruel war, which he

20 L. de Vasconcelos was the first to give a title to any of H. da Mota's dialogues.

21 The term "cruzado" is defined as a gold coin which was of high value.

believes can only lead to a miserable death. He wants to kill himself over the loss of the coin, just as the priest in the preceding dialogue wanted to put an end to his life because of his lost wine. While the presentation of both is somewhat different, both men cry over a lost trifle:

> Goayas, que sam destroçado
> ay adonay que farey
> poys que quys o meu pecado
> que perdy o meu cruzado
> que por maas moytes guãhey.
> Goay de mym onde mirey
> que rreçeba algum conforto
> se o calo abafarey
> jurem deu nam calarey
> por que nessora ssam morto
>
> Mas yrmey por esta terra
> como homem ssem ventura
> por qua dor que me desterra
> me fara tam crua guerra
> que moyra sem sepultura.
> Guyzerra, que gram tristura
> o quem ante nam naçera
> com tam gram desauentura
> poys seys meses do custura
> todos juntos os perdera.
>
> Ay que quero abafar
> qy que me quero perder
> quero myr lançar no mar
> milhor he de me matar
> que sempre proue viuer.
> O quem me desse saber
> onde hum toyro estiuesse
> hylo hya cometer,
> jurem deu, em me comer
> grande graça me fizesse.

Doutra parte nam he ssyso
buscar minha perdiçam
que quando culpam narçyso
que morreo por mal auiso
pois de mym ja que diram.
Mas porem espantar ssam
os que ssouberem tal lodo
como vyuo com payxam
o sse viesse hum lyam
que mesbandalhasse todo.

The convert continues the lament by discussing his conversion and complains of having been baptized, even though he submitted voluntarily. He also personifies his lost "cruzado," addressing it just as the Priest spoke to his lost wine. He does not realize what he has done to deserve such a fate, and is in a state of confusion as to his future. He feels that he is now being punished by God for having subjected himself to this "ley nova de graça," or Salvation. This leaves him in a quandry:

Certo eu naçy maa ora
em pior fuy bautizado
pois desemtam ategora
sempre e mym mofina mora
semprandey a rreuessado.
Que farey triste coytado
que nam ssey ja que me faça
tudo he bem empreguado
eu mim pois tomey de grado
esta ley noua de graça.

Eu que me queyra calar
com perda tam conheçida
nam posso dessymular
por que por meu sospirar
sera minha dor ssabida.
Do cruzado minha vida
pera que te conheçy

poys tua triste partida
me causa dor tam crecida
qual eu nunca padeçy.

He entertains the idea of seeking a judge's ruling on the matter. Manuel is comically referred to by his curls, the characteristic trait of Orthodox Jews. He would have literally pulled on them if he had still had them. One would naturally suppose that they were cut off when he was converted:

Eu nam ssey que mal eu fiz
que tal perda me conuenha
que va buscar o juiz
e creo que bem me venha.
E direy que me mantenha
em justiça com ssa vara
oo quem me dera ter grenha
pois nam tenho quẽ me tẽha
eu por mym a rrepelara.

Partir mey nam partirey
hyr mey he onde me for
tornarey nam tornarey
se morrer nam viuerey
ou terey prazer ou dor.
Mas porem sse o ssenhor
dom dioguo ysto ssabe
segundo me tem amor
por que saam seu seruidor
jurem deu que nam me guabe.

D. Diogo de Noronha's brother, D. João, enters the scene and wants to know why Manuel is so troubled. At first, the convert will not answer, but he finally confesses that he does not know whether he misplaced the

money or whether it was stolen. We have a rapid exchange of ideas between the two of them, making this selection more dramatic than the previous one. This is a departure from the dialogues which were truly based on a series of lengthy monologues:

Pergunta dom joam o alfayate

DJ. Como veẽs espauorido
manuel que Deus te valha
M. como nam tendes ssabido
senhor como ssam perdido
DJ. nam ssey disto nemigalha
com que ouueste baralha
nam me negues jsto mays
M. oxala fora batalha
nã̃ me fica graã̃o nem palha
quero myr nam me tenhays.

DJ. Agoarda agoarda diabo
dizem esta puridade
que bem ssabes por meu cabo
que ssempre muyto te guabo
por te ter boa vontade.
Nam me negues a verdade
que quiçaa te vyra bem
tenho te tal amizade
ey de ty tal piadade
que nam no crera ninguem.

M. Senhor vou desarramado
coa perda que mantenho
leuo meu colo alçado
e vou tam desatinado
que nam ssey sse vou se venho.
O que tinha nam no tenho
nem he ja em meu poder
estas barbas vos empenho
que valia dhum çeimenho
me nam fica por perder.

DJ. Com tudo nam acabaste
de descobrir tey pesar
mil rrodeos me buscaste
e porem agora vaste
sem nada me decrarar.
Nam as assy de passar
nem te ey de leyxar yr
as oje as oje da rrebentar
se nam aqui as destar
|

M. ora começay douuyr.

Hum cruzado que poypey
em que tanto me rreuia
tantas vezes o olhey
ate que nam no achey
nem he ja onde ssoya.
Eu nam ssey sse cayria
da bolssa se mo furtaram
|

DJ. ou quiçaa tesqueceria
em jugando algum dia
dartoam sse to acharam.

D. João then responds to Manuel's pathetic despair and suggests that he pray to "Ssamt'Esprito," the Holy Spirit, Perhaps in that way he will find out what really happened to his money:

M. E poys hum pesar tã rraso
me fez sser de dor ssogeito
poys passey ja este vaso
consselhayme neste caso
o que he mays meu proueito.

DJ. ysto dizes he ja feyto
a ssamtesprito hyras
batendo rryjo no peyto
a contarlhas teu despeyto
e quiças o cobraras.

This brings us to the second scene: Manuel is praying as suggested, and he confesses to knowing very little of this Holy Spirit. However, he mentions that he has heard a lot about Him. Manuel claims to be blameless and believes himself to be deserving of the Holy Spirit's help. He mentions that he had originally intended to give the money to his wife, but that now he does not have it. Perhaps, he suggests, the Lord may know where it is or who has it. When the Holy Spirit does not answer, Manuel is disillusioned and is forced to leave:

Oraçam de manuel em ssam tesprito.

O tu ssenhor ssantespirto
posto que teu nam conheça
de ty ssenhor me he dito
que es hum Deus infinito
e mo metem em cabeça
E dizem que mofereça
a ty em mynha paixam
e posto que me nam creça
deuaçam quanta mereça
nam me ponhas culpa nam.

Adeuinha madeuinha
tu senhor quem me leuou
hum cruzado que eu tinha
pera dar a molher minha
que nam ssey quem mo furtou
Dom joam maconsselhou
que me viesse eu a ty
ves maqui onde mestou
nam me falas ja me vou
que nam posso estar aqui.

Aleuantey minhas velas
comos não com grã fadigua
carreguado de querelas
e fuy achar joam de belas
o qual manda que eu ssygua.

JB. E diz queres que te digua
manuel hua gram noua
o senhor Deus vos bem digua
ja este demo ssa trigua
e nam quer ouuir a proua.

On the way back to his sanctuary, in the third scene, Manuel meets a rustic named João de Belas. The latter begins telling our protagonist of the news he received about Manuel's money. He says rather circumspectly that he heard from someone, whom he did not know, that someone passed through town one day, from where he did not know, and that that man had a friend who had a son who found something. This hilarious speech confuses even our bewildered protagonist. Before João gets to finish, Manuel interrupts his vague story to claim that it must have been his "cruzado" that was found. He then asks his friend not to consider him rude, but states that he must leave to find a judge to solve the problem.

Nouas bem çertas que joã de belas
da a manuel do sseu cruzado

Tu saberas queu ouuy
dizer qum homem dissera

o qual eu nam conheçi
que passara por aqui
outromem nam ssey dõdera.
E aquele homem ssoubera
dhum sseu amiguo cheguado
que hũ dia desta era
hum sseu filho lhe trouuera
M. esse he o meu cruzado.

Nam quero mais escuitar
senhor meu muytas merçes
o juiz me vou buscar
que mande loguo citar
esse homem que dizes.
Nam majays por descortes
por que vos leixo aqui ssoo
tanta merçe me fareys
que maquisto majudeys
por desdarmos esta noo.

In the fourth and final scene, Manuel speaks with a judge named Gonçalo de Mota. He tells the judge that he does not know who did, or who did not, steal his coin. He is not even sure whether or not he dropped it by himself, but says that he has an idea that someone found it, as João de Belas will confirm:

Fala manuel cõ juys que
era gonçalo da mota.

Senhor juiz venho caa
com muyto grande paixam
estou qua nam estou laa
joam de belas vos diraa
todo minha concrusam.
Eu nam ssey quem nem quẽ nã
hum cruzado me furtou
ou sse me cahyo no cham
porem tenho presuncam
que hum homem o achou.

The judge proceeds to ask Manuel who it was who stole the coin, since he is convinced that this unknown person has it. Manuel then gives an entirely entertaining description of that person. He says that he has no idea where he lives, but that he probably lives where he comes from. He might be a worker and he was somebody's son and loves himself more than anybody else. The thief is the son of a woman and has his face in front. He knows what he knows and has what he has. He is either ugly or gallant and is smaller than a giant,but larger than a pigmy. The suspect is either weak or strong, neither king nor prince, and is either Christian of Jewish. Manuel concludes that the judge would be doing him a great favor should he condemn this man:

O juiz.

J. Esse homem donde he
ben ssera que me diguays
por que ssem mais bolyr pee
vos juro por minha fee
que vosso cruzado ajays.

M. Senhor juyz bem viuays
ysso he o queu espero
J. ora ssus nam tarde mais
esse homem cacusays
o nome ssaber lhe quero.

Sinays que manuel da do
homem que lhe achou o
cruzado.

M. Eu nam ssey ondele viue
porem he dondele for
apar dele nam estiue
nam menos nam no rretiue
nem ssey onde e morador.
Mas ponho que e laurador
e foy filho de alguem
e mays tem na ssua cor
e tam bem tem mor amor
assy mesmo quaa ninguem.

E he filho de molher
traz o rrosto por diante
ssabera quanto ssouber
e teraa o que tever
ou he feo ou he galante.
He mays bayxo que gyguãte
e he mayor que pineu
ou he fraco ou he possante
nam he rrey nem he ifante
ou he cristão ou he judeu.

Se mays ssinays demadardes
daruolos ey sse quereys
mas pore sse bem julguardes
em estomem condenardes
grande merçe me faryes.

J. Bem ssera ja ca cabeys
nam cureys mays de falar
e poys vos tanto ssabeys
esperay e ouuireys
e ssentença quey de dar.

The judge's final sentencing refers to the lost Epistles of Cato. He says that the Epistles give the blame to the tailor. His reasoning is no less sound than that of the witnesses, especially since what he says cannot be proven. The judge concludes that since the money that Manuel earned was not done so by a God-fearing man, it must be considered

stolen in the first place. This criticism is carried even further when he says that the "Cristão-Novo" must consider himself fortunate that he has had the money as long as he did. He adds that even that was too long. This was probably due to his hoarding the money. It is in this manner that the brief farce comes to an end:

Sentença do juyz.

Visto bem por my juiz
este feyto e maa aucam
e o queu ssobristo fiz
e o queste homem diz
em ssua maa concrusam.
Diguo por boa rrezam
que ssele perdeo cruzado
as epistolas de catam
que quarenta e oyto ssam
am culpa neste pecado.

Fym.

Mas porẽ por qualeguays
ssynays com que mẽbacastes
por estes mesmos ssinays
eu julguo que vos percays
o cruzado que furtastes.
Por cassy como o guãhastes
sem temor de Deus nem medo
a bo fee bem no lograstes
e nã ssey como o goardastes
que sse nã perdeo mais çedo.

The work does not appear to have been founded on any previous literary piece. However, the source of such a plot would appear to be history itself, as well as the

social conditions in Portugal at the time in which it was written. Since the subject of the Inquisition and "Cristãos-Novos" has been amply discussed by many critics, as we previously noted, let us only review those conditions.

As in Spain, the Portuguese Jewish population was always a minority. Their presence in the Peninsula was particularly apparent in the Middle Ages, during which time both the Moors and the Jews became influential in cultural and economic circles. The Jews, in particular, had such vocations as royal treasurers, physicians, scientists, men of letters, and merchants, as well as artisans. There were few aspects of daily life in which their presence was not noted. In Portugal they flourished during the period of the discoveries and, more specifically, during the reign of Afonso V. Their population increased with the mass exodus of Jews from Spain in 1492. This group of refugees found assistance in many Portuguese cities. However, in 1496-1497, after years of religious and political intrigue, King Manuel I of Portugal decreed that all Jews and Moslems had to leave the country if they did not convert to the country's "official" religion. Some left forcibly. Some were not allowed to leave,

and those who did decide to change their religion did not actually change their beliefs. Although outwardly they practised Catholicism, secretly their Herbraic traditions were continued. Besides these, there were still many who converted seriously and many times became more devout than those who were born Christians. However, even these people were closely watched by the Offices of the Inquisition in order to ascertain whether they were sincere in their faith. Although this period of religious turbulence in Portugal does not appear to be as tragic as it was in Spain, there were many "autos de fe." These occurred principally during the reign of King João III, a time when the Inquisition was officially sanctioned by a 1536 Papal Bull.

Many times it was not the government which was to punish the non-believers, but the people themselves. There is documentation of a 1506 massacre of thousands of converts, sparked principally by the constant conflicts between the latter group and their Christian neighbors, people who could not understand the new-Christian's disbelief in certain miracles, as well as Church doctrine in general.

It was in this extremely tense and heated atmosphere that "The Farce of the Tailor" was written.

The character of the protagonist in this work is perhaps the most developed and certainly the most interesting of all of the dialogues written by our author. Manuel is the stereo-type of the early sixteenth century Jew who was affected by the Manueline law forcing all Jewish people in Portugal to convert to Catholicism or leave the country. Although he himself states that he converted "voluntarily," Manuel is obviously not satisfied with his present situation. His personality is representative of the type of Jew as it appears in works of the period, but it contains individual traits as well. The psychological realism with which poor Manuel is presented is one of the principal attributes of the work. He is evidently disgusted because of the loss of his coin, to the point of wanting to commit suicide. He cannot understand the indifference shown to him by the Holy Spirit, principally because he received no answer to his problem from Him. The convert confesses to not knowing much about his new religion, but supposes that the Holy Spirit's power is infinite, since such ideas have been literally put in his head ("que

es um Deus infinito e mo metem em cabeça"). Manuel appears to be a proud and stubborn married man who cannot readily admit in the beginning that it might have been he who lost his "cruzado." Instead he blames an unknown thief. Interestingly enough, it is not Manuel who has the final say in this work, as did the Priest in the preceding one. Gonçalo da Mota, the judge, speaks the last words of the work, forcing Manuel to suffer a humiliating experience. After all of his hard work to earn the money, as well as the subsequent search for the coin, or the person who stole it, Manuel is finally degraded by the judge. Gonçalo da Mota blames the loss of the coin on the convert and states that he even deserved such a punishment, as we have previously noted.

The figure of the convert is particularly enhanced by the manner in which he speaks. As was the case with the Negro woman in "The Priest's Lament," the character of Manuel becomes even more realistic with the imitation of his Jewish dialect interwoven with Portuguese. Both Paul Teyssier and Leite de Vasconcelos were again the principal critics to discuss the various dialectal traits of Henrique da Mota's character.[22] Expressions such as

22 Paul Teyssier, La Langue de Gil Vicente, pp.191-225, and Leite de Vasconcelos, A Farsa do Alfaiate, pp.35-44.

"goayas" and "goay de mym," interjections equivalent to "Woe is me," and "guyzeraa," which Teyssier defines as "malheur," appear to be typical of the Hebraic words spoken by Jews of that period. Others such as "toyro" for "touro," "poypei" for "poupey," and "moyra" for "morra" also seem to be common imitations of the Jewish accent. However, the words "Adonay" and "Deu" are more revealing. The first is the Hebraic term for God and shows the heritage which is still within this "Cristão-Novo." The word "Deu" is a substitution in Portuguese for "Deus" (and the equivalent in Spanish of "Dio"for "Dios"). It appears to be caused by a religious belief: the Jews felt that the final "s" gave the word a plural meaning, while the elimination of the letter would affirm their monotheism.[23] Thus, Henrique da Mota carefully sought to make his character as real as possible. He synthesized what their actual speech patterns were with the traits that he imagined them to have, giving each artistic veracity. In the case of the convert, Hebraic words and manner of pronunciation were the prime sources of this characterication.

Henrique da Mota's role as precursor will also be

23 Teyssier, op. cit., pp. 218-219.

obvious in the burlesque figure of the judge who appears to rationalize somewhat illogically and who is critical of the convert. In "The Farce of the Tailor," the figure of Gonçalo da Mota is one of a man who appears to be intelligent and well-versed in judicial texts. He serves as the voice of the Christian in a period of condemnation of Jews. Therefore, his sentence involves blaming the convert for the loss of the coin and actually blaming him for having been Jewish in the first place. With the latter as a pre-condition, the loss of the "cruzado" was only natural. Society has spoken! However, we would not feel that the judge was being harsh in any way. It resembles quite closely Gil Vicente's moderate satire. Rather interesting is the fact that the judge also says that the causes for Manuel's guilt can be found in Cato's Epistles, judicial works which had been lost. His ruling seems entirely unjust and quite prejudiced against the convert.

It also appears to us that in any of the dialogues in which a sensible and logical judge is needed, the author himself appears. In this one, in which the judge is open to criticism and is not entirely without both

comical traits and prejudices related to his profession, he is named Gonçalo da Mota. As we mentioned in an earlier chapter, it is quite possible that Henrique da Mota chose his own father, in a humorous and mocking disguise, as the model for this character.

Of the remaining secondary characters mentioned in the dialogue, only that of the rustic João de Belas is comical. Both João de Noronha and the Holy Spirit serve merely to continue the train of thought, as well as to point out how Manuel is not familiar with his new religion. João de Noronha appears to console poor Manuel and to advise him to seek the help of the Holy Spirit. João speaks of his faith in prayers and tells Manuel that perhaps he might find a solution to his problem from the "Ssamtesprito." D. João is, as we previously noted, the brother of D. Diogo, who in this work is the employer, so to speak, of the tailor.

When the convert goes to speak with the Holy Spirit, he explains the situation and hopes that He can guess what has happened. However, Manuel is extremely impatient and leaves because the Holy Spirit does not answer. He has probably come to expect so much from this all-powerful "new" God that he cannot comprehend His indifference. The

Holy Spirit does not actually appear as a character in the farce, but His presence is felt and is one of the basic elements included to demonstrate Manuel's lack of comprehension of his new faith.

Although the final figure, João de Belas, is only characterized by eleven verses spoken by him, he is quite interesting. João de Belas is a rustic from the environs of Lisbon. He offers Manuel the little information that he has ascertained concerning the loss of the "cruzado." His extremely vague description of the information leads Manuel to interrupt and say that he must leave. During all of this, João de Belas actually believes that he is being helpful. His few apparent traits are reminiscent of the "Parvo" or "Bobo" in various Vicentine plays, especially those in which the simpleton made no sense at all in what he was saying. This naive character in various works by Gil Vicente was a burlesque and comical figure, and he often was a figure apart from the actual action within the play. He was inserted to provoke laughter and liven up the action at times. This figure was to be further developed by other Peninsular dramatists and evolved into the "gracioso" of the Golden

Age theatre in Spain. Perhaps the characters in Lope de Rueda's Pasos[24] are of the very same tradition. We are reminded of the character, Cevadón, in his directions to Brecano in Paso Sexto:

> Mire vuessa merced: váyase derecho á la iglesa y éntrese por ella, y salga por la puerta de la iglesia y dé una buelta alrededor de la iglesia, y dexe la iglesia y tome una callejuela junto á la callejuela empar de la callejuela, la otra callejuela más arriba.

Certainly there were other characters with exactly the same stupidity. Once again, we do not claim any particular originality on the part of Henrique da Mota, nor do we point out a particular influence on his part in this case. However, one must agree that he was definitely including in his dialogues both characters and elements within the plots which were widely popular in the works of other Peninsular dramatists. These facts make his importance that much more relevant.

Now that we have examined the well-drawn characterizations of the principal figures of "The Farce of the Tailor," let us proceed to discuss the dramatic and structural elements adopted by Henrique da Mota to express his thoughts. As we have already noted in the previous dia-

24 Lope de Rueda, Teatro, edición de J. Moreno Villa (Madrid, 1958), p. 221. Plautus' influence is evident in both.

logues, the works by our author do contain the potential for dramatic performance. It is these traits which we have been mentioning from the beginning of our study.

Leite de Vasconcelos, in his critical edition of the "Farsa do Alfaiate," sub-titled the work "uma das mais antigas peças do teatro português."[25] In calling it one of the oldest works of the Portuguese theatre, the noted critic proceeded to divide the dialogue into its separate scenes, as we did in our summary of the plot. In the introduction to the first scene, Leite de Vasconcelos wrote the following: "o alfaiate Manuel entra em scena, lamentando-se amargamente." During Manuel's discussion with D. João, we read "Manuel, buscando retirar-se", a reference to Manuel's uneasiness in mentioning his problem to D. João. Further on Leite de Vasconcelos adds other directions, such as "ficando," "retirando-se" "Manuel, tendo voltado do santuario, diz consigo," "Manuel, interrompendo-o com ansia." etc. Such descriptions, although of the critic's own invention, describe very well the probable intentions of Henrique da Mota. We say this principally because each scene appears to take place in a different place, even though our author does not specifically refer

25 Leite de Vasconcelos, op. cit. p. 3

to this movement. After all, it is very possible that Manuel could have to travel from where he was speaking with D. João to go and pray to the Holy Spirit, as well as be traveling on the road when he encounters João de Belas. The same is true of his interrupting the rustic going to find a judge to resolve the matter. In this respect, "The Farce of the Tailor" does contain implicit action and movement.

This action is viewed in Manuel's probable pacing back and forth at the beginning of the work as he laments his lost coin. We note the entrance of D. João to speak with our protagonist and picture Manuel as he goes to pray. When he feels that the Holy Spirit is not paying the least amount of attention to him, he says, "ja me vou/ que nam posso estar aqui," stating emphatically that he is leaving. He then finds João de Belas ("fui achar joam de belas."). After being forced to hear the latter's ridiculous news, he states that he is going to find a judge ("o juiz me vou buscar.") and finally arrives at the judge's quarters ("senhor juiz venho caa."). These are clear examples of intended movement within the dialogue.

The interaction between the various characters is more

complex than in "The Priest's Lament," even if merely because the characters in this work have more defined roles, as well as because there are no cases of "ajudas" in this dialogue. Each figure that appears has more to say, and the give-and-take atmosphere of the discussions is more obvious than in the previous piece. The dialogue itself is vivid and quite hilarious at times, easily holding the attention of an audience.

A sense of time and space is provided by the dialogue, the characters themselves and the implicit information. As we mentioned when discussing the date of the work, we assume it to have been written or performed soon after the general country-wide conversion of 1496-1497 and sometime before the death of one of the characters, D. João de Noronha, in 1506. As the work indicates, the "cruzado" was stolen in Bombarral, which would lead us to suppose that the action took place in that very town. It also appears as though all of the action occurred on one day, judging from the brevity of each discussion and its contents. Again, Manuel speaks with João, who sends him to pray, and when this is unsuccessful he speaks with João de Belas. This does not prove fruitful and he seeks a

judge. It is very likely that all of this happened within a short period of time, even though various locations are involved.

In comparing the literary value of the work to some of those written by Gil Vicente, Leite de Vasconcelos states the following:

> Quanto ao mérito literário da peça de Henrique da Mota: se nela não ha a vivacidade de Gil Vicente, o autor é contudo correntio e gracioso. O carácter do Cristão-Novo, isto é, do Judeu, que todo se aflige e barafusta pela perda de um único cruzado (embora, como se disse acima, moeda de algum valor, a sua perda não o desgraçava!); a astúcia saloia de João de Belas, que fala como quem da amplas explicações a Manuel, e nada em suma explica; por fim a sentença do juiz Gonçalo da Mota, que, como ferrenho Cristão-Velho, considera roubo o producto do trabalho, ou ganho, de um pobre Cristão-Novo, e o condena por isso com aparatoso e sarcástico entono de magistrado: ninguém dira que não sejam qualidades apreciáveis num cómico, e não deem por tanto a Henrique da Mota na história do nosso antigo teatro lugar digno de atenção.[26]

As was the case in the previous dialogue, it is the author's structural and rhetorical devices which provide an interesting vehicle for the plot. Aside from the already mentioned linguistic effect of the Jewish accent, and the well-established dramatic potential of the work, let us examine those devices.

26 Leite de Vasconcelos, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

To begin with, the work is similar in nature to the opening scene of "The Priest's Lament," in which the protagonist mourned the loss of his wine. The same sources of the lament as a genre apply to this dialogue, with the exception of the added adornment of the dialectal element obvious in the convert's speech pattern. The cleric's "ay, ay, ay, ay, ay," of "The Priest's Lament" is substituted by the Jew's "goay de mym," and "ay adonay." The antitheses, so common in many of the preceding works, appear once again. Such examples as "perdy, guãhey," "conforto, morto," "matar, viver," and "moyra, naçera" in the same stanzas point this out. However, none is so clear as the confusion expressed by Manuel in the middle of the first scene, just prior to the arrival of D. João:

> Partir mey nam partirey
> hy me ey onde me for
> tornarey nam tornarey
> se morrer nam vivirey
> ou terey prazer ou dor.

The contradictions continue throughout the piece and appear to be typical of our author's style.

In this same scene, Manuel compares himself in a certain way to Narcissus. He says that he does not believe that it is wise to search for his own perdition by con-

demning himself. He states that perhaps he will die because of bad advice, just as was the case with Narcissus. He even suggests that death would be welcome. Also interesting in his addressing the "cruzado" as though he were addressing a close friend and talking to it in the "tu" form of the verb. There are few asides, as we noted in the previous work. Direct confrontation between characters is the norm, especially after the initial lament.

The structure of the piece is also quite well-developed, more so in this work than the preceding dialogue. There is a statement of the situation, an increase in action as the convert tries to resolve his problem, and a climax, with the judge passing sentence on Manuel. In contrast to the first work, where we are left wondering what will happen to the cleric, "The Farce of the Tailor" has a more obvious dramatic structure.

The sense of movement in both is also quite different. Whereas it appears that each of the tertiary characters in "The Priest's Lament" comes to speak to the protagonist, in "The Farce of the Tailor" it is poor Manuel who has to do the traveling from one figure to the next.

Of extreme interest, stylistically speaking, are the two incomprehensible speeches made by João de Belas and Manuel himself. The former expressed his rustic knowledge of the situation and was as void of new information as was Manuel's description of the thief. In the first case, João thinks he knows a lot, but in reality, he knows nothing:

> Tu saberas queu ouuy
> dizer qum homem dissera
> o qual eu nam conheci
> que passara por aqui
> outromem nam ssey dõdera.
> E aquele homem ssoubera
> dhum sseu amiguo cheguado
> que hũ dia deste era
> hum sseu filho lhe touuera.
> .....

To be sure, there are more negative, confusing expressions than positive ones in this brief monologue. The second example offers antitheses and contrasting ideas once again in Manuel's presentation of certain nonexistent facts concerning the identity of the robber. As it turns out, Manuel more or less knows as much about him as do we. The first half of his description is reminiscent of João de Belas' vague information, while the second says that the suspect was either Christian or Jew, tall or small, weak or strong, ugly or handsome. We doubt that the judge will have an easy time uncovering his identity.

This is perhaps one of the reasons that there is no one to condemn but the convert himself.

Finally, in regard to the versification, the work is composed of twenty-six ten-verse heptasyllabic ("redondilha maior") stanzas. Each is divided into two sections of five verses each and are generally linked. The rhyme scheme is abaabbcbbc and is quite regular.

After having discussed in detail what is perhaps the most interesting and definitely the most dramatic of the five dialogues written by Henrique da Mota, let us proceed to examine the third and briefest work: "The Farce of the Gardener."

### 3 - "The Farce of the Gardener"

The third dialogue is entitled "The Farce of the Gardener." The comical element in the work is observed in two elements. The antithetical nature of the protagonist and his name, and the metaphorical aspect of the "secura" of Jerónimo D'Aires.

The actual theme of the work involves Henrique da Mota's being sent to speak with the Gardener. He is acting as an emissary of the Queen, D. Leonor. Henrique da Mota's task is to ask the Gardener, who is very handy in his vocation, to try and cure the "secura," or dry character and rough temper, of the purveyor of the district, Jerónimo D'Aires.[27]

Henrique da Mota arrives at the garden gate and asks to speak with the Gardener. At first, João will not let him enter.[28] When he finally does so, our author does not realize that he is in the presence of anyone who could possibly be named João Grande:

HM. Oulaa oulaa ou de la
JG. quem esta hy

27 In the course of our investigation, we did not find any references to a Jerónimo D'Aires of that period, although his existence is quite probable.

28 We will later compare this introduction to various Vicentine works.

HM. cheguay peçouos aqui
que queria entrar laa
JG. Quem ssoys vos abryrvos ey
HM. abryvos e veloeys
JG. que quereys
HM. abry e dyr volo ey.

Em abrindo a porta

HM. Amiguo Deus vos ajude
JG. e a vos faça
HM. dizeyme por vossa graca
assy Deus vos dey saude.
Se estaa aqui joam grande
hum muy grande ortelam
JG. eu o ssam
em quanto a rrainha mande.

When the Gardener informs Henrique da Mota that it is he with whom our author has been sent to speak, he is completely shocked:

HM. Ysso seraa zombaria
JG. bem porque
HM. porque soys hũ qutilque
pouco moor que cotovia.
E tam grande deve ser
hum omem grande creçido
muy comprido
de descriçam e saber.

E vos pareçeis bogio
com capelo
rredondo como nouelo
ou pymeu em desafio.

After Henrique da Mota humorously compares the Gardener to a small bird, a midget, a ball of thread, and a pigmy, João Grande threatens to leave:

JG. Se vos vindes a zombar
nam vos quero mais ouuir
quero myr
que nam posso aqui estar.

He tells his visitor that he does not have to be subject to such abuse. Henrique da Mota says that he will not make fun of him again, but adds that he really cannot contain himself:

HM. Agoarday nam vos partais
escuitaime
JG. estarey e sseguraime
que na zõbeis de mim mais.
HM. Deixaime passala porta
que queria la entrar
a falar
cõ ortelão desta orta

JG. Pois ou grade ou peq̃no
exmaqui
HM. o que dizeys he assi
JG. assi he por ssamtileo
Vede vos o que quereis
HM. paraeces arratalinho
folforinho
JG. nam disse que nam zombeis.

The Gardener is now especially angry and wants to close the door for good. However, he finally relents:

JG. Ora iuos loguo fora
da minha orta
que quero çarrala porta
HM. eylo demo vem aguora.
Nam vos pidirey perdam
por qualquer cousa querrasse
ou passasse
mais de vossa condiçam.

JG. Por hy me podeis leuar
que per bem
nam me vençera ninguem
ora podeis vos entrar.

Realizing that he has tried the Gardener's patience just about too long, Henrique da Mota begins to praise João's work, hoping that this will mend the little man's hurt feelings. He seems to succeed, especially when the Gardener invites our author for a tour of the orchard:

HM. Benzas Deus as larangeiras
pareçe ca olho creçem
e jateçem
por aqui estas limeiras.

O que cousa real
começada
JG. entray que nam vedes nada
HM. o que fremoso çidral
JG. E estas larageirinhas
de laranjas carreguadas
JG. sam prantadas
por estas mãos mĩhas

Henrique da Mota's praises seem to please the protagonist very much, and he shows himself to be extremely proud of his work:

HM. Quanto vos aqui prantais
tudo prende
porque tanto se mentende
que ninguem nã sabe mais.
JG. Hũ pão sseco aqui metido
cõ ssaber que me Deus deu
farey eu
ficar verde e muy frolido.

Showing his satisfaction with his own efforts, the Gardener

claims to be able to turn a dry, withered plant into one that is green and flowering. This brings the dialogue to its principal purpose: to see whether or not the Gardener, with his special qualities, can do something to change the distasteful character of Jerónimo D'Aires:

HM. O que cousa de louuor
esta hee
metey ca por vossa fee
este vosso prouedor.
Hy correndo muy asynha
que vos valha Deus trazeo
e fazeo
que e serviço da rrainha.

João responds that only death can bring about a change in that man. Besides, he says that he would be forced to use more water than he actually has, figuratively of course. This would leave his dear plants defenseless and would allow João to be accused of not doing his job:

JG. O jesu nam me faleis
nesta cousa
porque meu saber nam ousa
fazer ysso que quereis.
Porque toda a natureza
nem o ssaber de medea
nem cumea
nam faram tal ardeza.

Porque ssua ssequidade
he de ssorte
que nunca se nam per morte
mudara sa calidade.
E pera sse rreguar bem
primeiro o despenderey
e ssecarey
toda quãta aagoa aqui vem.

This leads the Gardener and Henrique da Mota to a quick exchange of proverbs concerning the present situation. João states that one cannot change the character which Nature has given him:

> E aynda nam matreuo
> a rregualo
> e se quiser bem agoalo
> nam farey ca o que deuo.
> Antes ele fique seco
> que dar maa conta de mym
> e sem fim
> serey julgado por peco.
>
> Porque ssempre ouuy falar
> ca e laa
> que o que natura daa
> ninguem o pode neguar.
> Ele tem sseca naçam
> de sseu sseco natural
> pelo qual
> nam a hy ja rredençam.

Henrique da Mota then suggests that the idea be abandoned. He adds that these bad times will probably be replaced by better ones. The dry spell will be ended by rain, figuratively meaning that a different purveyor of the district will succeed the present one:

> Assy que vos despedis
> de trazelo
> doutra parte eu ponho sselo
> a ysso que concrudis.
> Porque depoys que naçy
> outra tam sseca pessoa
> ssendo boa
> nunca nesta terra vy.

Fym e concrusam.

E assy que concrudindo
nunca pude achar maneyra
pera ssua ssequeyra
se fosse diminuindo.
Porem dizem qua hũ dito
bem me deueys dentender
que sse acha em escrito
que quando vyrmos ssolfito
quesperemos por chover.

Thus, with a combination of stoic acceptance of the present and the hope for a better future, the author concludes this third humorous dialogue.

As we stated towards the beginning of our study, many of the works written by our author were taken directly from contemporary situations themselves. Such was the case with all of the minor poems. It appears to be the case once again in this work. Apparently, Queen D. Leonor, whose importance in relation to our author's life has previously been discussed, sent Henrique da Mota to try to improve the situation revolving around the dissatisfaction with the work of Jerónimo D'Aires. Taking this as his basis, Henrique da Mota invented this burlesque dialogue centering on the comic value of the Gardener, and used him to demonstrate the need to change the holder of the position of purveyor. We are not aware of any specific reasons why a change was necessary. It is

evident, however, that the present purveyor is hard to get along with and has a personality which is difficult to bear.

The character of João Grande is interesting in itself. He is a proud and stubborn little fellow, who obviously has been ridiculed very often concerning his slight stature. However, he is aware of the position given to him by the Queen, and the special qualities bestowed upon him by God. Therefore, he is the ruler of his horticultural kingdom. No one can take that away from him. João does appear to take expert care of the garden, with its beautiful flowers. The same is true of the various citrus-bearing trees. Although he is keenly cognizant of his prowess, he realizes its limits. João knows that he cannot change a man's character, especially not that of the person in question. He even seems to offer a bit of philosophy: "o que natura da, ninquem o pode negar." According to the renowned Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, this comes from the latin "credo quod natura dat, nemo negare potest," a proverb that is also paraphrased by Gil Vicente. This critic also mentions a possible Horatian source in "naturam expellas furca; tamen

usque recurret."[29]

The other principal character that appears is our author himself. This time, his role is much greater than in "The Priest's Lament." In each of the four, or perhaps five, dialogues in which Henrique da Mota makes an appearance, his role is increasingly more important. In the first work, he appears to console the Priest and spoke only seven verses. In "The Farce of the Tailor" he may have appeared as Gonçalo da Mota, the illogical judge. In this piece Henrique da Mota is involved from beginning to end, sent as the Queen's messenger. As we shall see, his part will be even more relevant to the themes presented in the final two dialogues.

Returning to this work, we note once again the relationship between Henrique da Mota and D. Leonor. As we stated earlier in our study, it is quite possible that the Queen was his "protector." This would be one of the reasons why her name is mentioned in his dialogues. Henrique da Mota is very cunning in what he says. The first part of his role demonstrates once again his talent for writing burlesque material. However, this leads him very

29 Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, Notas Vicentinas, (Lisboa, 1949), p. 251.

cleverly to his objective. From discussing the Gardener's size, he proceeds to praise his work and speak of the wonders that João has produced in the orchard. This, in turn, brings out the case of the purveyor. As we previously noted, this is based on a metaphor centered on the word "secura," meaning dryness, in a literal sense, or severe and insensible, in a figurative one. Although the Gardener has fine horticultural abilities, he cannot help the purveyor. The two semantic distinctions serve as a vehicle for the author's personal, rather than social, satire.

Henrique da Mota does not emphasize his position as judge in this work, perhaps hinting that he was not yet holding that position. However, this is mere conjecture. He is, nevertheless, very ironic, sarcastic and quite humorous in his remarks. He shows himself to be quite capable of handling the situation and is sly in playing up to the Gardener's pride. Another of his traits in the dialogue is the expression of optimism in his final remarks. This is in curious contrast to the generally pessimistic tone of Henrique da Mota's quasi-philosophical minor poems. Perhaps it is within this burlesque atmosphere, though, that his mood changed. However, since the atmosphere in these dialogues is a burlesque one, the author's

outlook on life would not tend to be as harsh.

When discussing the dramatic aspects of this dialogue, we must admit that it is not one of the more detailed poems by our author. It is comparable to "The Priest's Lament," in that the principal part of the work concerns a discussion between two primary characters. The burlesque element in the first dialogue was derived from the entire situation, including the lament itself, and the dispute between the Priest and the Negro woman. In "The Farce of the Gardener," the humor lies in the first part of the work, with the second part being more interesting for the author's maneuvering of the Gardener and the belief that João could possibly irrigate a man's character as he would his orchard. This last part is more concerned with a stoic attitude towards the situation, rather than an offering of any particularly new ideas or solutions.

The element of time and space is implicit in the dialogue itself, as is the movement, action, and scenic description. In the first place, we are led to assume that Henrique da Mota arrives at this orchard on a clear morning or afternoon, probably in the Springtime, judging from the blooming plants, and goes right towards the main en-

trance. We can also picture this small João Grande as he approaches the gate to discuss the possibility of Henrique da Mota's entering his private territory, in Caldas.

We are witness to the fuss created by Joao's refusal to allow our author to enter, as well as the "scene" in which Henrique da Mota enters and is amazed by the beauty within. This is signaled by the words "em abrindo a porta." As he walks around, he points to the orange and lemon trees, and he refers to the green plants all around him. We can also imagine the messenger's disappointment when João cannot help him, as well as his leaving the garden with a possible shrug of his shoulders, leaving the rest up to Destiny. Although much of what we have said is not actually specified by the author in words, the image created by the situation could not be more evident. This includes the portrait of João Grande, who is amply described, and the tour around the groves. Also interesting to note is the fact that while the other dialogues written by our author can easily contain more than one scene, divided by the entrance and exit of certain characters, this work presents its principal characters together on "stage" throughout the entire piece. The only possible structural division that could be made would be between

the discussion outside the door to the garden and the one that takes place once Henrique da Mota and João Grande are inside it. In reality, the Gardener is a rather static figure, as opposed to the dynamic rhythm of the previously discussed protagonists.

As far as the author's style is concerned, we must say that the work is almost completely dependent upon a series of metaphors and comparisons, as well as the obvious autonomastic effect of the protagonist's name. Henrique da Mota devotes approximately one third of the piece to ridiculing this tiny man. Metaphorically, he says that João is a "cotovia," a "Qutilque," a "bogio com capelo," "redondo como novelo," and a "pymeu."[30] The other major comparison upon which the work is based is the dryness of the "puedor" or "prouedor." His insensitivity and "secura" is compared to the dry plants which are in need of water. Supposedly, if Jerónimo D'Aires can be treated, his character will change for the better. However, this is impossible. According to the Gardener, not even the magical wisdom of Medea or Cumea could cause the purveyor to be different. These mythological references once again attest to the author's thorough knowledge of such legendary

30 Meaning birds, monkey, a ball of thread and a pigmy.

material, as we have seen many times before. The use of proverbs ("o que natura daa/ ninguem o pode negar" and "quando vyrmos ssolfito/ quesperemos por chover") is another recourse through which Henrique da Mota expresses his thoughts.

The author also utilizes other rhetorical devices to enhance his expression of ideas, such as anaphora, repetitions, and anastrophes, as well as his characteristic antitheses, such as "grãde, peq̃no" and "ssecarey, rreguar."

The entire dialogue consists of seventeen eight-verse stanzas. Each verse contains seven syllables, except for the second and seventh, which contain three. The rhyme scheme is aBbacdDc and is quite regular.

In summary, we have now observed the third dialogue by Henrique da Mota in which there are elements that will later be involved in various Vicentine plays. Once again, it is his burlesque style which makes him a poet worthy of our attention. Dramatic elements are evident, as are specific rhetorical devices which make the interaction between the two principal characters vivid and full of realism. However, it is the comic value of the piece which is outstanding. We note the author's capacity for irony and sarcasm and observe the potential for performance inherent in the dialogue. Although it is the briefest major work written by

our author, it does not lack any of the qualities apparent in the more lengthy ones.

## "The Mule's Lament"

Henrique da Mota's "The Mule's Lament" is his fourth major work in order of appearance in the Cancioneiro Geral. It is an extremely noteworthy dialogue in that for the first and only time in these dialogues a non-human character has a substantial speaking role. The only other time we saw this to be the case in any of his poems was in the work written in response to a friend's letter. In that one, Henrique da Mota had a brief exchange of ideas with Cupid.

The most apparent theme in the dialogue is the inhumane treatment of the poor Mule by its keepers. However, the work actually seems to be allegorical in nature, with the various characters representing different factions of Portuguese society. This was a hypothesis originally expounded by Andrée Crabbé Rocha: "a mula seria o povo faminto, D. Diogo representaria o próprio rei, o veador e o amo, os intermédios que vão chupando onde e da maneira que podem, e Alcobaça, o clero comilão amasendado as únicas boas prebendas da nação."[31] Thus, Henrique da Mota symbolically represents the starved Portuguese people

31 Andrée Crabbé Rocha, op. cit., p. 26.

during one of the most disastrous famines in Portuguese history, a fact to which we referred in our author's biography. Also represented are the King himself, as the protector of the people, and those who take advantage of the have-nots. The clergy, who is gluttonous and able to take in the only worthwhile revenue in the nation, is once again attacked by Henrique da Mota.

While the theme seems to have been taken from contemporary conditions themselves, and the brief criticism of the clergy appears to be a continuation of our author's tendencies in previous works, the use of an animal in a speaking role has more interesting antecedents.

Narratives and dialogues with animals, as principal figures, have Oriental, Islamic and Western sources. The most well-known ancient collections of Greece and Rome are those of Babrius, Pheadrus, and Aesop. Each wrote fables in verse in which contemporary events were usually told in an allegorical manner. Certain animals, whose principal characteristics were perfectly suited for the roles which they portrayed, represented human nature. These fables, which were composed of a story and a moral, utilized ants, apes, asses, wolves, horses, foxes, snakes, boars, cats, dogs, crows, eagles, mice, frogs, stags, and sheep, not to

mention man himself. Such stories were adopted by such famous authors as Don Juan Manuel, in the Conde Lucanor, and La Fontaine, in the Fabliaux, in the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively.

Indian influence came from the Hindu works entitled Panchatantra and Hitopadeza. These fables moved slowly west, through Persia and Arabia. Eventually, they became more widely known through translations, such as those instituted by Alfonso X's "Escuela de Traductores." Calila y Dimna, for example, a collection of Indian tales edited by Barzuyel, was translated into Arabic in 730 A.D. and into Castilian about five hundred years later. Many of the fables closely follow those of Aesop and have the same themes as those of similar mediaeval Spanish collections, such as the Conde Lucanor, the Libro de Enjemplos, and the Libro de los Gatos.

Although not necessarily as fables, many mediaeval Provençal, Castilian, Catalan, and Portuguese poets transformed this type of composition into a dialogue between animals and themselves. In the case of the ass, mule, or horse, it is often either a lament, last will and testament, or dialogical dispute similar to those noted in early Peninsular lyric poetry, to which we have often referred.

One Provençal work of particular interest is the burlesque dispute between Bertran Carbonel and his nag.[32] Each shows contempt for the other. Unfortunately the text is not complete. However, we witness the animal as it complains about not getting enough to eat, as well as its master, who claims the nag to be worthless.

In French, we have "Le Plait de Renart de Dammartin contre Vairon son rocin."[33] In the dialogue there are a great many insults exchanged between the horse and its master. Neither one was very physically strong. The horse had weak legs and the master had problems with both his head and kidneys. The owner asks for the mule's opinion concerning their infirmities. The horse tells his master not to complain so much, for the master could never find another like him. Vairon, the horse, blames his owner for his own ill-health. He would not be so weak if it were not for the lack of food. In turn, Renart de Danmartin says that the nag is worthless and would barely make a

32 P. Meyer, "Derniers troubadours de la provence." Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, XXX, (1889) pp.469-71.

33 Achille Jubinal, Nouveau recueil de contes dits, fabliaux et autres pièces inédites des XIII$^{e}$, et XV$^{e}$ siècles (Paris, 1842), pp. 23-27.

meal fit for dogs. He adds that he thinks that the animal is only staying alive to bring hardship to him, especially since Vairon cannot be either sold or cured. When the horse finally challenges his master to get rid of him, to buy a better horse, Renart claims that he will have the animal skinned and use the skin for cord. Fearing death, the horse asks that his owner either sell him to a man who needs an animal to pull a cart, or free him to give him a chance to fend for himself. Instead Renart promises to care for him and feed him, under one condition: Vairon must stop insulting him! The dialogue comes to an end when they agree on the master's proposal.

Written in a similar style as the preceding dialogue is the discussion between "En Buch" and "son cavall," written in Catalan.[34] In it the master says that the horse should be ashamed because of the type of life that he has led. The animal responds by saying that En Buch is not a good human being and laughs at him. They exchange insults, with the horse calling his master a thief and a scoundrel, and En Buch calling the horse an old, useless nag. The horse retorts by saying that his master is a

34 "Catalanisches Streitgedicht: zwischen En Buch und seinem pferd," Zeitschriften für romanische Philologie, Part I, pp. 79-88.

thief and that he does everything for fame. Realizing potential danger in leading such a life, En Buch asks his beast whether or not he can ever be saved. The horse responds that En Buch must confess everything, as well as do good work. The master admits that he has robbed merchants and stolen chickens. He needs advice, especially since he does not know how to do much, including saying Mass. The horse tells him to work for God and to be charitable. He should also fast. The master says that he cannot be charitable, nor can he fast. The horse then tells him to pray. Since En Buch does not pray very well, the animal says that the rest is between En Buch and God. However, he tells him to write his last will and testament. Among other things, En Buch proceeds to leave his "mala fama e mal nom" to his son, adding finally that he does not want to go to paradise. Thus, the work comes to an end.

Both of the preceding works are quite similar in theme and both have lively dialogues. There is no specific setting for either, nor is there any action. The last one did, however, add the element of the testament, so popular in mediaeval poetry. Both, however, do have various elements in common with Henrique da Mota's farce. As we al-

ready observed, the horse in each dialogue is poorly treated, as is the case in "The Mule's Lament." The owners and the animals exchange insults, in the same fashion as the Mule and his master. Finally, the concern that Renart de Dammartin shows towards the horse near the end of the dialogue is reminiscent of D. Diogo's offer to help the Mule in Henrique da Mota's work. The interaction of dialogue spoken by the various characters in each work is also very similar.

Another Catalan work in which a mule, or ass, converses with a human character is Frei Anselmo Turmeda's "La disputa del asno contra Fr. Anselmo Turmeda."[35] The work was probably written in the early fifteenth century, possibly in 1417.[36] It is a lengthy work in which the author has a vision in which he sees various animals discussing the election of a replacement for the deceased king of the animals, the lion. Each has its own choice and they argue bitterly. Suddenly, Turmeda enters the scene. The animals object to his presence, especially when he defends the superiority of man over beast. A trial is set up and Fr. Anselmo Turmeda must prove his statement. The ass will act

35 Miguel Asín Palacios, Huellas del Islam (Madrid, 1941), pp. 113-160.

36. Ibid., p. 118.

as lawyer for the defense of the animals. Another lion will act as judge. Fr. Anselmo Turmeda proceeds to give many reasons for man's superiority over other animals: man's excellent use of his senses, memory, prudence in business, foods, recreational facilities, clothing as well as man's unity, building of homes, etc. He also speaks of the immortality of man's soul. The ass replies that animals also have finely used senses, eat good food, are united, and build homes. Besides,man has difficulties in attaining true unity, is subject to as much pain as pleasure, and men are not nearly as organized in their communities as are bees and ants, to mention only a couple. They continually exchange ideas, with the ass always appearing to be able to refute Turmeda's arguments. There is one, however, which he cannot challenge: the fact that God chose the body of a man, and not a beast, for his trip to this world through His Son. The ass confesses that this is true, and the lion rules in favor of man.

Interestingly enough, the respected critic Miguel Asín Palacios, in his Huellas del Islam, showed that the above work was taken from a tenth or eleventh century Arabic collection.[37] The collection of stories, Hermanos de la Puereza,

37 Ibid., pp. 123-160.

was an encyclopedia sometimes attributed to Maslama de Madrid.[38] The Islamic doctrines expounded within the collection include the superiority of man over animal. This is most evident in the fable "La Disputa de los animales contra el hombre."[39]

Finally, we note the appearance of a horse as a character mentioned in both the Cancionero General and the Cancioneiro Geral, not to mention Gómez Manrique's poem dedicated to a horse in his collection of works.

In the Cancionero General, El Ropero has a brief dialogue with his horse. It is entitled "Otra del Ropero a su cavallo porque dõ alõso daguilar le mãdo trigo para el ycevada para el cavallo y el dicho ropero suplicole que gelo mãdasse dar en trigo todo y el cavallo quexãdosse del dizer assi..."[40] The horse complains about not being given enough to eat. He has been mistreated. He criticizes his master in a fine expression of the times:

> Y vos malvado cohen
> judio çafio logrero.

The animal promises that he will give the "ropero" a deadly kick, one that would surely kill even Samson, if the

38 Ibid., pp. 123-4.

39 Ibid., pp. 127-147.

40 Cancionero General, Fol. CCXXVIII.

"ropero" does not heed the horse's wish. However, although it appears as though the two might very well exchange insults, the work continues with the "ropero" explaining the situation and telling what he will do to remedy it. The horse abandons his harsh attitude and pardons "don anton," since the latter conformed to the animal's request.

In the Cancioneiro Geral, aside from Henrique da Mota's "The Mule's Lament," we have Luis Freire's " Do macho de luys freyre estando para morrer," in which the animal speaks of his last will and testament.[41] He asks that his brother serve his owner well, that his soulgo to to Paradise, and that he be honored by nobility. He asks that a certain quantity of hay and barley be brought to him and asks that anyone to whom he might have brought suffering pardon him. He finally asks that his tombstone read:

> Aquy jaz o mays leal
> macho rruço que naçeo
> aquy jaz que nam comeo
> a sseu dono hũ soo rreal.

Once again we have a poorly fed beast.

The Cancioneiro also offers "Do cavalo de Joam Gomez."[42] The selection is introduced as follows: "De

41 Cancioneiro Geral, op. cit., fol. cixvii.

42 Ibid., fol. cLxix-cLxxi.

duarte da gama em lixboa sendo el rrey em çaragoça a joã gomez dabreu por que estando na costa dos paços andando damores lhe cahyo hũ cavalo pola costa e morreo loguo e a ele nam lhe fez nenhũ nojo." João Gomez is critized for this behavior. Many other poets offer their "ajudas," critizing him for his negligent treatment of the animal and for not feeding it. The horse was fat when purchased, but became skinny within three days.

Gómez Manrique's poem is entitled "Razonamiento de un rocín a un paje."[43] In it, the nag criticizes the page for having mistreated him. He blames the page for his lack of food and for not having been taught anything useful. The "rocín" tells the page to get himself another victim.

As we can observe, it appears that there was a general trend to use equines as the subject of many works. This trend, so prevalent in France, Spain, and Portugal, has specific sources, to which we previously referred. They are all quite similar in both theme and content. Henrique da Mota's "The Mule's Lament," while possibly alle-

43 Gómez Manrique, "Razonamiento de un rocin a un paje," Cancionero Castellano del Siglo XV (Madrid, 1915), Tomo II, pp. 96-7.

gorical in nature, also seems to fit into that trend. Let us now carefully examine both the plot and special characteristics of that force.

As we previously stated, the work deals with a poorly fed Mule who discusses her sad state with Henrique da Mota, her owner, D. Henrique, and the latter's brother, D. Diogo. We follow her on her journey as she tells her tale.

As "The Mule's Lament" begins, Henrique da Mota is addressing himself to the "senhora mula," a bedraggled-looking she-mule who, according to her appearance, could never be accused of gluttony. The author mentions her emaciated semblance and says that she probably has not had enough to eat in a long while. He tells her that it would be a good idea for her to go to Nazare, a place where the sand and water might be beneficial for the Mule's poor health. The more that Henrique da Mota talks to her, the more critical and sarcastic he becomes, especially when the Mule does not answer him. He speaks of her ugly characteristics, her sad countenance, her shrunken belly, and her devilish features. He says:

> Donde ssoys senhora mula
> quassy stays desmazelada
> vos no pecado da gula
> nam deves de ser culpada.

Segundo estays dilicada
juraria
que sereys acustumada
a comer pouca çevada
cada dya.

Vos por vossa grã magreyra
nam deves ter dor de baço
ja deves deyxar o paço
pois vos dã tã ma cõteira.
Queu na synto que vos queira
porem ssey
quãdo foy dalfarroubeyra
quãdaveys na dianteyra
cos del rrey.

Desta vossa guarniçam
bem ssey que vos contentays
doutra parte he rrazam
poys que tem tantos metays.
Ouro prata estanho e mays
tem verniz
la tam cobre nam deixays
pareçes hy onde stays
hũa boiz.

Se fordes a nazaree
aly he vosso fartar
ho que gram duçura he
arca e agoa do mar.
Se vos Deus bem ajudar
nesta ornada
quero vos profetizar
que aves la de ficar
estirada.

Vos pareçes hum diabo
se nã quanto soys mays fea
por mays que bulays cõ rrabo
aves de ter bem maa çcaz.
Tendes feyçam de lamprea
na longura
da barrigua pouco chea
ho jesu que ma estrea
que trestura.

Since the Mule is finally tired of hearing herself ridiculed, she tells Henrique da Mota that he had better be careful of how he speaks to her. She mentions that she has already served four different Portuguese Kings, beginning with D. Duarte. This leads the reader to deduce that she has also lived under the leadership of Afonso V, D. João II, and D. Manuel I, the king at the time the dialogue was written. The Mule adds that she was owned by the Marquês de Vila Real, the father of both D. Diogo and D. Henrique, other figures in this work.

A mula

A boo fee bem vos meteys
sem saber com quẽ falays
e de mays se vos cuidays
que falays com quem ssoeys.
vos de mym zõbar queres
assaz de mal
que fuy do senhor marques
e ja rreys vy morrer tres
em portugal.

HM. O que dizeys he asy
dizey assy vos ds
(Deus) farte

M. no tempo del rrey
duarte/vos afyrmo
que nacy/e ja quatro
rreys seruy/portu-
gueses
e com quanto mal ssofry
nunca de casa sahy/dos
marqueses.

Ever since her owner, D. Henrique, loaned her to a friend, she has suffered even more than she used to suffer with him. The Mule describes what she gets to eat: a bit of hay and what is left over from the harvest. It is unbearable, she continues. Her owner dislikes her and she dislikes him even more! Henrique da Mota and she continue

their dialogue, including his observations and questions concerning the Mule's pathetic appearance, as well as her answers:

HM. Poys com quem viveys agora
que vos tem tam mal tratada
M. traz mũ home emprestada
de quem ssey ja çedo fora.
HM. nam me dyreys onde mora
se ousasse
M. mas traz hũa tal espora
querya la na maa ora
sse falasse.

No tempo dos caramelos
que comes que deos vos valha
hũa quarta de farelos
hũa jueyra de palha.
HM. Nam comes outra bytalha
assy gozedes
M. nam como mays nymygalha
HM. daruos ha fome batalha
jora vedes.

HM. Ora bem e no beber
assy vos põe prouyssam
M. quanta disso fartassam
nam ha hy al que dyzer.
Se me dessem de comer
dessa maneyra
bem podya gordasser
nam me vyrya morrer
de lazeyra.

Henrique da Mota observes her poor condition and says:

Tendelos ossos muy altos
e a carne muy ssomyda
andays bem fora dos saltos
soys de quadrys bẽ fornyda.
M. Por hy veres vos a vyda
que eu passo
e por sser mays destroyda
vou cõ hũ homẽ nesta hyda
muy escasso.

HM. Ora bem esse vossamo
nam dyreis como se chama
M. he o amo queu desamo
que amym bem pouco ama.
Nam ey de calar ssa fama
que mesfole
mas ssagora a ouuesse lama
se lheu nam fezesse a cama
na mays mole.

A passerby named Gomez Anriques enters the scene and is shocked by the animal's appearance. He claims that it was the House of Noronha that did this to the now aged mule:

Gomez anrriquez

O jesu que ma vysonha
o que cousa tam disforme
tem no pescoço comforme
com garganta de çegonha.
Donde he tal carantonha
de tays geytos
M. sam da casa de noronha
e nam ey daver vergonha
de meus feytos.

Por que vedes me aquy
eu vos juro de verdade
que por mety vygyndade
e estou tal qual naçy.
Em meu bom tẽpo seruy
quanto pude
e depois que emvelheçy
nũça mays bem reçeby
nem saude.

A dialogue ensues between the Mule's cruel owner and Henrique da Mota, as well as the Mule herself. The master says that he does not understand why she has to complain, es-

especially since he knows that she is given plenty to eat each month. The mg retorts by saying that in every month there are at least twenty-three days in which she is given nothing:

O amo que hya nela

Que diabo lhe quereys
a esta triste coytada
GA. diz que nam come çeuada
e que vos que lha tolheys.
AMO. Quero poys quysso dyzeys
que ssabays
que a come cada mes
M. cada mes ha vynta tres
que ma nam days.

She continues her lament, with the added opinions of our author. Then it is the owner's chance to respond. He says that she does her job very poorly and threatens to harm her if she does not do and say what she is told:

O amo
Estays ora muy em fynta
e estays troçendo ho rrosto
M. mas bradam todos co vosco
por meterdes tam famynta.
A. Deueys lançar hũa fynta
em alcoentre
pera lhe encher a cynta
fycouos que mays nã synta
dor de ventre.

Anrrique da mota

Por que partydo ouuestes
a mula que foy das boas
aforada em tres pessoas
o cara maa ca vyestes
de tal sorte.
mas poys vos jsso

fezestes
M. eu me faço logo prestes
para morte.

The Mule and her owner exchange a few more attacks on each other. This continues when her master says that it is time to depart. The animal feels that it would be impossible to continue much longer in her present state and speaks not only of her own condition, but also the general hunger that has been felt in the country. She adds that she would prefer to escape from her present life and perhaps find a hermitage and a more secure way of living:

fala o amo cõ anrrique da mota

Se soubesseys como anda
fycaryes espantado
A. ssey que anda mal pecado
nam muy farta de vyanda.
Pareçe longua varanda
de taverna
traue longa muyto panda
zambuco que sse nam manda
nem governa.

fala o amo com a mula quando sse ja queriam yr.

Todaa gente sse vay jaa
vamonos daquy em boora
M. mas que vamos na ma ora
que comyguo andara.
A. Anday rryjo e vorvos haa
esta jente
M. nunca Deus tal quereraa
quẽ me da tã maa
que ho contente.

Quãto mays que eu nam posso
fazer jsso que quereys
por co meu mal e vosso
todo meu como sabeys.
O que ando he que me pes
e com payxam
des que em mym vos colhes
cuydays que sam hũ arnes
de mylam.

O amo

Anday ãday nã vos torçais
quolham todos pera nos

M. oxala rrysem de vos
tanto ata que vos deçais.
A. Aguarday poys que palrrays
coçar vos ey
e vos dona rrespyngays
sse me vos assouelais
que farey.

Despydimento da mula
em sse partindo.

Senhores do bombarral
voume com vossa merçe
tanta merce me faze
que vos lembres de meu mal
E a cousa prynçipal
que a deus peçays
questa fome tam jeral
que anda em portugal
nam dure mays.

Que se eu ssam mal prouida
quando a terra he abastada
que farey quando a çevada
a corenta he vendida:
Seu escapo desta hyda
com tal cura
dy de buscar hũa ermyda
onde faça outra vyda
mays segura.

This brings us to the second section of the dialogue. It takes place in Alcoentre:

Daly a dias jndo anrrique da mota
ter alcoentre honde dom anrryque
estava achou a mula que lhe deu conta de todo
o que passara na jornada da rromarya onde
fora de que ja era tornada.

As Crabbé Rocha points out, Alcoentre is another of the towns within the jurisdiction of the Marquês de Vila Real of the Noronha family. The mule begins to give the author

an account of the misery she has suffered since their last meeting. She is so used to such poor treatment and suffering that she now feels that it is her ultimate fate. She describes her long pilgrimmage, during which time she always had an empty stomach:

> Folgo bem de vos achar
> senhor meu naquesta terra
> pera vos contar a guerra
> que me da nam mastigar.
> Se quyserdes escuytar
> contaruos ey
> meu jntrinssyco penar
> minha gram dor e pesar
> que passey.
>
> Partymos naquele dya
> que nos vos vystes partyr
> todos vya muyto rryr
> se nam eu que nam podya.
> Que nam pousa alegrya
> nem prazer
> na trypa muyto vazya
> por que todo bem sse crya
> do comer.

The first stop that they made along their route was in the town of Arelho. Here, the humans ate fish, rabbit, and partridge, but she was locked up and ate nothing:

> E ffomos ter no arelho
> onde la esses senhores
> e todos seus servidores
> todos eram duũ consselho.
> Lynguado perdiz coelho
> e em fym
> muyto branco e vermelho
> e eu em hũ palheyro velho
> por rroym.

The next stops were Selir do Porto and Alfeizarão, places where the Mule's lodging and treatment did not improve. She was cold and hungry, tired and sad, bewildered and lonely:

Poys la em selyr do porto
que terra de fyde puta
de çevada muy enxuta
careçyda de conforto
suey sangue aly no orto
com payxam
meu esforço aly foy morto
porem foy o grande torto
sem rrazam:

Fyquey assy paseando
chorando minhas fadjguas
em minhas obras antyguas
como ja casessonhado
muytas vezes sospirando
por comer
os galos todos cantando
e eu triste arrenegando
sem prazer.

Que vos juro de verdade
que como fomos cheguados
todos foram apousentados
se nam eu que gram maldade.
nam averem pyadade
de meu mal
e de minha ẽtyguydade
se nam sse lopo dandrade
que me val.

Se nam quando eylo vem
cũa quarta dũa quarta
de farelos que mal farta
quem taam grande fome tem.
Mas eu disse nam com bem
dengeytar
este tam pequeno bem
por que nam fyque a quem
de çear.

O qual me deu por pousada
hua casa muyto frya
de vyanda muy vazya
muy varryda e muy agoada.
E sselada e em freada
me deyxaram
e a porta bem ffechada
se me dar de comer nada
sse tornaram.

Fomonos allfeyzyram
onde ha infyndo sal
nam sehey eu daly al
senam dor de coraçam.
Daly a famalyçam
nam tardam
que nome de maldyçam
que nem cevada nem pam
nam acham.

She became thinner and suffered more as she passed through Pederneira. It was on her way towards Alcobaça that she felt as though she were being martyred on the cross. At the Monastery in Alcobaça, however, the Mule finally received a meal

to eat. Her happiness lasted for three days, after which time she sadly left. Never before had she felt so rested and content as during her stay there:

E daly a pederneyra
levey hũ bom suadoyro
mas eu nam leuaua çoyro
no lombo nem na çylheyra.
Leuaua muy gram peteyra
na barrygua
muyta fome gram lazeyra
e cheguey desta meneyra
com fadygua.

Bem disse o ssabedor
oje mal e pior eraas
sse eu mal passey atras
aly foy muyto pyor.
Darea la meu senhor
fartar me manda
ela tem muy gentyl cor
mas dayo demo ● sabor
da vyanda.

Tomamaos outra jornada
la caminho dalcobaça
eu leuaua pouca graça
por quya estaymada.
Aly fuy atormentada
nesta mya
e na cruz muy marteyrada
com a ssela bem lograda
que corrya.

Fyquey muyto descansada
quando me vy no moesteyro
em poder do estrybeyro
de poder deste tyrada.
E fyquey muy espantada
quando vy
çeuaos ja de bulhada
ante mym apresentada
que comy.

Tyue muytas alegrias
os dyas qualy passey
nam ssey quãdo taes tres dias
em meus dias passarey.
Eram saudade tomey
na partyda
e partyndo começey
ho quam pouco que logrey
esta vyda.

When they reached Caldas, noted for its healing waters, the Mule hoped that she could add a bit of meat to her bones. Her pains were, and still are, principally those of sadness, a sadness that would even make the most honored people sigh in disgust. It is almost as though contrition were a part of her life and her fasting were a method of showing devotion:

Assy triste lamentando
me party e ssem prazer
outros myl males passando
que nam ssam para dyzer
As caldas vyemos ter
sem tardar
perguntey por mays saber
estas agoas tem poder
de mengordar.

E dyseran me sy tem
porem logo sem detença
quem nelas entrar cõ vem
que faça muy grã pentença
Bem me praz desta convẽça
poys he tal
mal esta minha doença
he faminta pertenença
muy mortal.

He hũa dor de trystura
que faz aos mays honrrados
dar sospiros muy dobrados
seos toca per ventura.

Que nam ha hy dor tã dura
de soffrer
a vyuente cryatura
como versse em apertura
de comer.

Esta faz muytas vylezas
onde nam valem castigos
estas faz myl fortalezas
dar em poder dos ynmygos.
Esta faz muytos amygos
se perderem
os presentes e antygos
sse posseram em myl perigos
por comerem.

Assy qua dor que ma ffeyta
ypocras e galeano
dam em contra de sseu dano
hũa muy gentyl rreceyta.
e dyzem qua de sser feyta
per estarte
de farelos satisfeyta
çeuada e bem escolheyta
que me farte.

Se aveys por confyssam
açaz ssam de comffessada
eu nam como ja çeuada
jsto por que ma nam dam
E tomo por deuaçam
jejũar
poys quanta por contriçam
assaz demffadada ssam
de chorar.

Eu estando concertada
pera entrar ja nos banhos
foram meus males tamahos
que fuy loguo enfreada.
E aly foy apartada
a companhya
cada parte foy tornada
com seu senhor apousada
que soya.

The mule finally decides to speak with her owner's brother, D. Diogo. She complains, playing upon the affection she had for D. Diogo's father. She tells how everyone ate well, while she had nothing. Perhaps D. Diogo could help her? The latter cannot understand her situation, especially since he ordered that she be given three quarts of barley a day. He goes to speak with the councilman, Bastiam da Costa, who claims that the old mule is no longer fit to serve and that no attention should be paid to her complaints. Senhor da Costa and the mule then exchange a few heated words:

A mula a dom dioguo
quando hya.

Vossa senhorya vay
caminho do bombarral
rresesty senhor meu mal
poys que fuy de vosso pay.
E com vosco me temay
que eu myrey
ou senhor mencomenday
a vosso yrmão senam cuyday
que morrerey.

E dyzelhe com rrygor
que mande curar de mym
nam deseje minha fym
poys que fuy tal seruydor
Olhay bem o grandamor
que me tinha
vosso padre meu senhor,
que somente sseu favor
me mantinha.

Olhay bem quãto seruyço
fyz na ydade passada
nam queyra tomar por vyço
verme morrer esfaymada
Da alqueyre de çeuada
que he hũ vento
com farelos mesturada
com pouco mays casenada
me contento.

Dom dioguo
Bem he jsso que pedys
meu jrmão o ssabera
seruyvos como seruys
que tudo se bem fara.

M. Ho senhor quesqueçera
loguo sse digua
ante que daquy sse vaa
que depois nam lembrara
minha fadygua.

Todos teuera folgança
senhor meu neste caminho
ceuada pam carne vynho
tudo foy em abastança
Todos andam em bonãça
sem tromenta
senam eu sem esperança
questa fome por erança
ma tormenta.

Dom dioguo
Nam digays jsso maaora
poys que eu ssey o contrayro
sse eu todos be rrepayro
como fycays vos de fora.
M. nam dyguo mays por agora
por que e feyo
mas poys jsto sse jnora
manday vos fazer demora
e sabeyo.

Dom dioguo
Nam ssey como sser podya
nam comerdes vos ceuada

poys vos era ordenada
bem tres quartas cada dia.

M. certo eu bem folguarya
e convem
ssaber vossa senhorya
o cerrto desta porfya
mas he bem.

Dom dioguo ao su veador
Dyzey bastiam da costa
vos que sabeys a verdade
day aquy vossa resposta
que farya tal maldade.

V. Ho senhor he vaydade
nam vos menta
nam lhe des autoridade
que ja passa da idade
dos setenta.

M. Vos quereys atabucarme
que nam ousse de falar
vos bem me podeys matar
mas eu nam ey de calar.

V. E vos cuydays dengararme
neste vale

M. mas vos queres deffamarme
na queyrays vos asanharme
que eu fale

Porem vos tomays solaz
e em mym na entra rryso

V. ho senhor que nam tem syso
diz aquyssoque lhe praz

M. ora jsso nam me faz
nenhũ agrauo
preguntay a quẽ me traz
e sabey bem onde jaz
este crauo.

D. Diogo speaks with the mule's owner, who proceeds to deny that the animal was not given anything to eat. The mule says that everyone seems to think, and say, that she had plenty to eat. If this be so, she adds, let her be un-

saddled and her reins and saddle broken. D. Diogo concludes that the blame rests with him who preserves the barley. The mule finds D. Diogo faultless, as does D. Diogo himself. She also thanks D. Diogo for the concern he has shown, as well as the care with which he has always treated her. She is also appreciative of the protection he has always given:

Dom dioguo ao amo.

Dyzey amo poys lograys
esta triste descarnada
nam lhe vystes dar çeuada
A. o senhor nam creays.
que depoys que ca andays
nam ha fome
tres quartas lhe dam e mays
bem a vos força machays
de quem come

Dom dioguo ao veador

Dyzey a quem entregays
a rraçam e ssaber ssa
a çeuada que lhe days
V. ao amo que my estaa
DD. Dyzey amo vynde caa
he assy
A. assy foy he e sera
e ela nam o negara
que eu lha vy.

M. Dyzey vistes me gostar
a çeuada que dizeys
A. nam mas ssey e vos sabeys
que vola mandaua dar.
M. Senhor sede mym sachar
que foy comyda
fazeyme vos desejar
manday ma sela quebrar
e abryda.

Ora eu nam tenho culpa
na ma vyda que passastes
a verdade me desculpa
a qual vos esperimentastes.
M. Señor vos bẽ vos mostrastes
verdadeyro
e a quem mencomendastes
bem comprio o que mandastes
per jnteyro.

Porem toda a culpa tem
este moço que me cura
a çeuada bem precura
mas elo guarda a muy bem:
ssabe Deus quam mal me vem
esta la cyra
mas fazelo me comvem
por que nam acho ninguem
que me queyra.

Senhor ey de conheçer
poys a verdade se cre
a muyto grande merçe
que me folgastes fazer.
Porem eu posso dyzer
que passey
oyto dias ssem comer
mantendome no prazer
que leuey.

The Mule finally concludes that, with D. Diogo's aid, she is indeed happier, but she foresees a life that will always be marred by suffering until her death. She relates this final thought to our poet, summarizing her story:

> Acaba a mula de cõtar
> anrryque da mota todo o que
> passou e da ffym e concrusam.
>
> E depoys destas rrazões
> todos somos apartados
> seram eu que de payxões
> nam no fuy por meus pecados.
> Aquy ando com cuydados
> ssem deporte
> hus meus dias mallogrados
> seram sempre lastymados
> ate morte.

The principal members of the cast that appear in the first part of the work are the Mule, Henrique da Mota and the Mule's owner. Also appearing are two minor figures, Bastiam da Costa and Gomez Anriquez. As we previously mentioned when discussing the possible antecedents of this type of dialogue, the Mule is the only non-human character to appear in our author's dialogues. In personifying the starved, plague-ridden Portuguese nation, the Mule is a wretched-looking old beast. She was born during the reign of D. Duarte ("no tempo del rrey Duarte/ vos afyrmo que naçy") and is now over seventy years old ("nam lhe des autoridade [a mula] / que ja passa da idade/ dos setenta").

This places the date of composition of the work sometime after 1503, since D. Duarte inherited the throne in 1433. She is constantly lamenting her situation and, as in the case of the Priest, searches for would-be listeners. She feels rather sorry for herself and is extremely critical of those around her. She serves as an excellent vehicle for the author's view of the times. Her description is one of the most complete of all of Henrique da Mota's protagonists, even surpassing that of João Grande. There are innumerable references to her haggard, starved, weary-looking body, all made by the author himself. She is proud, however, and refused to let the author refer to her in the way he does. She has always attempted to do what was asked of her and sees no real reason for her unhealthy state. This, obviously, is no way to treat a Mule who has served a Marquis and four kings.

Henrique da Mota appears principally to prod the Mule to make known her condition. While he does have an extremely sympathetic ear, his role is similar to that of a straight man in a comedy routine. This role, while basic to the success of the act, is not the most important one. Henrique da Mota simply interpolates his remarks between the more relevant, lengthy, and substantial laments of the

protagonist. Nevertheless, our author does show in his attitude that he is a severe critic of the injustice shown the Mule and a sympathetic observer of his country's plight.

"O Amo" D. Henrique, the Mule's owner, is not at all ready to listen to the animal's complaints. In fact, he apparently believes that she has been getting more than enough to eat. Besides, he adds that the Mule does not deserve more and hopes that the beast will be laughed at and ridiculed by those to whom she speaks. The minor tertiary figure in this part is Gomez Anriquez, a man who speaks only a few verses. He merely expresses dismay at the Mule's condition. The addition of characters such as these serves to make the interaction amongst all of the characters more lively, in contract to the sometimes monotonous two-character mediaeval debates.

More than one half of the second part of this work is comprised of the Mule's recounting her travels. Aside from the animal, the principal figure of this section is D. Diogo, the brother of the Mule's real owner, D. Henrique. D. Diogo is, naturally, one of the other sons of the Marquis of Vila Real, D. Pedro. Since he feels responsible for

maintaining the good name and pride of the Noronha family, D. Diogo will do all that he can to aid the Mule. He questions the other characters and finds, according to their own statements, that they are not at fault. He very possibly is, as we noted, representative of the King.

Other characters that speak are the "veador" and the "amo." The "veador," or "Vereador," is a councilman named Bastiam da Costa. In his few verses, he does not give any specific answers that might solve the problem. He is only concerned with his denial of guilt and with arguing over the Mule's mental stability. The "amo" adds little in this second appearance in the work. He contends once again that the Mule was given food.

This brings us to one final character, who is but referred to by the Mule. She sarcastically refers to a stable-boy who is supposed to take care of her. Apparently he is directly at fault, having guarded the "ceveda" perhaps too well. In an effort to tie the work together, the Mule's final words show her to be as pessimistic at the end of the dialogue as she was at the beginning. This is evident, in spite of the fact that Henrique da Mota and

D. Diogo have been kind to her. The Mule simply says: "nam acho ninguem/ que me queyra," and "...meus dias malogrados/ seram sempre lastymados/ ate morte."

Structurally, "The Mule's Lament" is clearly divided into two separate sections. In this work, perhaps more than in any previous one by our author, a group of various encounters between the characters becomes two distinct acts. Scenes are suggested by the mention of a new character who is about to speak.

The principal structure of the first act is reminiscent of both "The Farce of the Tailor" and "The Priest's Lament." In each, and in the soon to be discussed "Lawsuit of Vasco Abul," we learn that the protagonist is beset by one difficulty after another. This is referred to in the initial "pranto"-like remarks. The Mule is no exception. After a long monologue by Henrique da Mota, in which he constantly prods the poor beast, the two begin to converse for a moment. This brief exchange is followed by others involving Gomez Anriquez and D. Henrique. The words of these characters are often spoken as "asides," especially in the case of the protagonist. These serve to bring further attention to the Mule's affliction and to reinforce her rationale in condemning those who have not

treated her very kindly. They also suggest a potential audience. Act I comes to an end with the scenic direction "o despydimento da mula em sse partindo." The Mule announces her forthcoming pilgrimage and brings this first section to an abrupt conclusion.

From the introduction of the second part, we learn that Act II takes place in another town a few days later:

> Daly a dias jndo anrrique da mota ter alcoentre honde dom anrrique estava achou a mule que lhe deu conta de todo o que passara na jornada e da rromarya onde fora de que ja era tornada. (CCVIIv)

Never before in Henrique da Mota's dialogues have we seen such a clearly expressed division between acts or scenes.

This act is characterized by a particularly extensive monologue by the Mule, in which a technique similar to the flashback is utilized. As we previously noted, the animal speaks about each of the many cities that she visited, slowly bringing us to the present. We find out that her situation is mainly "status quo." Henrique da Mota does not have a speaking role in this act, but it is to our author that the Mule first addresses herself, hoping to reach a sympathetic ear. It is then that D. Diogo, the brother of D. Henrique, enters the scene and, along with the protagonist, becomes a central figure in the work.

He engages in dialogues both with the "veador" and with D. Henrique himself. The downtrodden Mule ends the work on a note of pessimism, much in the same manner as the cleric at the end of the "The Priest's Lament."

As must be evident, the dialogue offers ample scenic instructions and divisions. The interaction of the characters is lively, as well as extremely relevant to the work's dramatic nature. "The Mule's Lament" offers a combination of elements encountered in previous dialogues. We refer specifically to the rapid give and take nature of "The Farce of the Tailor" and "The Farce of the Gardener," combined effectively with the longer monologues of "The Priest's Lament." With the lament and the various asides, it becomes obvious that this piece is, structurally speaking, the most complex of all of the dialogues written by Henrique da Mota up to this point.

The action and movement of the work are implicit in the characters' own words. This is particularly true of the long monologue by the Mule in which she describes her pilgrimage. Scenic directions are rather explicit, except when there is a quick exchange between characters. In those cases, only the major figure is introduced by name. The elements of time and space were rather vague

and many times left to our imagination, as in other works. However, they are more clearly defined in this dialogue. Not only is the spacial factor a more varied one, including at least eight different cities, but time is also more clearly specified.[44] In addition, previous dialogues made no mention of the actual time that elapsed during the work, while this work specifies that time. The action starts on one particular day, in the city of Bombarral. It is on that same day that the Mule departs on her journey and, after a couple of days, arrives in Alcobaça. She spends three days there, after which time the protagonist begins her travels again. She arrives in Alcoentre a few days later. Once again, we feel that these elements serve as proof of the fact that this is one of the more textually and structurally developed dialogues of Henrique da Mota. It certainly has ample potential for dramatic performance. The latter is characterized by the very structure of the dialogue including the long lament, the various asides, and the lively dialogues. This was enhanced by scenic divisions and descriptions, the primary and secondary characters, and the action, movement, time and space.

44 The fact that the Mule does travel to many other starved cities serves to support the notion of a country-wide famine.

Other devices used by our author in composing this work are comparisons and antithetical statements. In describing the poor Mule, Henrique da Mota uses a series of metaphors. He mentions that she looks like a devil ("pareces hum diabo"), a skinny snake-like lamprey ("feição de lamprea"), and a stork ("garganta de çegonha"). Overall, she is suffering from "a fome batalha."

As in many other works by our author, we find a vast number of antithetical remarks, serving to emphasize the ideas expressed. We witness the disdainful "amo que desamo," the contrasting "imiguos" and "amigos," and the desire to eat, but having "trypa vazya." We also hear both the sad laments of the Mule and the "galos cantando." Besides this, everyone always has enough to eat, except for the mule: "lyngoado perdiz coelho/ e em fim muyto branco e vermelho/ e eu em hũ palheiro velho/ por rroym." We also have the implicit contrast between his stay in Alcobaça and his hungry travels through other towns.

Again, as in other works, we note references to famous people of many periods. In this work, we noticed the mention of the Marquês de Vila Real, as well as the parts played by his sons. The Mule also referred to various Portuguese kings served by her, including D. Duarte, D.

Afonso V, D. João II, and D. Manuel. In order to cure the Mule's ailments, a prescription made up by "ypocras and galeano" is suggested, referring to these traditionally heralded wise men of medicine.

The versification of this dialogue is not quite as regular as that of previously examined works. There are exactly sixty-one nine-verse stanzas. Of the nine verses in each stanza, all but the sixth and ninth are heptasyllabic. The sixth and ninth generally contain three syllables, but occasionally do have four. In certain examples the sixth has four, while the ninth does not, and vice-versa. The exceptions with four syllables are as follows: stanza 4 (verse 6), stanza 6 (verses 6,9), 9(6), 10(6), 15(9), 20 (6), 21(6), 22(6,9), 24(6), 34(6), 38(9), 44(6), 45 (6,9), 47(6), 48(6,9), 54(6), 57(6) and 59(6). The rhyme schemes vary from stanza to stanza. There are forty-two schemes of <u>abbaacaac</u> and eighteen of <u>ababbcbbc</u>. There is also one very irregular stanza:

> Vos queres atabucarme
> que nam ousse de falar
> vos bem me podeys matar
> mas eu nam ey de calar.

If the third verse had been written"vos bem podeys matarme," the stanza would have belonged to the group of eighteen.

However, this change would also have eliminated one syllable, thus making the stanza even more irregular.

Having completed our discussion of the most complex and varied quasi-dramatic dialogue by Henrique da Mota, we complete our examination of his main works with a study of "The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul."

"The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul"

Henrique da Mota's final dialogue, "The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul," is considered a true representative of the theatrical spirit of the Cancioneiro Geral. The dialogue appears to be a collective, or pseudo-collective, composition, in which the concept of "ajudas" plays a key role. This idea, already studied in connection with the debate of "O Cuidar e Sospirar," involves the development of a certain "mote" in various "vilancetes," by different poets. This was previously noted in "The Priest's Lament." However, it is far more complex, as we shall see, in "The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul."

The work has as its basic theme, or major element, the trial of a man who acted frivolously in giving a gift to a dancer. The work revolves around arguments for and against the right of Vasco Abul to have the gift returned to him. However, it appears to us that it is the actual structure of the work that is most important, although the plot is as interesting as it is farcical. The structure of the dialogue resembles a trial. In this trial, each of the characters, while not necessarily designated as such, seems to portray a particular role. In following Crabbé

Rocha's selections,[45] Henrique da Mota and Gil Vicente are the lawyers for Vasco Abul and the dancer. D. Diogo is the "relator," D. Leonor, the supreme judge, and the tertiary figures are the witnesses in the case. Before examining the characters and the structure of the work any further at this point, let us examine the plot.

The last dialogue, "The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul," places Henrique da Mota in his accustomed rule of judge. The poet begins the dialogue by asking Vasco Abul what is troubling him. We know that he is bothered by a lawsuit, but he refuses, at first, to say anything about it. He is afraid that people will make fun of him. He then explains his problem, wishing he had never seen the dancer about whom he is about to speak:

HM. Que buscays ca nesta terra
com taful
meu senhor vasco abul
VA. quamor de nam hũa guerra.
Seram isso mexericos
nam sejays vos tal comeu
mas sam hũs senhores rrycos
que per bycos
me querem leuar ho meu.

HM. Trazeys algũa demanda
ou que he
VA. nam no ssey por minha fee
mal vyua quẽ me ca manda.

45 Andrée Crabbé Rocha, op. cit. p. 17.

HM. Vos andays esmorecydo
eu nam ssey que vos aueys
VA. he huũ caso tam sabydo
que douydo
seo vos entendereys.

HM. Nam cureys de duuydar
e dyzeemo
VA. nam no dyguo por que temo
que am de mym dezombar.
HM. Que caso podesse sser
em que tanto sopesays
VA. eu volo quero dyzer
pera ver
o consselho que me days.

Fuy la muyto na maaora
nesta era
em ora que nam deuera
vy baylar hũa senhora.
Sey que foram jsso brigas
mas cuydo que ssam pecados
bem mereço eu myl fygas
e fadyguas
poys que perco meus cruzados.

HM. Furtaram vos la dinheyro
VA. mas tomaram
e per geyto massacaram
que fiz outrem meu erdeyro.
HM. Quanta jsso folgarya
de saber como passou
VA. he a mays alta perfya
e zombarya
que nunca ninguem cuydou.

One day, while in Alenquer, he saw a beautiful dancer, to whom he gave a gold chain. She wore it around her neck, but when Vasco tried to get it back, she refused to give it to him, thinking that it now belonged to her. After hearing this, Henrique da Mota advises

him to be liberal and to keep the matter quiet:

Hũa gentyl bayladeyra
dalenquer
fremosa gentil molher
me chofrou desta maneyra.
Por me nam pareçer fea
Vendoa baylar hũ dia
lhe mandey por boa estrea
hũa cadea
queu no pescoço trazya.

Depoys quando aquy sera
rrecolher
quyseram me fazer crer
que por sua lha dera
HM. E vos fycays dy honrrado
nam deveys dizer hy al
que o home bem cryado
namorado
o bom he ser lyberal.

Vasco Abul answers that he does not know what possessed him, but surely he does not need the poet's advice. Henrique da Mota adds that perhaps the woman actually loves Vasco Abul and that he should consider as lost the fifty "cruzados" that he had paid for the chain. Seeing the confusion Henrique da Mota asks that others who may know of the case give their opinions. All those who reply to the question end with the "mote" "Poys destes tam levemente/ este colar/ nam vos deve de lembrar:"

VA. Baylaua balho vylam
ou mourysca
mas chamo lheu carraquisca
mays vyna que tardyam.
Eu nam ssey quem me venceo
pera tomar tal trabalho

HM. calayuos que mays perdeo
poys morreo
ssam joham per hũ sso balho.

E que percays cyncoenta
boos cruzados
huũ homẽ dos mais horrados
nestas cousas sespermenta

VA. Vos falaes bem do arnes
e nam curays de vestylo
fazey vos o que fazes
e fycares
autor de nouo estylo.

VA. E vos la no bombarral
assy days
nos nom somos lyberays
somos jente bestyal.
Mas vos deueys de~~fi~~guar
de serdes nysto deuasso
por de vos fama fycar
e emlhear
quem diz que vos soes escasso.

VA. Nã quero vosso consselho
nem mo deys
poys que ssey e vos sabeys
que ssey mais por sser mais velho

HM. Ho calayuos ganhay fama
husay lyberalydade
e quiça se vos nom ama
esa dama
amar vos ha de verdade.

E tambem fazeys seruyço
emfynyto
ao senhor santispryto
que he cousa de gram vyço.
E ganhays o parayso
poys he orfaã a senhora
tomay senhor esta vyso
poys he syso
e jruos eys muyto em boora.

E hy leuar boa vyda
a vossa casa

quysto he vergonha rrasa
avareza conheçyda
poys que ssoes bom caualeyro
e vindes de nobre jente
nam vos façays tysoureyro
do dinheyro
e day sempre nobremente.

Vestyuos de gentyleza
que Deus vos valha
e rrapayuos aa naualha
que vos veja sua alteza.
Fazey muy alegre rrosto
guarneçeyuos de rretros
e poys soes tam bẽ desposto
leuay gosto
em falarem ca de vos.

VA. Ataesme por tal maneyra
que me pesa
e nam posso achar defesa
que preste posto que queyra.
A verdade nam me val
por escasso mapregoo
e quem me faz lyberal
por meu mal
certo nũca lho perdoo.

Fym em vilancete

Poys destes tam leuemete
este colar
nam vos deve de lembrar.

Ho colar que ja foy vosso
quebe de que nam he vossa
buscay quem vos nysso possa
conselhar poys eu nam posso.
E poys o tam bem fyzestes
em o dar
nam vos deue de lembrar.

Todos vos outr' senhores
que sabeys queste feyto
sede meus ajudadores
rreceba de vos favores
com que supra meu defeyto.

The Mestre Gil speaks of the power of the passing of time, which changes people and makes them avaricious or liberal when they were originally liberal or avaricious. He adds that Vasco Abul's natural greed was changed to a desire to give:

Ajuda de mestre gil.

No tempo tem poder tal
que faz do sseruo jsento
faz lyberal avarento
do avarento lyberal
e poys vosso natural
de goardar mudou em dar
nam vos deue de lembrar.

Agostinho Gyram adds that Vasco Abul became a prisoner when he sought to imprison, meaning that he sought to capture the favors of the dancer:

Agostinho gyram.

Com o colar que cuydastes
de prender fycastes presso
e comprastelo per peso
e sem peso o entregastes
e poys que tam bem obrastes
em o dar
nam vos deue de lembrar.

Affonso Fernandez Montarroyo mentions that he who involves himself in love affairs and who gives gifts should stick by his original decision and avoid being skinned:

Affõsso fernãdez mõtarroyo.

O galante que ssemcarna
em amores e em dar
nam se deue mays coçar

nam menos deue ter sarna.
poys fycays desta encarna
descarnado sem colar
nam vos deue de lembrar.

Joam Alvarez, the secretary, adds that someone who is wont to fantasize will give away more in one day than others will in a year. Therefore, he concludes, one will give away those things without really thinking:

Joam aluarez secretareo

Todo homẽ que escasso
se lhe vem aa fantesya
dara mays em hũ soo dya
que em çentam' hũ de vasso
e poys destes sem compasso
este colar
nam vos deue de lembrar.

Diogo de Lemos says that Alexander was praised because of his liberal views, and that since Vasco Abul gave the necklace away, he should forget about it:

Dioguo de lemos

Alexandre foy louuado
por que foy muy lyberal
e vos se fyzerdes al
podereys ser muy tachado
e poys ja o tendes dado
day o demo este colar
nam vos deue de lembrar.

Other supporting opinions, saying that he should give up the chain, are given by Dyoguo Gonçalvez, Tome Toscano, Bastiam da Costa, a singer, Fernam Diaz, and Branca Alvarez, the "cristaleira":

Dyoguo goncaluez.

Muy galante vos mostrais
bem rrapado sem carepa
e crede senhor que peça
quem vos diz que vos arraes
e poys vossa alma ganhays
em o dar
nam vos deve de lembrar

Tome toscano

O dynheyro da jgreja
naquysto sa de gastar
cryar orfaãs e casar.
por que deos seruydo seja
e poys que ds (Deus) vos deseja
de saluar
nam vos deue de lembrar.

Bastiam da costa cantor.

Andays ledo em grã guysa
como quem veo da myna
galante cheo de frysa
como vossa gentyl deuysa
De cruz vermelha muy fyna
e poys ja sse determyna
que percays este colar
nam vos deue de lembrar.

Fernam diaz

Destas nouas que vam quaa
folgue por ser vossamyguo
e quem diz que soes mindyguo
ja nũca mays o dyra
e por tanto senhorya
nam cuydeys neste colar
nem vos deue de lembrar.

Por brancaluarez crystaleyra.

Por que ssey que soys dureyro
em sayr de vos merçes

deueys andar prazenteyro
por terdes o mealheyro
pregado como sabeys
e poys mester me nã aueys
quero vos aconselhar
nam vos lembre este colar.

The time is now ripe for Henrique da Mota's presentation of the case in defense of Vasco Abul against the dancer. He directs himself to D. Leonor, Queen of Portugal, because the town in which the action takes place is among those ruled by her. Since he is a judge who deals principally with orphans, this case is within his jurisdiction, the dancer being without parents:

Embargos danrrique da mota pera
que nõ entreguar o colar a vasco
abul feitos a rraynha dona lyanor.

Senhora:

Bem posso eu cõ rrazam
por sser dos orfaãos juyz
açeytar a tal auçam
o dyreyto assy o dyz
nas sergas desprandiam
E tam bem por nã cuydar
nos meus beẽs que le me perdem
poys ando tam deuagar
quero senhora ordenar
questa orfaã nam deserdem.

He presents the case with a mountain of documents and does so in a very orderly manner. He mentions the Sergas de Esplandián, various chronicles, foreign leaders, and a few nobles, including the Dauphin of France, the King of Tremecim,

João Pins de Bragança, as well as others. The poet adds that in order to avoid hasty results, as well as to place the chain in safe hands during the trial, sixty years should be spent on the case while the chain rests safely in the Treasury of Venice:

E diz e provar entende
esta orfaã ou menor
Que ela bem sse defende
e queste seu seruidor
o sseu nunca mal despende.
E he homẽ muy sesudo
e posto que sela seco
esteue ja no estudo
e entende assy em tudo
que nam perde o sseu de peco.

Item entende prouar
sse nom for anoly byssexto
que quem tem bem pode dar
assy o diz outro texto
na conquista dultramar.
E no parrafo segundo
doutra caronyca noua
diz que el rrey sagizmundo
que he ja no outro mundo
que faz muyto a nossa proua.

E assy quer prouar mays
que el rrey de fez he mouro
e que antre os metaes
val mays este colar douro
que de ferro dous quyntays.
E tambem senhora quer
per testemunhas prouar
que he foral dalenquer
que quem colar douro der
nam no possa mays tomar.

Item quer prouar tam bem
que ela quer a cadea
e que contra ela vem

o doutor pero correa
primo do matusalem.
mas vossaalteza lhe mande
poys que parece paul
que algũs dyas ca ande
e o dyreyto demande
por parte de vascoabul.

E assy mays quer prouar
por muytos omẽs onrrados
quele lhe deu o colar
por cynquoenta cruzados
sem hũ ssoo graão lhe miguar.
E loguo ao entreguar
mingou hũ cruzado e meo
o qual lhe deue paguar
poys que logo ao pesar
o peso certo nom veyo.

E por menos sospeyçam
por testemunhas lhe dou
hũ pale do gram soldam
qua esta terra chegou
em tempo del rrey jspam.

e tam bem hũ botycayro
que se chama janes breca
que ora vyue no cayro
e hũ mouro que e vygayro
dentro na casa de meca.

Item o dalfym de frança
e el rrey de tremeçem
e joham pĩz de bragança
janes pera deos tam bem
sabe muyto desta dança.
E damos tam bem elyas
que sabe bem deste feyto
e o profeta jeremyas
e aquele que huryas
fez matar de amor sojeyto.

E pera mays breuydades
hu home nos perguntay
questanes se te cydades

e tã bem damos os dous frades
questam em monte synay.
Por questes conhecer tem
dos lyberays e avaros
e nomeamos tam bem
hũs dous parentes de sem
que vyuem nos mõtes craros

E por esta ynquyryçam
do que queremos prouar
aver master dylaçam
vossa alteza a mande dar
segundo que for rrazam.
E por nam auer enganos
no que esta tam prouado
e ninguẽ rreçeber damos
mandaynos dar sesentan'
que he termo rrazoado.

E por quisto sse nauogue
por hu camino muy santo
a cadea se entregue
a estorfaã entretanto
e o seu nõ se lhe negue.
E pera mayor fyrmeza
nomeamos afyança
sse o manda vosalteza
o tesouro de veneza
que e açaz em abastança

Fym

E por isto sse seguir
e aver fym por meu azo
vossalteza mande myr
e acabado este prazo
poderey ca acudyr.
E poder ssam concrudyr
estas demandas jnjustas
e protestamos das custas
e rreprycar sse comprir.

After this long series of explanations, directed to D. Leonor in order to clarify the events, Henrique da Mota

gives the floor to Gil Vicente, who will attempt to prove that the dancer deserves to keep the necklace.

He appears very dissatisfied with Henrique da Mota's presentation of the matter and states that the chain was given to the woman as a proof of love and that the dancer, therefore, should be able to retain possession of it. The correct type of witnesses in this type of case, he asserts, are not lawyers or evangelists, but other lovers, people who are aware of the implications involved. He adds that since it was a case of love, Vasco Abul must lose the chain:

> O pareçer de gil vyçente neste
> proçesso de vasco abul a rraynha
> dona lianor.
>
> Senhora
>
> Vossalteza me perdoe
> eu acho muyto danado
> este feyto proçessado
> em que manda que rrazoe
> Vay a cura tam errada
> vay o feyto tam perdido
> vay tam fora da estrada
> que a moça condenada
> vascabul fyca vencydo.
>
> O pryncypio doçymento
> asegura a fortaleza
> sse o cume tem franqueza
> gerousse no fundamento.
> He errada a calydade
> deste caso na prymeyra
> vem a tanta varyedade
> que na fym e na metade
> tem os pes por cabeçeyra.

Este dar moveo amor
por quamor gera frãqueza
no ventre da escaçeza
por mostrar quãto he senhor.
Poys so caso he namorado
fundado todo em amores
o autor foy enframado
e o que deu dado ou nom dado
conuem outros julgadores.

Quem mete bartolo aquy
nem os doutores legistas
nem os quatro auangelistas
mas os mamorados ssy.
mande mande vossalteza
este proçesso a arelhano
vereys com quanta graueza
busca leys de gentyleza
no lyndo estylo rromano.

Ele deue ser juyz
e seapalacam queres
apelem paro marques
procure pero monyz.
pera que e quy rreponder
pera quera procestar
pera quẽ a quy proceder
poys nam he nẽ pode sser
que se possa quy julguar.

Vejo tanta deferença
vay a causa tam rremota
que os embargos da mota
vam primeyro qua sentença
e mestro antonyo tam bem
vem com texto que topou
teytos vam e textos vem
o este caso mays conuem
aquem menos estudou.

Assy que e meu pareçer
e estou çertefycado
que o feyto vay errado
e nam deue proçeder.
por que comee dyto ja
Isto e caso damor
rrompasso que feyto esta

se quer que nam digam la
que nom sabem cadacor.

In conclusion, he suggests that D. Diogo Coutinho be the "relator," the person whose prompting or complaint in a public action is begun in order to bring in question the exercise of an office. In this case he will bring the matter to the attention of the King, who will certainly make the results of the case more fair, in Gil Vicente's opinion, of course:

Fym

Leue o caso dom dioguo
coutinho por rrelator
por quel rrey nosso senhor
ho fara despachar logo.
E vyra dela senhora
hu proçesso tam fermosa
vascabul jrssa em boora
soffrase poys se namora
e logo quer sser esposo.

It is Henrique da Mota, however, who has the final say. In this case, it is to rule in favor of his client and to rebut the accusations of the great dramatist. His main final point is that although many gifts are often given in love affairs, and rightly so, this was not the case with Vasco Abul. He swears that Vasco Abul was not in love with the dancer, and affirms that the chain must be returned.

Reepryca dãrrique da mota a estas
rrazões de gil vicente.

A quem Deus tem ordenado
algũ bem ou pormetido
em tam lhe he outorguado
quando mays desesperado
por ser mays aguardeçido.
E por tanto estaa sabido
pos deus vyr esta rresposta
por que çerto nam douido
segundo o mar he erguydo
este colar yr a costa.

Em tomardes arelhano
por juiz daqueste feito
procurastes vosso dano
porem eu vos dessenguano
que vos he muyto sospeyto.
Que por cumprir o preçeyto
desta ley dos amadores
de quem ele he sogeyto
se nam teuermos direyto
aa nos defazer fauores.

Poi ja muyto mais errastes
em pedirdes o marques
per vos mesmo vos matastes
o colar nos confirmastes
poys que tal juys queres.
E como vos nom sabes
poys passou em vossos dias
queste senhor que dizes
he mançias portugues
e ynda mays que mançias.

No sabeys quãtos milhares
tem despesos de cruzados
quantas joyas e colares
quantos rricos alamares
por amores tem guastados.
Sem mays serẽ demandados
nẽhũs destes despendidos
por que antre os namorados
nam he erro serem dados
e he erro ser pididos.

Poys tam bẽ se procurar
esse galante moniz
co deemo vay o colar
por que sam de conçertar
o precurador co juiz.
Em tam veres o que diz
ama del rrey sobre nos
eu direy que nam no fyz
vos dires que sam biliz
eu direy que o soies vos.

Vos falaas por nossa parte
e contra vos estudaes
olhay por quam sotil arte
sua graça deus rreparte
pera que nam vos percaes.
Esta nao que nauegaes
por parte de vascabul
medo ey que a percaes
poys a agulha que leuaes
vos faz ja do norte sul.

Tendes vento por dauante
e ahy grande bayxia
e nam ha nẽhũ galante
que de vos se nom espante
nauegardes por tal via.
tomay tomay outra vya
acorday ja deste sono
por que toda esta porfya
por rrazam sacabarya
em dar o seu a seu dono.

Hũa gram defesa sento
que vascabul pode dar
por queu farey juramento
que nunca seu penssamento
foy de dar este colar.
E assy nam deue gozar
dos priuilegios damor
e poys ysto foy zombar
o seu lhe deuem tornar
sem lhe dar outro fauor.

Henrique da Mota adds, nevertheless, that although the

client was innocent this time, he had better not involve himself in such problems in the future, especially since Henrique da Mota does not doubt that Vasco Abul is a bit forward and quite capable of "lending" the chain to someone else:

Fym

E tanto que lhe for dado
nam seja aquy mays ouuido
seja daquy degradado
nam lechame namorado
poys damor nã foy vençido.
Mas eu çerto nam douido
por jsto que se ca fez
quele nam seja atreuido
em praça nem escondido
a emprestalo outra vez.

Crabbé Rocha considers the final result a case of the hill (Henrique da Mota) having the opportunity to be more powerful than the mountain (Gil Vicente), alluding to the relative importance of each in the literary history of Portugal.[46]

After having examined the plot of the dialogue, including the "courtroom proceedings," we will discuss in more detail those characters around whom the work revolves.[47]

46 André Crabbé Rocha, op. cit., p. 18.

47 Of the many characters appearing in this dialogue, we have been able to specifically refer to only a few as well-known figures of the time. These included Henrique da Mota, Gil Vicente, Queen Leonor, Mestres Gil and António. While not doubting their authenticity, many of the other

Vasco Abul[48], the protagonist, is most often described by those who surround him, as was the case with the principal figures in the other dialogues. We must mention that although the "processo" involves Vasco Abul, relatively few verses are actually spoken by him. He is an older man who is easily attracted by the beauty of a seductive dancer. He is not a liberal person, for according to the witnesses, he frivolously gave the woman her gift and later asked that it be returned. His action was one that took place on the spur of the moment. This capricious attitude on the part of the protagonist is emphasized by his stubborness and his illogical thinking. He appears to be moody and needs to be prodded to reveal his problem just as in the case of the Mule. He does not appear to be a young man, and he realizes that he can possibly win the approval of the dancer with the golden chain. He was certainly not in love with her.

characters were certainly not well-known, nor listed in books dealing with noble lineage. Thus we have figures of the time as well as literary characters. We will also observe the historical figures further on in our study. These will be specific references to people, such as Jeremiah, David, Segismundo, etc., or general titles, such as the King of Ispahan or Tremecem.

48 The Grande Enciclopédia says: "Vasco Abul é de existência real ou apenas uma criação poética de A. da Mota no Cancioneiro Geral e todavia uma de velho a quem amores tardios tornam generoso num momento de exaltação, mas que, em

The dancer, as described by Vasco Abul, is as follows:

> Hũa gentyl bayladeyra
> dalenquer
> fremosa gentil molher

She knew how to dance rustic dances, including the "tardião" and the "carrasquisea." According to Henrique da Mota, she is an orphan, which will permit him to discuss her case with authority as "juiz d'orfãos."

As far as our author is concerned, Henrique da Mota finally plays the role to which he is most accustomed. As "Juiz d'Orfãos" in real life, he was wont to deal with all matters related to the welfare of orphans, as we previously noted. Thus, he has the dual role of Henrique da Mota author and actor in an extremely important role. He does not abandon his sarcasm, irony, or burlesque traits to play this part. However, his knowledge of such procedures becomes evident in the manner in which he conducts both himself and the trial. He presents the facts concerning the case in an extremely orderly manner, submitting his arguments as he would a brief. Henrique da Mota also gives

breve, se arrepende movido pela sovinice. Pretende Braamcamp Freire ver em Vasco Abul um cavaleiro de descendência nobre, que, anteriormente a 1488, fora como capitão duma caravela na armada de D. João Bemoín, o príncipe Jalofo que visitara D. João II," Vol. I., P. 111.

himself the privilege of making the final decision, not in the name of the Queen, who is present, but in his own rational judgement. He even has the "honor" of contradicting the famous Gil Vicente, giving himself a definite feeling of superiority in the matter. Our author once again shows himself to be extremely knowledgeable in many areas.

The other principal character who appears in the work is Gil Vicente. He acts as lawyer for the defense of the dancer. He, too, is very orderly in his presentation of the facts, asking that the "bailarina" be allowed to keep the chain. He challenges Henrique da Mota's remarks, suggesting that those who are really experts in the area be called. He seems to feel that the entire matter was totally unnecessary in the first place, somewhat criticizing the author's judgement in the case itself. There seems to be a conflict concerning whether or not the words spoken in the name of Gil Vicente were actually those of the respected dramatist. Sampaio Ribeiro feels that they were not: "...o saboroso entremês prossegue com a intervenção (fingida como tudo o mais) de Gil Vicente."[49] Jack H. Parker assumes them to be those of the founder of the

49 Mário de Sampaio Ribeiro, op. cit., p. 78.

theatre[50] and Crabbé Rocha considers the question to be a labyrinth in itself, suggesting that while many of the characters' words were naturally supplied by the author of the dialogue, the possibility is strong that others, such as Gil Vicente, did interpolate their own verses. This is the idea present in the majority of poems and "ajudas" of the Cancioneiro Geral. In any case, as the latter critic points out, it was Henrique da Mota who was, at the very least, the one who organized this judicial parody.[51] We would tend to conclude the same as Senhora Crabbé Rocha.

The other characters that appear are all minor tertiary figures. Their opinions serve as "ajudas" and collective singing, ideas to which we alluded in "The Priest's Lament." Each has more or less the same thoughts in mind, while "glosando" the following "mote": "poys destes tam levemete/ este colar/ nam vos deve de lembrar." We have already discussed the exact content of each one's "vilancete." These ten characters serve as witnesses in a would-be trial.

50 Jack Horace Parker, Gil Vicente (New York, 1967) p. 119.

51 Andrée Crabbé Rocha, op. cit. pp. 16-17.

Speaking of that trial, we are led to an examination of the actual structure of the dialogue. "The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul" is actually divided into several parts, in the same manner as a courtroom scene. The characters present in the first part, or scene, are Vasco Abul and Henrique da Mota, with the latter interviewing the former. Our author, by speaking with the protagonist, is familiarizing himself with the facts before presenting the case. The second scene involves the testimony of ten different figures. In actual trials today, their testimony would probably be objected to and omitted from the case. This is principally because it would represent hearsay and only the opinions of the person involved, rather than true fact. Each suggests that Vasco Abul forget about the "colar."

The third and final part of the work includes the case as presented by both Henrique da Mota and Gil Vicente, as well as a final rebuttal and decision by our author. While all of this is taking place, it is assumed that Queen Leonor is present. One of the introductory remarks in this scene reads as follows: "embargos danrrique da mota pera se nõ entregar o colar a vasco abul feitos a rraynha dona lyanor." However, Henrique da Mota does not presume to include the Queen within the work itself.

The parts of the dialogue to which we have just referred are actually separated by so-called scenic divisions. We previously mentioned specifically the initial introduction of the work as the beginning of the first scene. This ends with the already familiar "fym em vilancete," which also signals the entrance of the tertiary figures of the next part. They are Mestre Gil,[52] Agostinho Gyram, Affõso Fernãdez mõtarroyo, Joam Alvarez," secretareo,"[53] Diogo de Lemos, Dyoguo Gonçalvez, Tome Toscano, Bastiam da Costa, "cantor," Fernam Diaz, and Branca Alvarez, "cristaleyra." Aside from attributing their verses directly to Henrique da Mota, Sampaio Ribeiro adds that the "cristaleira" was added to enhance the burlesque nature of the work and to "fazer uma alusão sibilina ao sítio onde Vasco Abul tinha pregado o seu mealheiro."[54] Aside from this, Bastiam da Costa is referred to in another post, as "veador," in "The Mule's Lament." However, we have no other information to pursue this fact any further.

52 He is known to have been the royal surgeon of the period of Afonso V and Manuel I from 1502 on.

53 He was a royal scribe for D. Manuel in 1509. Grande Enciclopédia, Vol. II., p. 200.

54 Sampaio Ribeiro, op. cit., p. 78.

This scene comes to an end with the remarks of Branca Alvarez, and the next begins with the "embargos" by our author. As we previously observed, this last scene not only includes the author's remarks, but also the "parecer/ de Gil Vicente neste processo de Vasco Abul a rraynha dona lyanor," and the final "rrepryca dãrrique da mota a estas rrazões de gil vicente."

The action and movement in this work are rather static. They resemble somewhat "The Priest's Lament." "The Farce of the Gardener," while including a tour around the garden itself, was also rather static. This is in direct contrast to both "The Farce of the Tailor" and "The Mule's Lament," works in which the principal protagonists traveled quite a lot, either within the work itself, or in the descriptions of what had taken place between scenes.

Time and space are not very well defined, except for the fact that we know that the dialogue occurred in Almada. A court would be the probable setting for the work, while the presence of the Queen limits the year in which it takes place to one of those in which Queen Leonor was visiting the aforementioned town. This was already discussed in our biography of Henrique da Mota.

Besides the special effect of the scenic divisions, as well as minor elements which enhance the work's dramatic potential, such as the courtroom-like atmosphere and the aspects of time and space, we also refer to various asides, props, and the value of the tertiary figures themselves. The asides are combined with the majority of the characters' statements made directly to the Queen, or to one of the primary "actors" in this piece. However, we especially note their presence in the summations given by the two lawyers. The only prop to which the author refers is the jewelry itself. We must assume that it is now in the possession of the court, judging from the remarks made by the characters themselves when deciding to whom it properly belongs. Finally, the tertiary characters in this work make it the dialogue with the largest number of participants. There are thirteen figures who speak, as well as two who are mentioned, including the Queen and Diogo Coutinho, the relator. Therefore, the interaction between each must necessarily be more complex than in any previous work. This also means that either the author had to invent new characters or that more members of the Court and its environs involved themselves by way of "ajudas."

Important stylistic traits of this work include the

legalistic summations, as well as the innumerable mythological, literary, and historical references used by the author in presenting the case itself. In the first case, Henrique da Mota directs himself to the Judge (Queen Leonor). He presents the principal information and proceeds to try to support his arguments in the most effective manner possible.

The author begins by explaining what he intends to prove: "E diz e provar entende..." He then lists in a very legalistic manner all of those principal arguments pertaining to the petition: "Item...Item...Item." Henrique da Mota then makes his conclusion, as though appealing to a judge and jury for a decision in the case.

Each item in Gil Vicente's presentation is parallel to a remark made by our author, bringing a definite sense of unity to the dialogue. The same is true of Henrique da Mota's rebuttal and final judgement. He carefully argues against Gil Vicente's attack, speaking to each point. This leads him to a logical conclusion after having heard all of the "evidence." It is quite interesting to note that the remarks of these two "lawyers" are far more coherent and well-founded than those made by Gonçalo da Mota, the judge in "The Farce of the Tailor." It also appears that although

the dialogue does contain many burlesque elements, it does not seem to us that Henrique da Mota was nearly as humorous as he was in the four previous works. As we previously stated, it seems to be more a vehicle for the presentation of Henrique da Mota as a professional. As Sampaio Ribeiro states, "Henrique da Mota zombeteia à margem de acontecimentos verídicos, intervindo nele directamente na dupla qualidade de autor e de funcionário...Não há de negar que esse parecer é uma das obras-primas de Henrique da Mota, porque nele imita com rara perfeição o estilo do magistrado culto e competente, que albergava sob a toga um ânimo indulgente e compreensivo como poucos."[55]

The literary and historical references encountered in Henrique da Mota's presentation of the case begin with vague mention of the many chronicles written during the Age of Discoveries:

> .....
> que quem tem bem pode dar
> asy o diz outro texto
> na conquista dultramar.
> E no parrafo segundo
> doutra caronica nova.
> .....

The Conquista d'Ultramar is an early example of a sort

55 Sampaio Ribeiro, op. cit., pp. 77-79.

of chivalresque book about the crusades, a compilation of heterogeneous materials of French origin, translated or adapted into Spanish.[56]

Henrique da Mota also mentions the previously discussed Sergas d'Esplandián. The author obviously uses these documents in his rationalization of the case. In trying to prove that what he will say will be quite easy to comprehend, our author adds that it is like trying to prove that "el rrey de fez he mouro," a fact which is understood. He also refers to other impressive figures, such as the "rrey dispam,"[57] the "dalfym de franca,"[58] and the "rrey de tremecem."[59] King Segismundo (1338-1437), an important figure in world politics of this time, as well as Emperor of Germany, is also mentioned.

As witness, Henrique da Mota would like to call "doutor pero correa primo de matusalem," evidently a wise

56 Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, (Madrid), Tomo XLIV, Libro II, Cap. XLIII and Menéndez y Pelayo, Orígenes de la Novela (Madrid, 1905), Tomo I, pp. CXXXV-CXXXVIII.

57 "Ispahan, antiga capital de Pérsia, perto de Ormuz," Grande Enciclopédia, Vol. XVII, p. 76.

58 "Título que se dava ao primogénito do rei de França e muitos senhores feudais," Grande Enciclopédia, Vol. VIII, p. 511

59 "Tremecem e uma cidade argelina da fronteira de Marrocos. Ocupado muitas vezes pelos portugueses," Grande Enciclopédia, Vol. XXXII, p. 707.

old contemporary of the author. Also to be called are "janes breca," a pharmacist now living in Cairo, and a Moorish Vicar, "na casa de meca," as well as Joham Pĩz de Bragança and Janes Pera, who know a lot about the dances performed by the orphan. Interestingly enough, since the case also involves liberality and illiberality, or "lyberays e avaros," Henrique da Mota also decides to call upon two priests who are now near Mount Sinai:

> .....
> e tã bem damos dous frades
> questam em montesynay.
> Por questes conheçer tem
> dos lyberays e avaros
> .....

This is an additional commentary to be included with those already made concerning the clergy. Other mocked figures were the Vicar in the minor poetry and in "The Priest's Lament," and the cleric of the latter, as well as the clergy at Alcobaça in "The Mule's Lament." He also refers to other witnesses who live in the "montes craros," the term given by the Portuguese to a range in North Africa.[60]

60 Jole Ruggieri, op. cit., p. 32, says that when Henrique refers to those who inhabited Sinai and "montes craros," "c'è un tratto interessante in cui se può riconoscere um'allusione a João-d'Espera-em Dios, il tipo peninsulare dell'Ebreo errante, e per cui si può provare che questo essere mitico o semi-mitico era volgare in Portogallo nel 1493, e aveva già a quel tempo la fama di sapiente leggendario."

For a final piece of information, the author suggests that such Biblical figures as Jeremiah[61] and David be consulted for their wisdom. In the case of the latter, he is referred to antonomastically:

> .....
> e aquele que huryas
> fez matar de amor sojeyto.

The incident referred to is David's adulterous relationship with Bathsheba. When it was found out that she had conceived, the King had Uriah sent to the front during a battle, a fate which meant certain death, as described in Samuel, Book II, Chapter 11. All of the references made in Henrique da Mota's summation of the facts add to what we already know of his widespread knowledge in many areas.

When Gil Vicente refers to anyone specifically, he mentions that neither "Bartolo[62]...nem os doutores legistas/ nem os quatro evangelistas," could give worthwhile testimony in this case. He suggests that neither lawyers, judges, or the four evangelists could possibly have the experience that true lovers have ("mas os namorados ssy"). Gil Vicente adds that perhaps "Arelhano" could be the

61 "c. 650 ac. profeta da ruina de Jerusalém e do cativeiro, também do futuro messiânico," Grande Enciclopédia, Vol. XIV, p. 201.

62 "Juris consulto italiano (1313-57) - celebérrimo como comentador do direito romano: conselheiro privado do Emperador Carlos IV." Grande Enciclopédia, Vol. IV, p. 321.

judge[63], but warns against "mestre antónio,"[64] saying that those who have studied these matters the least would be the best witnesses. Thus, he proves his familiarity with other names in the legal circle. The witnesses that he would call include both "pero marques" and "pero monyz," obscure names of the period. Of course, Henrique da Mota criticizes Gil Vicente's comments, mentioning that "esse galante moniz," for example, can go to the Devil. He adds that "o marques," or "pero marques," is even more Macias than Macias himself, alluding to the famous love-poet included in the Cancionero de Baena.

Aside from all of the above references, another interesting characteristic of the work is the use, once again, of the antithesis. We note "amor...guerra," "nom amar...amar," "tem os pes por cabeceyra," "vos faz ja do norte sul," and "nam he erro serem dados/ e he erro ser pididos." More extensive examples are found in the group of "glosas" of "vilancetes" in the second scene: "o colar que ja foy vosso/

63 "juiz dos fins do século XV e princípios do XVI que viveu na corte de Portugal. Chamado João Ranures de Arelhano, fidalgo castelhano." Grande Enciclopédia, Vol. III, p. 173.

64 A Portuguese doctor of D. João II who was still living in 1551. He was mentioned in the chronicles of the period.

que he de que nam he vossa"; "Ho tempo tem poder tal/ que faz do sservo isento/ faz lyberal avarento/ do avarento lyberal..."; "Com o colar que cuydastes/ de prender fycastes presso"; and "O galante que ssemcarna/ em amores e em dar/ nam se deve mais coçar/ nem menos deve ter sarna/ poys fycays desta encarna/ descarnado..."

As far as the versification of the work is concerned, "The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul" is quite varied, involving approximately seven different combinations of stanzas, verses, and syllables. The first part of the work contains fifteen nine-verse stanzas. Of the nine verses, each contains seven syllables, except for the second and eighth verses, which generally contain but three syllables. The exceptions to this are the eight verses of the fifth and sixth stanzas, and the second verses of the twelfth and thirteenth stanzas, which contain four syllables. The rhyme schemes are aBbacdcDc and aBbacdcDc.

These fifteen stanzas are followed by a "vilancete" containing a three-verse "mote" and a seven-verse "glosa." The ten verses in this stanza contain seven syllables each, except for the second of the "mote" and the next to the last of the "glosa." Those again contain but three syllables. The rhyme scheme is aBb cddceBb.

This "vilancete" is followed by a five-verse heptasyllabic stanza which asks that the "ajudadores" offer their "glosas." Proceeding are ten seven-verse stanzas. Each of the verses is heptasyllabic, except for the sixth verse of the fourth, sixth, and seventh stanzas, which contain three. The rhyme pattern is abbaaCc.

The "embargos" by Henrique da Mota are comprised of twelve stanzas in all. The first eleven contain ten verses and the final one nine. Each verse is heptasyllabic. The "parecer" by Gil Vicente is made up of eight nine-verse heptasyllabic stanzas and the final "rrepryca" by the author contains nine ten-verse heptasyllabic stanzas.[65] In all, there are fifty-seven stanzas, including the "mote" and "glosa."

Thus we have completed a discussion of Henrique da Mota's final dialogue. We found it to be somewhat less farcical than others, but no less interesting, structurally speaking, than preceding ones. There were more characters involved, including more well-known figures of the period, that in any previous work by our author. The dialogue

65 In the "embargos" the rhyme is generally ababacdccd and in the "parecer" and "rrepryca" it is abbacdccd and abaaccdccd, respectively.

tended to be lively, but no specific attention was placed on time or space. However, if we were to speak of performability, we would rank "The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul" with "The Farce of the Tailor," another dialogue which we considered to have great dramatic potential and complexity. Henrique da Mota's artistry once again comes to the forefront in this final work.

# PART V

# CONCLUSION

## Conclusion

Throughout our study, we have traced the development of both the performance and dramatic text in the Iberian Peninsula, from the Middle Ages to the appearance of the Cancioneiro Geral in 1516. We showed the important roles of the classical, liturgical, and profane influences in the origins of the theatre. The liturgical performances and texts were examined from their first manifestations to their culmination in the works of both Juan del Encina and Gil Vicente. The profane influences, specifically involving the "momos," "arremedilhos" and "entremeses," brought the element of the spectacle to the developing theatre.

However, we realized not only the importance of the performance, but the text as well, in the growth of dramatic works. In this respect, we gathered and examined all available dialogical works, from the earliest anonymous Peninsular poems to the clearly developed works present in the early sixteenth century "cancioneros." The purpose of this careful study of this development was to give a clear picture of the actual state of the ever-developing theatre at the time of the appearance of the works by our author, Henrique da Mota. In this way we could better determine the place of this relatively unheralded author in the liter-

ary history of both Spain and Portugal. We previously determined that we would examine his major works from the point of view of a contribution to the history of the theatre. Therefore, the second half of our study was dedicated to a thorough study of the man, including his biography and the evolution of his artistry.

We gathered information from various sources, documents which had already been studied, newly-discovered manuscripts and facts obtained from the author's works themselves. Thus, Henrique da Mota (c.1475-c.1545) was an influential man of the Court. He was a respected squire, scribe, and judge, and a man who was trusted by the Kings under whom he served. His literary production included various short amorous and quasi-philosophical poems and longer lyrical compositions, in which his talents as a writer dealing with burlesque themes became increasingly obvious. Also, with each new work, our author's potential for writing dramatic works likewise increased. Afterwards, in the 1528 letter concerning Inês de Castro, he very interestingly combined lyrical, narrative, and dramatic elements. What, then, is Henrique da Mota's place in the literary history of the Peninsula?

Our author's brief poems are typical of the themes

encountered in the poetic collections of the period. While containing a few stylistic traits peculiar to Henrique da Mota himself, such as the use of constant antithetical phrases, they seemed merely to follow traditional molds in speaking of love and death, sadness and hardship. However, once the author's three more extensive minor poems were examined, it became evident that his true genius lay not in the typical straight-forward themes of the period, but rather in works of burlesque nature. We saw this to be true in the poem discussing his fruitless attempts to be paid for wines which he had sold to an armada, and in another in which he discusses confession and penitence. The latter also showed Henrique da Mota to be very critical of hypocritical representatives of the Church, censuring those who obviously did not practice what they preached. Again, the theme of wine was prevalent.

The author's final minor poem placed him within an ever-expanding group of authors who used Cupid as a principal figure in at least one of their works. Mediaeval dialogical poetry was saturated with such a practice. In fact, Henrique da Mota's work was quite similar to one which we examined by Cartagena, in the Cancionero General. Thus, for the first time, we observe our author participating

in the long tradition of the two-character debate, which we studied in depth. The tradition, beginning with that of "Agua y Vino" and "Elena y María," was to be one of the bases from which Peninsular theatre was to develop. We noticed, therefore, that Henrique da Mota was not to be influenced particularly by classical or liturgical texts, but was in fact, more affected by the profane tradition.

Thus, our author's minor poetry was to allow for the possibility for future development, indicating a dramatic potential and an attraction towards the burlesque. This culminated in Henrique da Mota's five principal dialogues: "The Priest's Lament," "The Farce of the Tailor," "The Farce of the Gardener," "The Mule's Lament," and "The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul." In them, we saw a variety of characters and themes. The number of figures appearing or mentioned in each dialogue was as few as three and as many as thirteen. These farcical works were invariably lively and the interaction among the characters enhanced those dialogues. A whole range of social classes was represented. We observed slaves, the working class, the clergy, the nobility, and royalty, not to mention the appearance of a Mule in a primary role. The figures themselves were taken from legends, history, literature, and the period in which the works were

written. Many times they spoke according to their ethnic background, as was the case of the "negra" and the Jewish tailor.

The themes were also varied. Henrique da Mota criticized the clergy in the first dialogue, spoke to the problem of the country-wide conversion in the second one, and had a humorous conversation with a gardener, over the character of a purveyor, in the third. The fourth was rather allegorical and representative of the harsh famine affecting the country, and the final one served as a vehicle for the author in his true profession as lawyer and judge.

Henrique da Mota took these themes from his own times. His Erasmian attitude towards the clergy was widespread in the sixteenth century. The Negro woman, who served as slave and mistress to the cleric, was one of many such blacks brought to Portugal during the Age of Discoveries. Manuel, the tailor, is one of many Jews who converted at the turn of the century, just after the laws forcing his people to do so were adopted. His confusion and torment also seem typical of those who were stereotyped according to the views of the times.

In "The Farce of the Gardener," our author merely conversed with the little man who ruled the Queen's orchard.

We are let to believe that Jerónimo D'Aires, a purveyor of the district, was a difficult man. Thus the Queen sent Henrique da Mota to try to correct the situation by means of her miracle-working horticultural expert.

"The Mule's Lament" showed the horrendous conditions of the times, while once again not sparing any criticism of the clergy. The work also permitted us to include Henrique da Mota's composition in a trend of such dialogues in which a horse or mule was the principal figure.

"The Lawsuit of Vasco Abul," as we previously said, allowed the author to express more freely his judicial knowledge by means of a parody dialogue.

It appears evident that Henrique da Mota, in these five dialogues, far surpassed any efforts previously made by many Peninsular poets to write effective dramatic dialogues. The dramatic potential of his dialogues becomes even more evident when reviewing their structure. Not only is there a greater interaction of characters than before, but their speaking parts are more lively and they are aided by props and asides. Moreover, the dialogues themselves contain specific scenic descriptions and movements, and obvious subdivisions into acts and scenes.

Thus, we repeat, Henrique da Mota's contribution in the

development of the dramatic dialogue is evidently important. We have previously referred to our author's relationship to various important men of the Court, some of whom were instrumental in the performance of "momos" and "entremeses." Sampaio Ribeiro discusses this aspect in his article[1], and confirms the possibility that Henrique da Mota's dialogues may very well have been performed in the Court on special occasions. We see nothing with which to negate that possibility, in view of the relatively advanced state of development of the works, their burlesque "arremedilho"-like nature, and their inherent dramatic potential.

Then, is the role of Henrique da Mota that of one of the founders of Portuguese theatre? Definitely so, not only because he carried the burlesque text to a point not yet reached in his country, but also because of the possible influence his works had on those of Gil Vicente, considered to be the father of Portuguese theatre. Admittedly, Gil Vicente introduced liturgically-influenced works into Portugal, in the same fashion as Juan del Encina did in Spain. However, let us consider the following facts: Henrique da Mota's works are of a burlesque nature; they were

1 Sampaio Ribeiro, op. cit.

written before 1516; and they appear long before many of the farces written by Gil Vicente. By selecting certain passages from "The Priest's Lament," "The Farce of the Tailor," and "The Farce of the Gardener," we hope to demonstrate clearly that, at the very least, certain elements in our author's valuable dialogues definitely precede those found in Gil Vicente's plays and, very possibly, influenced those plays.

In the first dialogue, the figure of the Priest is presented as a comic figure, one that is quite similar to clergymen presented in Gil Vicente's works. Since the dialogue written by Henrique da Mota precedes those works by Vicente in which this same character appears, one could suggest that the "founder" of the Portuguese theatre could have been isnpired by our author's writings. However, even though Gil Vicente probably knew of the dialogue, the figure, as he was presented, was common enough that this need not definitely be a case of one author influencing another. What is certain, however, is that Gil Vicente's satirized cleric has Portuguese literary predecessors, thus proving once again that the term "founder" does not necessarily mean inventor. The Vicentine works to which we refer are the Clérigo da Beira (1526), the Auto da Barca

do Inferno (1516), the Auto de Barca da Glória (1517), and the Farsa dos Físicos, of an uncertain date.[2]

The Clérigo de Beira criticizes various aspects of the clergy. Besides suggesting that clerics' offspring are usually poorly raised ("filho de clerigo es/ nunca bõ feito faras")[3] and that they are as bad as the men of the Court, we observe the cleric in question as he recites Mass in the manner of an ignorant rural priest of Portugal. It appears that Latin paraphrases of various biblical psalms are haphazardly interwoven with just about any thought that comes to the priest's mind. Let us note a brief exchange between the cleric and his son:

C. Pater Noster
F. Que siso!
na caça pera que é isso,
senão Domine labia? Andar.
C. Domine labia mea
tu priol a pé irás.
F. Se cansares, assentar-te-ás,
pois que não tens facanea.
C. Venite, exultemos,
que cães que furão que temos
pera tempo de mister!
F. Domine Dominus noster
nos dês com que os manter,
e coelhos que levemos.

2 vid. Oscar de Pratt, Gil Vicente, (Lisboa, 1931), pp. 209-213, and Dicionário das Literaturas Portuguesa, Galega e Brasileira, op. cit., p. 866.

3 Gil Vicente, Obras Completas, 2a ed., prefácio e notas de Marques Braga (Lisboa, 1955), Vol.VI, p.3, v.12-13.

C. Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei,
não cuide nem Papa nem Rei
que está no cume da serra.
F. Domini est terra,
que é senhor de toda grei.
C. Ora te Deus laudamus,
pois que tal menhã levamos
pera provarnos a perra.
.....
F. Beati omnes que tem,
que estes podem dizer bem
Loetatus sum in iis.
C. Lauda Hierusalém,
a todo o homem que tem
vinténs, tostões e ceitís.[4]

In this parody, which also appears in the Libro de Buen Amor, we note a reference to the Jewish stereotype who is always related to money. The father and son finish their Mass and the farce continues, with the priest's role being a rather limited one. However, suffice it to say that Gil Vicente has certainly left this representative of the Church open to criticism.

The same is true of the various men of the cloth seen in the two of the three Barcas. In the "Boat of Hell," the "frade" is destined to condemnation because of the loose life that he has led. He enters the scene with his mistress and cannot possibly understand why he is made to suffer. Nor can he comprehend why his mistress is not allowed to accompany him:

4 Ibid., p. 5-8

Dia. Entrai, Padre reverendo.
Fra. Pera onde levais gente?
Dia. Pera aquele fogo ardente,
que não temeste vivendo.
Fra. Juro a Deus que não t'entendo
e este hábito não me val?
Dia. Gentil padre mundanal,
a Berzebu vos encomendo.
Fra. Corpo de Deus consagrado!
Pola fé de Jesu Cristo,
qu'eu não posso entender isto:
eu hei de ser codenado?
Um padre tão namorado,
e tanto dado a virtude!
.....
Como! por ser namorado,
e folgar c'ũa mulher,
se há-de um frade se perder,
com tanto salmo rezado?

5

However, it is much too late to save his soul, especially when he has just given the very reasons for his downfall. It is also worth mentioning that the Devil in this work threatens the "frade" with being "pingado," or having drops of boiling fat or oil spilled on him. Curiously enough, it was this very same punishment that the Priest promised to give the "negra" in Henrique da Mota's work.

In the Auto da Barca da Glória, a Bishop, an Archbishop, a Cardinal, and a Pope are all chastized by the cunning Devil. Each is accused of not living up to the standards of behavior set for them by the Church, but each is saved nevertheless. Although the critic's opinion with re-

5 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 58-64.

gard to the ecclesiastical branch of society is well-stated, he prudently terminated the work as he did in "deus ex machina" fashion, with Christ's last-minute revival on stage.

Although men of the Church do appear in other Vicentine plays, the final one which we will discuss comes from the Farsa dos Físicos. Not only does this piece sharply criticize medicine, and the men who practice it, but it offers one last example of the burlesque priest. In this case the "clérigo" is overcome by his love for a young girl, Blanca Denisa. Reis Brasil has called this the most sarcastic example of the licentious cleric of the times.[6] The priest claims that he is dying because of his love and speaks of the powers of Cupid. He does this in a fashion that is reminiscent of actual prayers:

> Ó Cupido mi señor,
> in te speravi e espero,
> pues testigo eres que quiero
> a ti por mi valedor
> neste mal de que me muero.[7]

When Blanca states that she does not love the cleric, he laments in almost the exact words as did Henrique da Mota's Priest, as we have already observed in our summary of the

6 Reis Brasil, Gil Vicente e o teatro moderno, (Lisboa, 1965), p. 167.

7 Gil Vicente, op. cit. Vol. VI, p. 101, v.6-9.

plot:

> Ay, ay, ay triste de mí!
> Porque la muerte no viene?
> .....
> que el vivir no me conviene.[8]

Doctors come to try and cure him, but to no avail. Only the "padre Confessor" succeeds. He does so by comparing the priest's situation to Jacob's chasing Rachel for over fourteen years. The father confessor also mentions that he too has literally been chasing a young woman for more than fifteen years. The priest is characterized and ridiculed by the author in the same manner as is the character described by Henrique da Mota.

The principal comparison between Henrique da Mota's "The Priest's Lament" and Gil Vicente's works has yet to be made, even though the figures already described are already quite similar. Aside from writing forty-four plays, Gil Vicente was also the author of "obras miudas," or minor works. Among these is the "Pranto de Maria Parda." This poem was written in 1522, according to Maria Parda herself:

> E ante de meu finamento,
> ordeno meu testamento
> desta maneira seguinte,

8 Ibid., p. 106, v. 16-17,20.

na triste era de vinte
e dous desde o nascimento.[9]

It would certainly not be improbable to suppose that Gil Vicente's Maria Parda might have been influenced by our author's goliardesque cleric.

Although the use of the lament was not an original idea in either Henrique da Mota or Gil Vicente, L. Stegagno Picchio states that the poem by da Mota was the direct model for Vicente's "pranto." Not only does Stegagno Picchio speak of the relationship that must have existed between the two authors, but she also speaks briefly of the popular sources of both. She says that the sources are in the traditional Italian and Provençal popular songs and mentions that Plautus has a similar lament in his Cistellaria.[10]

In both Henrique da Mota and Gil Vicente, the protagonists, the Priest and Maria Parda, lament the lack of wine. In the first case, as we previously noted, the cleric did possess the product, but spilled it. In the case of Maria Parda, it appears that she was the victim of

9 Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 238, v.3-7.

10 Luciana Stegagno Picchio, Il'Pranto de Maria Parda' di Gil Vicente, (Napoli, 1963), pp. 19-22.

a nationwide famine and dry spell. It was also at this time that Spain suffered a crop failure and France was involved in destructive wars.[11] King Manuel also died in this tragic 1521-1522 period. As Jack Horace Parker suggests, it is out of this terrible situation that Gil Vicente sought a means of diverting the attention of the downtrodden people by making light of it and composing this parody.[12]

Just as we observed with "The Priest's Lament," the value of "Maria Parda" lies in its characterization of the poor woman. She will go to any extreme to buy some wine, to the point of selling her clothing. She even contacts everyone she meets to ask for his assistance. The Priest did the same in his plea to his "amici mei." Maria Parda begs her "bebedores irmãos" to understand her plight. One important difference between the two works is that none of Maria Parda's acquaintances was willing to help her, while the cleric was consoled by many. However,he was not asking for money, which certainly might have caused his friends to turn away as well.

Both characters begin their laments in a similar

11 Jack Horace Parker,Gil Vicente (New York, 1967), pp.119-220.

12 Loc. cit.

manner:

Clerigo: Ay, ay, ay, ay, que farey
.....
Que farey triste mezquinho.

María : Triste desaventurada,
.....
Triste, que será de mí!

Both end with a desperate plea for everyone to cry with them:

Clérigo:...ajuday chorar o triste...

María :...Chorai todos meu perigo...

The evidence in favor of Henrique da Mota's influence is almost too imposing to ignore. Should such be the case, as every critic we have consulted has suggested, then the contribution of our talented author's works to the development and evolution of the Portuguese theatre is clearly evident. Adding to our proof that the dialogues written by Henrique da Mota were possibly performed is offered in connection with this same "Pranto de Maria Parda." This lament, which is composed of a long monologue by the protagonist, brief exchanges between her and six minor figures, and a final last will and testament recited by Maria Parda, was performed in the D. Maria Theatre in Lisbon on the occasion of the fourth centenary of Gil Vicente's death. The dialogue was recited as a theatrical work and starred

Adelina Ruas.[13] Certainly all of the five dialogues written by Henrique da Mota are at least as complex as Gil Vicente's "Pranto." The compositions contain just as much dramatic potential as this relatively uncomplicated piece, if not more.

Another possible influence is observed in connection with the second principal character of "The Priest's Lament:" the Negress. Once again, all of the Vicentine characters similar to the figure of the Negress appear long after 1516.

The first work by Gil Vicente in which a "preto" appears is the Fragoa d'Amor (1524). In this particular work, we note two specific scenes involving the Blackman. In the first, a "Negro" speaks with Venus and praises her beauty, just as the Sierra Leonese King, in Fernão de Silveira's poem, spoke of the good qualities of Princess Joana. The Negro also speaks of his poor station in life as a bitter slave who is treated like a dog, similar to the complaints of the previously studied Negroes. However, he admires the beauty of Venus and will even steal for her

13 Óscar de Pratt, op. cit. pp. 197-198.

if she desires him to do so. In the second scene, the "negro" speaks with Jupiter and Mercury, who will transform him into a "branco," or white man. He hopes that this will make him more attractive, especially if his features are also changed. The only problem is that after he is transformed, his manner of speech is exactly the same as it was before. This causes him to despair:

> Ja mão minha branco estai,
> e aqui perna branco he,
> mas a mi fala guiné:
> se a mi negro falai,
> a mi branco para que?
> Se fala meu he negregado,
> e não fala Portugás,
> para que mi martelado?[14]

This is actually the first reference to the Black's realization that he speaks differently. He adds that if his mode of speaking is still that of a Negro, he might as well still be one in color too.

In the Nao d'Amores (1527), a Negro wants to enter the boat captained by Cupid so that he may join in the search for good fortune. A crazy cleric says that the Negro will have to wash himself before entering the boat because of his terrible odor. When an old man tries to

14 Gil Vicente, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 116,v.1-8.

join them, the Negro speaks a few words that are reminiscent of Love's verses in Rodrigo de Cota's "Diálogo entre el amor y un viejo:"

> Poro que vejo, morgurado
> vai d'amoro sua navio!
> Boso mundi ja parraro,
> boso barba ja cajaro,
> boso sangue ja sa frio,
> boso amor sá comungaro.[15]

In the Clérigo da Beira (1526), a Negro is able to rob poor, naive Gonçalo of his purse and clothing, just after he had been robbed of his food and the animals he had hunted. This Negro is a fast-talking con artist. After hearing how he was originally purchased by his owner and how he was mistreated, we note a most interesting monologue. It concerns the Negro's overall feeling of disgust:

> Vira mundo dura canseira:
> senhor grandem cansiera.
> home prove, canseira;
> muiere fermoso, canseira;
> negro cativo, canseira;
> senhor de negro, canseira;
> Vai misa, canseira;
> pregação longo, canseira;
> Crerigo nam tem muiere, canseira;
> crerigo tem muiere, canseira,
> grande canseira;
> .....[16]

15 Gil Vicente, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 82,v.20-25.

16 Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 25-26.

Gil Vicente's final work, Floresta de Enganos (1536), offers only a few verses spoken by a Negro. In this play, a judge is disguised as a black woman, This is but one of the many deceitful actions observed in the piece. His language again demonstrates rudimentary and exotic traits. However, this work does not compare in any way to the previous examples. In general, Gil Vicente's Negroes speak almost the same way as do Henrique da Mota's.

The purpose of using the language as such was to evoke a stronger feeling of realism in the plays. Instead of actually including native dialects within the speech patterns of the characters, both authors made the manner of speech of those figures seem uneducated and infantile. They had hoped that in this way they could make their characters burlesque in nature, even more so than they actually were. In this sense, their success is evident. Each Negro is an individual, with no one having exactly the same traits as another. Their humor consisted of not only how they spoke their ideas, but also of the ideas themselves. The Negroes of both Henrique da Mota and Gil Vicente always complained of their being mistreated, and

also spoke of their loves and gave philosophical views on life. As R. Sayers suggests, it is not important whether or not the African dialects were truly imitated. What is important is to show that the slave did not speak as well as the master and to realize the final objective of entertaining the reader and/or audience.[17] In this respect, once again it is obvious that Gil Vicente was not an inventor, considering that Henrique da Mota's "língua do preto" preceded Gil Vicente's by approximately ten years.

The tradition of the Negro in the theatre was continued by various writers belonging to the "Escola Vicentina." Among them were the poet Chiado and Afonso Alvares, with the latter being a mulatto himself. Such works as the "Prática de Oito Figuras" and the "Auto de Vicente Anes Joeira" show the Negro as a comic figure. This tradition is also evident in the Golden Age theatre in Spain.[18]

In another dialogue by Henrique da Mota, "The Farce of the Tailor," we observe a "cristão-novo," a character who appears to have influenced the same character in various plays by Gil Vicente. As we have pointed out many times, even if there should be no direct influence, at the very

17 Raymond Sayers, op. cit., p. 33.

18 Ibid., pp. 43-55.

least it can be said that Gil Vicente was not the inventor of such a figure, nor was it he who first developed that character's peculiar manner of speech in Portuguese literature. Each of the Vicentine works in which this sometimes comical, sometimes ridiculous, figure appears was performed after the publication of the Cancioneiro Geral. They are the Auto de Barca do Inferno (1517), A Farsa de Inês Pereira (1523), A Farsa do Juiz de Beira (1525), O Diálogo sobre a Ressurreição (1526), and O Auto da Lusitânia (1532).[19]

As was the case with Manuel in "The Farce of the Tailor," Gil Vicente's Jew is portrayed just as the Christians of the period pictured him: he is greedy, not always intelligent, and certainly uninformed as to the traditions of the Church. In the Barca do Inferno, the "Judeu" appears with a billy-goat. He wants to bring it with him on the boat, as well as on the trip to Heaven, or Hell in his case. When the Devil refused to allow that, the Jew tries to bribe him:

> Eis aqui quatro tostões,
> e mais se vos pagará
> por vida de Sema Fará,

19 Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, Vida e Obras de Gil Vicente, op. cit. pp. 539-554.

que me passeis o cabrão.
Quereis mais outro tostão?[20]

Also interesting is the fact that while most of the other characters in the work have the opportunity to speak with the Angel, the Jew cannot. He is totally condemned:

Vos judeu, ireis a toa
que sois mui ruim pessoa.[21]

In the Farsa de Inês Pereira we have two Jewish marriage brokers. They are very kind and sympathetic characters, with no malice intended at all. They arrange for the marriage between the protagonist and the "Escudeiro." Although the arrangement does not end successfully, they have done the job to the best of their ability. We note that Gil Vicente was familiar with Hebraic traditions, especially in Vidal's blessing to Inês just before her wedding:

Alça manim, ó dona, há,
arrea espeçula
bento o Deu de Jacob,
bento o Deu que a Faraó
espantou e espantará.
Bento o Deu de Abraão
benta a terra de Canão
pera bem sejais casados,
dai-nos cá senhos ducados.[22]

20 Gil Vicente, op. cit., Vol II, p. 68 v.1-5.

21 Ibid., p. 69, v.16-17.

22 Ibid., Vol. V, p. 252,l.12-20.

As Marques Braga states, "a frase 'area especula' (arranja o cabelo), deve referir-se à exigência das normas conjugais judaicas para encobrir o cabelo. A fórmula de benção, que segue, é a mistura dos excertos traduzidos da liturgia hebraica."[23] We also notice the use of the word "Deu," used in the same manner as in Henrique da Mota's dialogue.

The Farsa do Juiz da Beira, a work which also presented a burlesque judge, as we shall soon see, offers the figure of a shoemaker named Alonso López, a Spanish Jew who is not at all happy with his conversion. He is brought before the judge because he had involved his daughter in dealings with a procuress. Most interesting, however, is his negative attitude towards his new religion. When he first enters the scene, he states the following:

> Cuando éramos judíos,
> dolor del tiempo pasado,
> ciento y veinte y un ducado
> tenía en ducados míos,
> sin le faltar un cornado.
> Morador en Carrión,
> y mercader en Medina,
> casado con dona Dina,
> nieta de Jacob Zarión,
> maestro mor d'Adefina.[24]

23 Ibid., nota.

24 Ibid., pp. 286-287, 1.12-16,1-5

After speaking about his past, including the quantity of money that he used to possess, he continues:

> Agora que soy guayado
> y negro cristianejo,
> ándome a calzado viejo,
> desnudo, desfarrapado,
> el mas triste del concejo.[25]

He is now the poorest soul of them all!

In addition, he confesses that he almost never goes to Mass, much in the same way Manuel does not understand the rites of the Church:

> ...que siendo en misa yo,
> adó pocas veces vó.....[26]

He concludes by saying that he prefers not to die a Christian, if he can possibly avoid it:

> .....
> y a mi negra vejez
> me dé si cristiano muero.[27]

His displeasure is slightly more exaggerated than that of the Jew in "The Farce of the Tailor."

The Diálogo sobre a Ressurreição appears to be a continuation of the Auto da História de Deus. In the Diálogo, the three principal characters are the Rabbis Levi, Samuel, and Aroz. They are discussing the events concerning the

25 Ibid., p. 287, l.6-10

26 Ibid., p. 292, l.2-3

27 Ibid., p. 294, l.4-5

death of Christ and are informed that He has been Resurrected. The ensuing dialogue between the three men shows their hypocrisy and fears, as well as their ignorance. As J. H. Parker has pointed out, in referring to Celso Láfer's excellent study on the Jew's in Gil Vicente's works,

> the three Rabbis are entirely unlikeable and bear the brunt of the author's ridicule. Generally speaking, Gil Vicente showed great tolerance and sympathy for non-Christians, but in his religious plays, his intolerance..., typical of early sixteenth century Portugal, is normally very evident. The Jew in this play is the contemporary Jew who will not accept the proof of the Scriptures, and it is against him that the anti-Semitism of the Nation is directed in this dialogue.[28]

As far as our study is concerned, the most interesting part of the Auto da Lusitânia is its first scene. In that section of the play we are witness to a typical Jewish family's life and customs. Lediça, the daughter, speaks of her father and says that he should have been a nobleman, and not a tailor, as was Manuel in Henrique da Mota's dialogue. Much of the conversation in this part revolves around the fact that Lediça is being courted by a man known as the "cortesão." There are references to famous Jewish physicians and Rabbis, as well as certain passages from the Bible. There are also comparisons in-

28 Parker, op. cit., p. 69

volving D. Catarina and Queen Esther of Israel, as well as D. João III and King David. Their manner of speech is once again characteristic of the Jewish literary "accent," giving added realism to the presentation. The figures are sympathetic and are not the undesireable hypocrites of other works.

In summary, the Vicentine Jew is usually dealt with graciously, with only a moderate amount of satire, except for the religious works. In these he is severly critized and ridiculed.[29] Since Henrique da Mota's works are not religious in nature, it is with the first group that we can associate him. The figure of Manuel in "The Farce of the Tailor" is quite similar to the "cristão-novo" as presented by Gil Vicente. In both the figure of the convert and his dialect, it is evident that Gil Vicent'e predecessor was Henrique da Mota.

This role of precursor on the part of our author is obvious in one more element in this dialogue. The character of the judge who is a burlesque figure and who rationalizes illogically is personified by the previously discussed Gonçalo da Mota and by Pero Marques, the Judge in Vicente's Juiz da Beira. The latter is characterized by his author

29 This literary tradition is also apparent in Gil Vicente's followers. vid. Teyssier, op. cit., p. 171.

as a man who "dava sentenças disformes por ser homen simples."[30] However, as Leite de Vasconcelos suggests, one should not necessarily take the dramatist at his word, especially when we observe the wit and common sense exhibited by Pero Marques.[31] His judgments are generally quite comical and an excellent vehicle for Gil Vicente to criticize this representative of justice. One interesting parallel which can be drawn between this work and Henrique da Mota's dialogue is the judge's decision regarding the Squire, one of the many defendants who appear. This "escudeiro" had given the procuress, Ana Dias, a "cruzado" to free him of his affection towards a Negro woman with whom he had fallen in love. When Ana Dias fails to comply with her promise to do so, the squire pleads with Pero Marques to have her repay the money. The judge rules that since the man had spent the money to fall out of love, which he should not have done, he must forfeit it. He concludes the following:

> Desde aqui sentenceio eu
> a moeda por perdida
> como alma da judeu.

30 Gil Vicente, Vol. V., p. 300,l.16-18.

31 Leite de Vasconcelos, A Farsa do Alfaiate, op. cit., p. 48.

The first obvious comparison lies in the fact that both Manuel and the "Escudeiro" complain of the loss of their "cruzado." The second is perhaps the more interesting. It involves both judges' decisions against the plaintiffs. In the first case, Manuel was Jewish and earned his money before having converted. Therefore, he deserved to lose the coin. In the second, the squire loses his money, just as the soul of a Jew is lost. This is a clear commentary on the generally accepted suffering of the Jews of the period and prejudice against them. Both Pero Marques' and Goncalo da Mota's rulings are quite similar in tone. Although Leite de Vasconcelos does not actually draw the final conclusion that Gil Vicente's Juiz da Beira was influenced by "The Farce of the Tailor," his suggestions towards that end are extremely evident.[32]

The final dialogue by our author which has elements similar to those found in Gil Vicente is "The Farce of the Gardener." The situation of the dialogue, that is, the Gardener's refusal to allow Henrique da Mota to enter his domain, also appears in Vicente's Dom Duardos. The same is true of the Gardener's pride. His social class, the

32 Ibid., pp. 47-49

"lavradores," is amply represented in the works of the "founder" of the Portuguese theatre, as well as in those of Torres Naharro, one of the principal Spanish "prelopistas."

In the Tragicomedia de Dom Duardos, written in 1522, we find the protagonist advised to disguise himself as a gardener's son in order to give Flérida a potion which will make her love him. It will also test whether or not Flérida's love for D. Duardos is sincere. We are then introduced to the gardener, Julián, and his wife, Constanza Ruiz. After an extremely interesting scene, which serves to contrast courtly love to that of mere "lavradores," D. Duardos enters the scene and tries to make his way into the garden. Just as was the case with João Grande and Henrique da Mota, Julián refuses to open the door until he knows who is on the other side and finds out why the visitor has come. He states the following:

> Catad, senor, que esta entrada
> nunca se dió ni dará
> que esta huerta es muy guardada.[33]

When Julián finds out about the deal which D. Duardos is willing to make if he is allowed to enter and is permitted to act as the gardener's son, Julián opens the door.

33 Gil Vicente, Vol. III, p. 245, v,23-25.

Also noteworthy is the pride felt by Julián in his garden. He feels that he does his job very well, a point agreed to by his wife. This is João Grande's opinion of himself too:

Jul. Cuerpo de Dios con la vida!
pues tengo el nabo regado,
y el rosal apañado.
no merezco la comida?
.....
Es placer:
mirad, señora mujer.
cuán ufano y cuán bonito
está el pomar desde ayer!
.....
Mirad, mi alma, el rosal
como está tan cordeal,
y el peral tan lozano!
C. Cuan alegre y cuan florido
está señor mi marido
el jazmín y los granados,
los membrillos cuán rosados,
y todo tan florecido,
los naranjos y manzanos,
alabado sea Dios![34]

Although it is to this specific work which we refer when comparing Gil Vicente and Henrique da Mota with respect to "The Farce of the Gardener," there are other Vicentine examples of proud laborers. The "labrador" in the Auto de la Barca del Purgatorio praises his own hard work and feels that he is a victim of society. In the Auto da História de Deus, Abel is proud of his handling of his

34 Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 244-245, v.6-23, 1-2.

herds of cows. João Mortinheira and Aparicianes are low-class workers in the Romagen de Agravados. They complain of their station in life, much in the same manner as the worker in the previously-mentioned Barca. Even though there are similar characters in other Vicentine works, including the rustics that are not allowed to enter the Court in the Templo de Apolo and the Auto da Festa, it is obvious that the principal comparison lies with the Tragicomédia de D. Duardos. Again, this is not to suggest a definite influence on the part of our author, no matter how similar certain selections in the works of the two authors may be. However, knowing that D. Duardos was published in 1522, one would have to repeat the notion that various characters and ideas present in Gil Vicente's plays do have Portuguese precursors. This is obvious in "The Priest's Lament," "The Farce of the Tailor," and "The Farce of the Gardener."

We also mention one of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro's plays, the Comedia Aquilana. This play was published after the appearance of the Cancioneiro Geral and, therefore, was prededed by Henrique da Mota's dialogues. Although it is quite common to observe rustic characters who are proud of their work in various pieces by this author, including

the "Comedias" entitled Seraphina, Trophea, Calamita, and Jacinta, it is in the Comedia Aquilana that we have two specific figures whose pride is reminiscent of that demonstrated by João Grande in "The Farce of the Gardener." Not only are the two characters extremely presumptuous, but they tend to be gross at times. The words and actions of both Dandario and Galterio make them extremely burlesque figures. Dandario, for instance, thinks that he is the King's equal and believes that perhaps the two of them are better than anyone who comes from the Court. This is a continuation of the age old dispute between city and country life.

It is actually the final scene of the work which attracts our attention. In this part of the play, these two gardeners pretend to know everything. We note their pride and, moreover, the honor that these two plebeians feel in their rustic knowledge. When comparing themselves and their friends to those who are well-educated, it is the former who appear to know much more. For example, when everyone in the play is looking for a doctor for Aquilano, Galterio says sincerely:

> Mas senor
> quieres sanallo mejor?
> Yo conozco un buen físico.

Pero Gil, el herredor,
que me sanó mi borrico.
Y ha sanado la burra de Antón Machado
y el asno del mesonero.[35]

The same occurs when other rustic professions are discussed. In this case, we feel that it would be almost impossible to point towards any influence of one author upon another. However, what is interesting is to point to this general trend in early Peninsular theatre, in which the shepherd, the gardener, and many other peasant or working types become principal characters in dramatic texts. Such was the case in the works of Juan del Encina, Lucas Fernández, Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, Lope de Rueda, Juan de la Cueva, and almost every other Spanish and Portuguese dramatist of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The mere fact that we are able to include Henrique da Mota in this important period of dramatic evolution further enhances the part played by this writer in the history of the theatre, whatever the impact of that contribution may be.

It appears evident that the Portuguese theatre is indeed indebted to the contributions of Henrique da Mota. Aside from the above dialogues, we also studied the possi-

35 Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, Tres Comedias (New York, 1965) p. 233.

ble influence that our author's letter to King João III, concerning Inês de Castro, had on the dramatic development of that theme in Peninsular literature. This tragedy has some of its first theatrical elements in that letter, as we have already amply demonstrated.

In aiding our cause, Leite de Vasconcelos has called Henrique de Mota's works rudimentary dramatic texts, relating them to the developing dialogues in other countries, with the French "mystères" included. The respected critic also speaks of Garcia de Resende's well-known statement. Is is the one in which Resende speaks of Juan del Encina and states that it was Gil Vicente who invented similar pastoral works in Portugal. L. de Vasconcelos also defends the dramatic element that is apparent in our author's works, although he mentions that they might not have been performed, as were Gil Vicente's plays. Nevertheless, he adds, not performing a theatrical work does not negate its existence.[36] We would definitely agree with this last opinion, while still holding to our belief that H. da Mota's dialogues were very possibly recited. Besides, we contend that Garcia de Resende may have been referring only to the appearance of the pastoral work when he wrote the follow-

36 Leite de Vasconcelos, op. cit. pp. 312-313.

ing:

> E vimos singularmente
> Fazer representaçõ̃es
> D'estilo mui eloquente
> De mui novas invençõ̃es
> E feitas por Gil Vicente
> Ele foi o que inventou
> Isto cá, e o-usou
> Com mais graça, e mais doutina,
> Posto que João del Enzina
> O pastoril começou.[37]

Even if Resende were referring to the dramatic performance in general, we never claimed that Henrique da Mota's works were written before all of those composed by Gil Vicente. We must remember that the "founder" of the Portuguese theatre recited his first work in 1502, and had at least six more works performed within the next year and a half.[38] However, the majority of his burlesque farces, including all of those which we believe to have been influenced by Henrique da Mota, were not performed until years after the publication of the Cancioneiro Geral. In addition, as we have repeatedly stated, the use of the word "invent" is not entirely correct when dealing with the development of the dramatic text and the performance in the sixteenth century. Related to this is the use of the word "founder." The term does not mean "inventor," but

37 Garcia de Resende, Miscellânea, op. cit.

38 Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, op. cit. pp. 339-40

rather one who adopted or rejected previously existing literary traditions with the skill and artistry to establish himself as a writer to whom the theatre must be grateful for its evolution as a clearly discernible genre. Thus, for his valuable contributions, Henrique da Mota must be given his due place in literary history as one of the true founders of Peninsular theatre, in a place near to those of Juan del Encina, Gil Vicente, and their respective followers.

# INDEX I

## DOCUMENTS RELATED TO HENRIQUE DA MOTA'S LIFE

Dom Manuell etc. A quantos esta nosa carta virem fazemos saber que da parte de Álvaro Camelo e Amrrique da Mota escudeiros da nosa casa nos foy apresemtado hum estormento d'aforamemto do quall o theor he esta que segue- Amrrique da Sylveira fidallguo da casa del Rej noso senhor e comtador nestas comarcas das vilas de Leiria Obidos e Pederneira faco saber a quamtos esta carta de sesmaria virem que perante mym na dita villa pareceo Álvaro Camelo e Amrrique da Mota escudeiros del Rej moradores na villa de Atouguia e Bombarral e me apresemtaram huma carta de sesmaria da quall ho theor tall he...Anno do nacimemto de noso Senhor Jhesu Christo de mjll e iiijclxxxb(mil quatrocentos e oitenta e cinco) A quamtos esta carta de sesmaria virem aos X dias do mes de fevereiro da dita era em o reguenguo de Peniche termo da vila d'Atouguia acerca do porto donde sayem os barcos estamdo hy o Senhor dom Martinho d'Ataide conde da dita villa etc_____ estamdo hy Gill Moreira escudeiro do dito Senhor e seu ouvidor morador em a dita vila loguo polo dito Gill Moreira foy pedido ao dito Senhor hum pedaco de chao no dito loguo detras das suas casas pera ele Gill Moreira fazer humas casas e o dito Senhor vemdo em como o dito chao nom era pera outro nenhum proveito por seer terra d'area salvo pera fazer casas e vemdo como era proveito del Rej noso Senhor e seu dele comde o dito chao se aproveitar em casas por serem necesareas aos precesores e estramgeiros que vem a terra e mais viram temdo em que se agasalhar loguo pelo dito Senhor foy dado ao dito Gill Moreira hum pedaco de chao detras as casas dele dito Senhor da parte do soao em que ele dito Gill Moreira podese fazer huma casa tamanha como as casas do dito Senhor em comprido na quall casa podese fazer quamtas partes ele dito Gill Moreira e seus erdeiros quiserem o qual chao que lhe asy deu lhe deu deste dia pera sempre pera ele e pera todos seus herdeiros que dele decemderem por foro sem pagarem nenhum tributo nem foro a ele dito Senhor vemdo o costume do dito reguemgo de como se nom paga foro de nenhum chao que se dee pera casas soomemte das terras de pam segumdo costume amtiguo e a pose dos senhorios amtiguos pasados a quall casa queremdo elle vemder ou seus erdeiros toda em comprimemto ou parte dela que ho facam primeiro saber ao senhorio da terra e mais dise o Senhor comde que ele dito Gill Moreira e seus erdeiros podesem madeirar

as ditas casas na parede das casas dele dito senhor comde e que as daria por quites e livres do preço que aviam de pagar da dita parede a quall parede do dito Senhor fica da parte do ponemte e o chão do dito Gill Moreira da parte do levamte. E por sua guarda e seguramça lhe mamdou seer dada e feita esta carta asinada poe elle senhor comde e aselada do seu selo testemunhas Afonso Martinz Afonso Varugelho e Diogo Rodriguez. E eu Vasco Martinz escudeiro do dito senhor comde que esta carta de sesmaria per mamdado do dito senhor comde escprecey. E outro sy apresentaram mais hum alvara do dito Senhor Comde e dous alvaraees do Senhor dom Joam seu filho nos quaees se comtinha eles senhores lhe tornarem ajnda a confirmar as ditas casas e chão com as ditas condiçõees suso ditas. E apresemtada asy a dita carta e alvaraees como dito he per eles foy dito que por quamto este chão asy fora dado pera estas casas era do dito senhor comde e lhe dava asy sem foro segumdo custume do dito reguemgo. E por que ora a dita vila d'Atouguia era del Rej noso Senhor e sua alteza mamda que todalas cousas que esteverem no dito reguemgo de Peniche suso comtheudo fezesem foro em cada hum anno segumdo sua ordenamça ora novamemte feita que eles pedem em seus nomes e de Simão Moreira e Catarina Moreira todos quatro erdeiros do dito Gill Moreira a mym comtador que lhe comfirmase a dita carta e alvaraees segumdo se neles comtinha e lhe fizese aquele foro que fose direito avemdo respeito aa dita bemfeitoria seer proveitosa e homrra da terra e serviço de sua alteza e avemdo ha dita carta do dito comde e seis alvaraees e o em eles he comtheudo o ouve e ey por comfirmado asy polo modo que se comtem nesta carta. Com tamto que eles ditos erdeiros e os que depos eles vierem pagem em cada hum anno ao dito Senhor duas galinhas e dous framgãos de todalas ditas casas suso ditas pagas em cada anno por dia de Natal e começaram de fazer a primeira paga polo dito dia neste anno de lRix (noventa e nove) E asy dahy em diamte per o dito dia em cada hum anno e pera sua guarda e seguramça avemdo o eu asy por serviço de sua alteza lhes mamdey dar esta carta de sesmaria e comfirmaçam per mym asynada a qual jram confirmar a fazemda de sua alteza da feitura deste atee pasaso o mes de Março primeiro vimdoiro feito na dita vila de Leiria a xb(quinze) dias de Fevereiro do anno do nacimemto de noso Senhor Jhesu Christo de mill e iiijc lRix(mil e quatrocentos e noventa e nove ) Symão Rodriguez por Pero da Costa esprivam dos

comtos a fez. Pedimdo nos os sobreditos por merçee que lhe comfirmasemos e ouvesemos a dita carta por comfirmada como nela se comtem e por lhe fazermos graça e merçee temos por bem e lha comfirmamos como nela dito he. E porem mamdamos que assy se cumpra sem outra duvida dada em Lixboa a x(dez) dias d'Abryl el Rey o mandou per dom Pero de Castro do seu comselho e vedor de sua fazemda Vicemte Carneiro a fez anno de mill e iiijc lRix(mil e quatrocentos e noventa e nove) annos

À margem: Alvaro Camelo comtrato aforamento

Chancelaria D. Manuel, Livro 16, fl. 135v-136

Dom Joham etc. a quamtos esta minha carta virem faço saber que confiamdo eu da bomdade e fieldade d'Anrrique da Mota cavaleiro de mjnha casa cremdo que muyto e em todo majs de que o emcarregar me servjra bem e fiellmemte como compre a meu serviço e queremdo lhe fazer graça e merçee tenho por bem e o dou ora daquy em diamto por meu esprivam da camara asy e na meneira que elle o deve ser e o sam os ouros meues esprivaees da camara com o qual oficio quero e me praz que ele tenha e aja em cada hum annoo de sua vestiarya ordenada doues mjll e cemto e sasemta reais que he outro tamto como tem cada hum dos outros meues esprivaees da camara. Notifico asy ao bispo de Viseu do meu conselho e meu esprivam da porydade e lhe mamdo que o meta em pose do dito hoficio e lho feixe ter e servyr e aver todolos proes e percalços foros e jntareses a elo ordenados e que de dereytamemte lhe pertemçer e como todos ham os ditos meues esprivaos da camara sem duvjda nem embarguo allgum que lha elo seja posto por que asy me praz e elle jurara em minha chancelaria aos samtos avamjelhos que bem e verdadeiramemte e como deve obre e vse do dito oficio guardamdo em todo meu serviço e as partes seu direito dada em a mjnha cidade de Coimbra aos xij dias d'Agosto Jorge Rodrigues a fez de j bc xxbij( mil quinhentos vinte sete) annos.

À Margem: d' Anrrique da Mota oficio

Chancelaria D. João III, Livro 30, fl. 131v.

Dom Joham etc. A vos jUjzes e officiaes da villa d'Obidos e a quaesquer outros officiaes e pessoas a que o conhecimento pertencer e esta mjnha carta for mostrada ffaço saber que Amrique da Mota estprivam de mjnha camara me dise que elle tem hũu seu casall que se chama das Barreiras no lemjte do Bombarall o qual tem hũu grande pinhall e asy tem muytos matos que sam testadas pastos e logradoiros do dito seu casall que partem com herancas do Sanguinhal e da Mouta Booa e de Camara asy como vem pelo Ryo abaixo ate chegar ao dito casall. E por elle ser comtjno em meu seruiço e alguas pessoas lhe cortauam os ditos pinheiros e lhe pediam as terras dos ditos seus matos e logradoyros de sesmarya e por nam ser presente leuaua muyta ffadiqua em o deffender pedyndome que lhe dese a ello proujsam e vemdo ho que me asy pede ser justo ey por bem e mando que nenhũa pessoa contra sua vontade e sem sua lyçemça lhe nam corte nem mande cortar no dito pinhal nhũ pinheiro sob pena de quem ho contrario ffizer lhe pagar os ditos pinheiros que lhe cortar e majs de pena por cada pynheyro que cortar cem reis pera o dito Amrique da Mota e ey por bem que ho caseyro do dito casall ou a pessoa que elo pera yso hordenar seya cryado per seu juramento com hũa testemunha acerqua da paga dos ditos pynheyros e pena e mando ao almoxarife do Espritall das Caldas ou a quallquer outro official a que o conhecimento pertença que nam dem as terras dos ditos matos de sesmarya nem fazem aluaras de direitos sem prymeiro o dito Amrique da Mota ser cytado e ouuydo sobre yso pera Requerer e alegar de seu direito e nom se ffazendo asy em tall caso ey as ditas sesmaryas per nhuas e quero que nom prejudique a nose e direito que nas terras dos ditos matos tever. Dada em a çidade de Lixboa aos tres dias do mes d'Agosto Gomez Eanes a fez anno de Noso Senhor Jhesuu Christo de mjll 528 (1528).

à margem : Amrique da Mota

ANTT. Chancelaria D. João III. Livro 11, fl. 98

Dom Johan etc. A quamtos esta mjnha casta vyrem faço saber que Anrjque da Mota cavaleiro fidalguo de mjnha casa e escryuão de mjnha camara me dyse que dle tem no lugar de Bombarall termo da Villa de Obydos hũu asentamento antiguo que foy de Gonçallo da Mota seu pay cryado que foy del Rey Dom Afonso e de El Rey Dom Joam meus tjos que ajam glorya e asy vinha ja de herança de seus avoos em o qual asentamento os Reys meus antecesores custumauam pousar quando por aquela terra hjam o qual asentamento tjnha per de tras e diante grande cerca de pumares vynhas e arvoredos em hũu mato e pinhal de cerca e seu lymjte pera dentro em que criaram sempre e crian muytos coelhos os quaes em vida de seu pay e avoos com fauor dos ditos Reys heram os ditos coelhos guardados e defesos e asy os tinha elle oje em dia goardados a seu Roguo e por ele andar em mjnha corte contjnho em meu serviço e nam ter proujsam mjnha pera os defender lhes nam goardauam como elle desejaua pera mays nobreza do dito asentamento e cando alguа ora per hy passase podese achar algũu desenfadamento pedindome por merçe lhe passase mjnha carta de defesa pera lhes nom matarem das cercas pera dentro e alguas pessoas ao Redor nem lhe cortasem as arvores dos ditos matos pera lenha e vendo o que me asy pede e alega e por folgar de lhe fazer merce ey por bem e mando que a pessoa alguа de qualquer calidade e condiçam que deya lhe nem mate contra sua vomtade os ditos coelhos das ditas cercas dos dito asentamento pumares vinhas pinhal e matos pera dentro nem ha com paros ao Redor com caes fios laços Redes forã com hesta apinda nem espingarda nem candeo nem com outras dhũas armadilhas com que se posam matar sob pena d'encorerem nas penas contendas em mjnhas ordenaçoes que sam dous mjll rreis de cada gacando com fios e com hesta caes foram Redes e candeo e com todalas outras armadilhas perdidas e a hesta caes e foram as quaes penas ey por bem e mando que se entendam e encoram nelas os que asy forem caçar e matar os ditos coelhos todo anno posto que na dita ordenaçam seyam lymjtados certos meses. E yso mesmo mando e defendo que lhe nam corten lenha nem pinheiros nem o dito arvoredo do dito mato sob pena de cem rreis por cada vez que nyso for achado e comprendido e mays a valya das arvores e mato que cortarem as quaes penas seram a metade pera os catjuos e a outra metade pera elle Anryque da Mota. E quero e me praz que pera mjlhor guarda e execuçõo das ditas penas elle Anryque da Mota posa poer hũu seu cryado ou putra pessoa auta o qual mando que syrua de couteyro de dita defesa e prymeiro que comece de seruyr o jujz do dito lugar de Bombarall vera se he auto a dita pessoa pera yso e sendo lhe daram juramento per que syrua verdadeiramente

(cont'd)

o qual demandare as pessoas que cayrem e encorerem nas ditas penas perante o dito jujz ou perante os jujzes de dita villa d'Obydos no termo que a redenação manda o qual couteyro sendo seu cryado com hua testemunha e sendo outra pessoa per seu juramento somente. E mando que esta carta seya trelladada no lyuro de camara da dita vill e prenuceada no dito lugar do Bombarall pera a todos ser notoajo. E mando a todolos senhores ouuidores jujzes justicas oficiaes e pessoas a que o conhecimento pertencer que asy cumpram inteyramente e guardar e façam cumprir e guardar se a jsoo ser posto outra duujda nem embargo por que asj he mjnha merçe e o contrayro estranharey como no caso couber. Dada em a cydade d'Evora aos 13 dias do mes de Novembro. Gomez Eannes de Freytas a fez anno do nacimento de Noso Senhor Jhesu Christo de myll 1533 /1533/

à margem: Amryque da Mota, carta per que lhe coutam hua sua defesa.

ANTT Chancelaria D. João III. Livro 46,fl.90v-91

Dom Johan etc. Item Carta de Gonçallo da Mota nosso escudeiro morador no Barbarall e nosso lança de ordenança das duas mjll lanças esta prestes pora nos serujr como cauallo e armas quando quer que nos seu serujço for neçesarjo. Temos por bem e mandamos que daquy en djante sejam priujlligiados escussados e goardados todos seos caseyros anos etc. Em forma agora dada en Santarem a dous dias do mes de Majo. Johan Serrão a fez anno de mjll e quatrocentos oitenta e seis annos.

à margem: Gonçalo da Mota privilegio

ANTT Chancelaria de D. João II. Livro 8, fl.55

Dom Joham etc. Saude sabede que Gonçalo da Mota escudeiro criado que foy delRey meu senhor e padre cuja alma Deus tem morador em o Lombarall nos enuiou dizer que elle fora juiz ho ano pasado em a dita uylla e sendo asy juiz se trautara hũ feito perante elle antre Fernam Goncalluez barbeyro que foy do dito meu senhor e padre contra hũu Rodrigo Eannes e outros d'Amoreyra o quall Fernam Gonçalluez querelara delle dizendo que saltara com elle de preposjto per o quisera matar e por ello ouuera carta de segurança perante elle e em seguindo os termos della e as inquijriçõoes serem abertas e pruujcadas os ditos seguros quebraram os termos da dicta carta de segurança e elle prenunciara em ho dicto feito hũa sentença em a quall os avia por degradados e condenados em certo dinheiro por asy nom vjnrem os dictos seguros a dicta audiencia e tanto que previcou a dicta sentença mandara llogo ao porteiro que desse hũ pregam a porta da dita audiencia e disesse justiça e manda fazer a sentença pera manda degradar foam e foam desta villa e seu termo por hũ ano e com todo elle apelara por parte da justiça se as partes apelar nam quisesem e tanto que esto asy pasara lhe fora dicto que erara em tall auto fazer e mandar dar tall pregam de justiça fazendo mais por ynorançia que per vontade nem outro nhũ respeito veio fazer por que era homem que nam tinha pratica de o saber fazer nem entender como deuia fazer. E por este caso asy pasar e fazer diz que o ano pasado estando nos na cidade de Lixboa no mes de Outubro nos lhe perdoaramos a nosa justiça com tanto que elle pagase 500 reis pera a arca de piedade os quaes pagara a frey Joam nosso esmoller como ora ver poderemos per seu asynado que davaa fee de como lhos pagara no dicto mes e ano o quall peranto nos apresentou e tjrou sua carta pasada per o estprivam e desembargadores a quem pertençia pasar a quall carta diz que fora ao saco de nosa chançelaria e sse perdera em elle a dita carta com o pase corejto. E por ello elle sopricante nom podera tirar outra carta per ben do desembargo ser perdido com a dita carta enuyandouos elle sopricante pedir por merçe que visto como se esto asy pasara e a fee do dicto nosso esmoller de como lhe pagara os ditos 500 reis e a calidade do primeiro perdam nam fora nem era por outra cousa alguũa salvo por asy pasar a dita sentença e dar o dicto pregam lhe perdoassemos a nosa justiça com aquella mesma pena ja pagada tinha e lhe mandasemos dar outra carta tall carta como a primeira que do dicto perdam ouuera. E nos vendo o que nos asy dizer e pedir enviou como elle diz e hy mais nam e visto o conhecimento do esmoller per que afirma que o ssopricante lhe pagou os ditos 500 reis e como ho desembargo que por este caso passou e querendolhe fazer graça e merçe temos por bem e perdoarmoslhe a nossa justiça que nos elle por rrazom de asy prenunçiar peedir em o dicto feito e mandar dar tall pregam era teudo contanto elle pagase os 500 reis per a piedade e por quanto ja elle od pagou segundo fomos çerto por asynado do esmoller vos mandamos que daquy em diante o nam prendaes nem mandes prender etc. Dada em a nosa vjlla de Santarem a 23 dias de Julho el Rej o mandou pellos doutores Fernam Rodriguez do seu conselho e Ruj Boto ambos desembargadores do paço. Joham Jorge o fez de mjll e quatrocentos oitenta e sete.

ANTT Chancelaria de D. João II, Livro 20, fl.129-129v.

Dom Joham etc. Saude sabede que Gonçalo da Lota escudeiro criado d'El Rey meu Senhor e padre cuja alma Deus tem morador no Bombarall nos enujou dizer que elle fora juiz o anno passado em a vjlla d'Obidos sendo asy juiz se ordenara hũu feito perante elle entre Fernam Goncallvez barbeiro e hũu Lodrigo Annes e outros da Amoreira o quall Fernão Goncallvez querellara delles dizendo que saltaram com elle e de proposito o quiseram matar e por ello ouueram carta de segurença e ell emprazou os termos della e as jnquirições seram abertas pubricadas os dictos seguros quebraram os termos da dita carta e que elle pronunciou o dicto feito hũu sentença em a quall os cujo por degradados e condepnados em certo dinheiro por asy os dictos seguros no, viram audiencia e tanto que a sentença asy pubricada dora diz que mandara loguo ao porteiro do conçelho que desse hũu preguam a porta de dicta audiencia qie disese justiça que manda fazer sentença pera manda degradar foõaoo e foõso desta ujlla e seu termo por hũu anno e que com todo apellaron pela justiça se as partes apellar nom quisesen E tanto que ello asy esto pasara e mandara fazer lhe fora loguo dicto que erara em tall auto em fazer e mandar dar tall preguam de justiça fazendo elle todo maja per jnorangia que por vontade doutro nenhũu respeito de fazer mas por nam entender nom saber a pratica que nyso avja de teer e por esto casso asy pasar diz quw estando nos o anno pasado em a nosa cidade de Lixboa nos lhe perdoaramos a nosa justiça com tanto que ello puguasse o quinhentos reis pera a piadade e os quaees elle loguo puguara e tirara dello sua carta de perdam mostrando e fazendo a diligencia pello liuro do nosso esmoller como lhes nos tinhamos perdoado pella penna dos dictos quinhentos reis o dicto caso e lhe mandaramos dar outra carta a quall ele oje em dia tinha e que em elles mandando tirar e espedir esta segunda carta diz que Alvares Diaz corregedor por nos em esta correiçam d'Estremedura ho mandara prender e o tinha preso e lhe nom quisera guardar a dicta ssegunda carta que asy tinha por sse mostrar per ella que for aujda e espedida, depois delle ser preso Enviandonos elle sopricamte pedir por merçe que sem embargo de elle ser preso pois que ja lhe perdoado tinhamos mandassemos que lhe fosse guardada e comprida a dicta carta ssegunda do perdam e ho mandasemos soltar. E nos vendo o que nos dizer e pedir enviou se asy he como diz e hoy maja nom ha e querendolher fazer graça e merçe sem embargo do dicto sopricamte ser preso visto hũ prazme em ho nosso passe teemos por bem e mandamos que lhe seja guardada sua carta de perdam per o fosse pasada pella nossa chancellaria depois de ser preso elle dicto presso sopricamte se ja e antre de sua prisam seu despacho hera fecto e pago tinha como diz asy em nomo do que de dicta carta e perdam podera e devera gouujr

semdo de todo crepedida antre de sua prissam sem embargo da prissam sse nom dar perdam como per estyllo e hordenaçam nosa as carta que em preuyscoes nom sortirem algũ efecto nem vigou antre de serem passadas pella dicta nossa chancellaria porem vos mandamos que o soltes sse por all nom for preso e lhe cumpraes e facaes cumprir e guardar a carta de perdam que deste caso de uos tem sem sse lhe sobreello poerdes outro algũu embargo em nenhũa gujsa que sseja por que nossa mercee e vontade he de o mandarmos soltar e lhe mandarmos guardar sua carta pella guisa que dicto he. Dada em Santarem 27 de Agosto el Rey ho mandou pellos doutores Fernam Rrodriguez e Ruj Boto ambos desembargadores do paço. Joham Jorge a fez de mjll e quatrocentos oitenta e sete.

à margem: Gonçalo da Mota perdam

ANTT Chancelaria de D. João II. Livro 20, fls.188-188v.

Dom Joham etc. A quantos esta mjnha carta virem ffaço saber que eu ey por bem ffazer merçe ha Amrrique da Mota meu estprivam da camara de hũu dia daguoa que Dioguo Homem de Sousa da Ilha de Madeyra tinha na dita Ilha e lhe ffoy tomado e metido nos meus proprios por diuida que me deuya E porem o notefico asy ao veador de mjnha ffazemda em a dita jlha e a quaesquer outros meus officiaes em ela a que esta mjnha carta for mostrada e o conhecimento dela pertemcer e lhes mando que dem a pose do dito dia daguoa ao dito Amrique da Mota e lho leyxem lograr e pesuyr asy e pela maneira que o tjnha o dito Dioguo Homem de Sousa e pera mym ffoy tomado e metido nos ditos proprios por que eu lho faço deles merçe como dito he. E façam Riscar o asento que dele anda no livro dos ditos proprios e poer verba no tall asento como fiz dele merce hao dito Amrique da Mota por esta carta que por ffirmeza delo lhe mandey dar per mym asynada e aselada do meu selo pendente. Ayres Ffernandez a ffez em Evora a quatro dias d'Agosto de mjll e quynhentos e trjnta e sete. Eu Damyam Dias o fez estprever.
[1537]

à margem: Amrique da Mota, carta de merçe de hũu dia d'aguoa na jlha de Madeyra.

ANTT Chancelaria D. João III. Livro 24, fl.231v.

Dom Johan per graça de Deus Rey de Purtugall e dos Algarues daquem e dalem mar em Africa senhor de Guine etc. Mando a vos Manoel Velho tisoureyro de minhas moradias e tisouro que deis a Amrique da Mota espriuam de minha camara dous mjll cento e sesenta rreis que ha dauer de sua istiarya ordenada deste ano presente de quinhentos trinta e quatro de que lhe vos fazey bom pagamento e per esta e seu conheçimento vos seram levados em conta. El Rey o mandou por Ruy Lopez do seu conselho e vedor de sua casa Francisco Ribeiro a fez em Evora a 6 d'Outubro de 534.

/signed/ Ruj Lopez

Recebeo Amrique da Mota de Manuell Velho tysoureiro estes dous mjll cento sesenta rreis em dinheiro. Em Evora a 8 de Dezembro de 1534.

/signed/- ?
/signed/- AmRique da Mota

Registada Pero Lopez de Gaia

ANTT Corpo Cronológico. Parte 2a, Maço 195, Documento 32.

Thesoureiro de nosa casa mandamos vos que des a Amrique de Mota stpriuam de camara del Rey meu senhor irmão vinte cruzados de que lhe fazemos merçe e per este conhecimento vos serão leuados em conta Jorge Diaz o fez em Lixboa a 17 de Março de 1539.

/signed/- O Cardeall Infante

Recebeo Amrique da Mota d'Andre Rodriguez d'Crta thesoureiro o conteudo neste mandado e asynamos aquj ambos em Lixboa aos 17 dias de Maio de 1539

/signed/- ?
/signed/- AmRique da Mota

p. do Licenciado Mateus Esteuez
20 cruzados de merçe Amrique da Mota notário

ANTT Corpo Cronológico. Parte 1a, Maço 64 Documento 63.

Corregedor eu el Rey vos emvio muito saudar. O cabido da See dessa çidade de Coimbra m'escreveo que eram comtemtes que eu mamdase ver na mesa da conçiençia o que se lhe devia dar em satisfaçam da casa do bem aventurado Santo Amtonio que estaa junto da dita çidade e offertas dela e da casa do Esprito Santo e asy de huum pedaço da sua orta e d'olivall que estaa antre ambas as ditas ermidas que sam do dito cabido de que faço doação aa ordem da Piedade pera hy habitarem padres da dita ordem e por seu requerimento ser justo mamdey ver o caso na dita mesa da comçiençia..... E por tanto vos mando que tanto que esta virdes falles como o cabido...e ambos per juramento com huum terceiro que tomaram vam ver as ditas propiedades do olivall e orta que ha de ficar demtro da cerca que os padres ham de fazer e avaliem o que vall e asy se emformam do que vemdem as ofertas da dita ermida de Santo Antonio segundo forma da determinação da mesura e de tudo se fara aito e aselado e sera emtregue a Anrrique da Mota meu escrivam da camara e dos despachos da dita mesa da comçiençia pera o eu ver e mamdar logo satisfazer ao cabido o que se achar que se lhe deve dar. E por que eu tambem escrevo sobre ysto ao bispo praticares o negoçio com elle pera que tudo se faça per seu prazimemto e ordenaçam e comprio asy com muita diligençia por que compre asy a serviço de Deus e meu Amrrique da Mota a fez em Lixboa a xxj de Julho de 1539

Rey
pera o corregedor de Coimbra

A.N.T.T. Sé de Coimbra, 2ª inc., M. 48
num. 1923, Original, Papel.

Daiaau e cabido eu el Rey vos emvio muito saudar vi a carta que m'escrevestes sobre a casa de Samto Antonio e propiadades que sam neçesarias pera o mosteiro dos padres da Fiedade que se na dita casa faz e ouve prazer do santo proposto e determinaçam vosa em quererdes que este caso se vise na mesa da conciençia honde logo mamdey mostrar vosa carta e asy a que o bispo voso prelado sobre yso m'escreveo. E visto todo pellos deputados da dita mesa poseram o despacho seguinte. Parece que se deve dar satisfação aa Sé de Coimbra do olival e da metade da orta do Espirito Samto e avaliar se per pessoas que ho bem entendam ficando com a ermida do Esprito Sancto a parte da orta que os padres nam ouveram mester. E que asy se deve saber o certo que as ofertas da Ymida de Sancto Antonio rendem e de tudo venha çertidam a Sua Alteza.....
È quanto ao corpo da Ygreja da dita casa de Sancto Antonio eu vos agradecerey muito folgardes de ho alargar livremente aos padres. E sealguma despesa teverdes feita na dita Ygreja de huum anno a esta parte eu vo lo mamdarey satisfazer por asy pareçer bem aos deputados da dita mesa. E alem de ysto ser muito serviço de Deus eu receberey delo contemtamento. Amrrique da Mota a fez em Lixboa a xxj de Julho de 1539

A.N.T.T., Sé de Coimbra, 2ª inc., M. 49, num. 1950
Original, Papel.

Dom Joam etc. A quamtos esta minha carta de quitaçam virem faço saber que eu mandey tomar comta a Francisco Cardoso cavaleiro de mjnha casa thesoureiro que foy do dinheiro dos descargos d'alma da Rainha dona Lionor minha tia que samta gloria aja e pela recadaçam de sua comta se mostra reçeber treze comtos quatro cemtos oitemta e cinquo mjll cemto setemta e dous reais-a saber- dez comtos bcxxxj clxxxix(quinhentos trinta e um mil cento oitenta e nove) reais de F. da Luz thesoureiro mor e de Joam de Barros Joham Gonçalvez thesoureiros da casa da Jmdia e de Fernão Rodriguez de Palma recebedor do dinheiro do regno e outras pesoas.E dous comtos Liij bc lx bj (concoenta e tres mil quinhentos sesenta e seis) reais que recebeo per vemda da prata que recebeo de Lionor de Moraes guarda roupa de de Fernam Diaz mantyeiro Gaspar Gonçalvez homem da copa Joam Murzelo guarda reposta e de Lourenço de Freitas thesoureiro e huchaam. E bjcxxxb iijlxb (seiscentos trinta e cinco mil trezentos e sesenta e cinco) reais per vemda das cousas da casa. E os ijlxb Lij (duzentos e sesenta e cinco mil e cincoenta e dois) reais que recebeo per vemda de çertas peças d'ouro. E asy recebeo mais huma cruz de prata que pesou satemta e dous marcos sete omças sete oitavas e mea com a estorea da prisam de noso senhor. E cemto quatro covodos dez dozaos de borcado de sortes per muitos pedaços. E sete canastras de borcado de sortes. E duas cortinas de borcado minhoto. E hum manto de borcado. E dez coradiças de tafeta. E duas capas de borcado. E hum paleo de damasquo. E hum frontal de borcado. E asy mais outras cousas que recebeo e se mostram pela arrecadaçam de sua comta dos quaes xiij(treze) comtos iiij$^{c}$Lxxxb clxxij reais(quatrocentos oitenta e cinco mil cento e setenta e dois) e cousas que recebeo deu comta com emtrega sem ficar devemdo cousa alguma pelo qual dou por quite e livre deste dia pera todo sempre ao dito Francisco Cardoso e a todos seus erdeiros. E mamdo que por rezam do dito dinheiro e cousas que recebeo nam seyam requeridos cytados nem demamdados por me asy ter dado conta com entrega como dito he. E por tamto lhe mandey dar esta minha carta de quitaçam per mym asynanda e aselada do meu selo pendente por que mando a todos meus officiais a que pertencer que lha cumpram guardem façam comprir e guardar como se nela comtem dada em Lixboa a iij(tres) dias de Junho Gaspar Godinho a fez anno do nacymemto de noso senhor Jhesu Christo de mjl

b$^{c}$ R (mil quinhentos e quarenta) E alem deste recebomento que se comtem nesta quitaçam tem outra comta por çerar do dinheiro que o dito Francisco Cardoso tinha em seu poder que recebeo do remdimemto dos atuns dos annos de xxiiij (vinte quatro) xxb (vonte cinco) E asy d'outro dinheiro que lhe ora he careguado em recepta per Amrrique da Mota que ora escreve a receita e despesa de seu cargo.

À Margem: Francisco Cardoso quitaçam

Chancelaria D. João III, Livro 50 fl. 187-187v.

Dom Joham etc. A quamtos esta minha carta virem ffaço saber que Manuell Corte Reall me dise per sua petiçam que seu pay Vasco Eannes Corte Reall fez hum morgado de beens patrjmonjaes que deixou a elle sopricamte com comdiçam que trouxese as suas armas dos Corte Reaes direitas como as elle trazia E que depois seu yrmaão Jeronimo Corte Reall vieera de mym huma deferemça nas armas pera seu escudo por que huma bandeira que seu pay trazia fora do escudo me pedio que lha mamdase meter demtro no escudo e que eu lho comçedera e que ao tempo da sua morte fez tambem outro morgado que deixou a elle sopricamte em comdiçam que trouxese suas armas direitas e que per sua morte herdase o dito morgado o segumdo filho delle sopricamte e nam herdeiro de seu morgado de maneira que por obrigaçam destes dous morgados lhe comvem trazer ambas as armas Pedimdo me que mamdase ao Rey d'armas Purtugall que ordene agora como deve de trazer seu escudo pera que satisfaça com ambas as obrigações e que trazemdo as como se ordenar nam emcorra na pena das jnstitujcões dos morgados visto como sam de pay e filho e as armas casy todas humas e visto todo per mym ey por bem que elle dito Manuell Corte Real traga em sua vida as suas armas direitas soomemte sem a deferemça do dito seu jrmãao. E per seu faleçimemto o seu filho que herdar o morgado do dito Jeronimo Corte Real traga as armas do dito morgado asy e da maneira que lhas eu comcedy e se comtem na jnstitujçam do dito morgado e quero e me praz que fazemdo o asy ho dito sopricamte nam emcorra em pena alguma das em que o dito Jeronimo Corte Real quis que emcorresem os herdeiros do dito seu morgado que nam trouxesem as suas armas dada em a villa d'Almeirym a dez de Março Martim de Lemos a fez anno do nascimemto de noso senhor Jhesu Christo de mjll e quinhemtos e coremta e quatro annos. Amrrique da Mota a fez esprever.

À margem: Manoel Corte Real da maneira que a de trazer as armas de sue morgado.

Chancelaria D. João III, Livro 41, fl.16

Vereadores procurador e procuradores dos mestres da minha cidade de lixboa, eu elrrey vos emvio muito saudar. Por eu ser emformado que compre ao servico de deus e meu e bem da ordem da samtisima trindade ser visitado e reformado no mosteiro da dita ordem desa cidade faley ao nuncio do santo padre que ora esta em minha corte que cometese a dita visitacam e reformacam ao padre frey bras...e asy ao padre frey Jorge de samtiago...E por que pera a clausura e onestidade da dita casa he necesareo tapar se huua servemtia que vay da porta principal do dito mosteiro da trindade...vos mando que semdo presentes os ditos padres...se tapara logo a dita servemtia... Martim de lemos a fez em Evora a vinte de fevereiro de mil quinhentos e quarenta e cinco anos, amrique da mota o fez escrever: Rey

do Catálogo da
Camara Municipal de Lisboa

# INDEX II

FACSIMILE OF HENRIQUE DA MOTA'S MINOR POETRY AND DIALOGUES

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE LETTER CONCERNING D. INES DE CASTRO

## De diogho velho.

¶ Do avangelho de cristo
cinquo mil legoas visto
e se cre ja la por isto
ho mysteryo diuinal.

¶ Os das grandes carapuças
longas pernas grãdes chuças
fariseus. Suas aguças
nem ho chinches austerial;

¶ Amaro e ho ermitam
Em sua contemplaçom
leyrarom rreuellaçom
deste orto terreal.

¶ Em ho ano de quinhentos
e com mil primeyro e tentos
descobrirom os elementos
esta caça tam rreal

¶ Em este segre cintel
rreyna el rrey dom manuel
que rrecolhe em seu ancel
sua deuisa e seu synal

¶ Porque he muy virtuoso
excelente e justiçoso
deos ho fez tam poderoso
rrey de çetro imperial.

¶ Sua santa parçarya
rraynha dona marya
estas marauylhas lya
per espiritu diuinal.

¶ Esta he jentil a andina
pera cantar com amyna
safym zamor almedina
tam bem he de portugual

¶ Rezam he que nom nº fyque
a alma do jfante anrrique
e que por ela se soprique
ao nosso deos celestrial

¶ Porque soy desejador
e o primeyro achador
douro seruos e hodor
da parte oriental.

¶ O poderoso rrey segundo
soham perfeyto. Jocundo
que seguyo este profundo
caminho tam dyuinal.

¶ O cabo de boa esperança
descobrio com temperança
por synal e de mostrança
deste bem que tanto val

¶ A madre consolador
de muyto bem sostedor
em vii tudos fundador
sua parte tem jgoal.

¶ Del rrey dõ joham parçeyra
dona lyanor ordeyra
natural e verdadeyra
rrayniha de portugual

¶ Emanuel sobre pojante
rrey perfeyto rroboante
sojugou mays por diante
todaa parte oriental

¶ Nunqua sejam esqueçydos
seus nomes sempre sabydos
e de gloria compridos
pera sempre eternal.

¶ Aquele grande prudente
profetizou do ponente
e de toda sua jente
caçar caça tam rreal

¶ O gram rrey dõ manuel
asebulleu e ysinael
tomaraa e fara fyel
a ley toda vnyuersal

¶ Ja os rreys do oriente
ha este rrey tam excelente
pagam parias e presente
ha seu estado trihumfal

¶ Polla grande confyança
q̃ em deos tem e esperança
he lhe dada gram possança
de memorya jnmortal

¶ O dos muy linros buscãe
rrasteyros e tam voantes
caçadores rrastejantes
que caça m caça rreal.

¶ Sam conheçidos de cujos
sam estes lyndos sabujos
he bem cryarlheos andujos
pera casta natural.

¶ E o tempo acheguado
pera cristo ser lounado
cada huũ tome cuydado
deste bem que tanto val.

¶ As nouas cousas presentes
sam hanos tam evydentes
como nunqua outras jentes
ja mays vyrom mundo tal.

¶ Fym.

¶ E ja tudo descuberto
ho muy lonje nº he perto
os vyndoyros tem ja çerto
ho tesouro terreal.

Anrryque da
mota a hũa mo
lher que lhe mã/
dou dyzer que
cada letra do
seu nome lhe fyzesse hũa tro
vaa e chamauasse antonia
vyeyra.

¶ Se vossa merçe quysera
eu nam passar este vaso
grande merçe me fezera
por que se nam conheçera
quam pouco sey neste caso
Das poys ja meu coraçam
em tudo vº obedeçe
sem temor de rreprensiam
dyrvº ey minha tençam
da quylo que me parece

¶No. A. senhora sentende ho. Amor muyto sobejo que me mata ⁊ quemengende que me manda ⁊ me defende que nam cumpra meu desejo E o .M. vos declara a. Morte. Que me causays da qual eu nam maqueyxara sedas dores vos matara que me vos amym matays

¶Eo. T. he a tristeza que me days por q̃ sam vosso mas nam tem poder crueza de vençer minha fyrmeza nem eu muyto menos posso. No. O. sam os. Olhos. Tristes com que triste vos vy eu ⁊ os com que me vos vystes sam setas com que ferynes meu coraçam sendo meu.

¶No. N. nam quer dizer se nam. Nam. que me dizeys sem quererdes conçeder em dizer sy nem querer o que quero que sabeys. No. Y. diz que sos Ynigua do descanso queu quisera aos vossos days fadigua ⁊ quẽ mays por vos obrigua menos gualardam espera

¶No. A. senhora vos chama Auarenta. De fauores desamays aquem vos ama tendes de crua tal sama quanta tendes de primores? Polo. A. se manifesta minha sojeyta. Montade. que sendo lyure nam presta ⁊ faz catyua mor festa do que faz com lyberdade

¶E diz o segundo Y. que tenho fee. Ynmortal ⁊ creo que nam nacy senam desqueconheçy ser mor bem o vosso mal

Bello. E. tenho sabydo a. Enueja. Que me tem algus que tem conheçydo quanto sam por vos perdido ganhado por querer bem.

¶No Y. terçeyro conheço senhora que soes. Y senta. poys q̃ quanto vos mereço tendes entam pouco preço que tudo nam vos contenta: No. R. he a. Rezam que vos tendes de querer tanto minha saluaçam quanto vossa perfeyçam foy causa de meu perder

¶Eo. A. por derradeyro diz que diguo sempre. ay. este he o pregoeyro que diz do meu pryssoneyro coraçam como lhe vay Este brada noyte ⁊ dia por saber quem no ouuyr vossa crua fantilya ⁊ minha grande alegria morrendo por vos ser myr

¶Grosa sua a este moto que fezem que nam estam mays nem menos letras que as do nome dantonya vyeyra.

¶Ja vytorya nam. e

¶Matar hũ homẽ vẽçido preso sobre sua fee ja vytorea nam he

¶Matar desme vos senhora pello men nam me da nada mas por vos q̃ soes culpada em matar quem vos adora. E que me matays agora poys nam matays minha fee ja vytorea nam he.

¶Que vytorea seuareys matar hũ vosso catyuo poys confesso qne nam vyuo se nam quanto vos quereys. E posto que me mateys sem vos lembrar minha fee ja vytorea nam. e

¶Grosa sua a este moto.

¶Gram trabalho he vyuer

¶Poys nam sescusa perder a vyda com grande afronta lançando bem esta conta gram trabalho he vyuer

¶Es vyda tam estymada quanto sam breues teus dias que sendo por sempre dada quanto es agora amada tam desamada serias. E poys nunca das prazer que nam venha com afronta lançando bem esta conta gram trabalho he vyuer

¶Outra grosa sem vylançete.

¶Quem nesta vyda cuydar pode bem certo saber quee gram trabalho vyuer.

¶Quem cuidar nesta mudãça queste triste mundo faz achara que nele jaz a mayor desconfrança. E poys nunca da bonança sem temor de se perder gram trabalho he vyuer

¶Cada hũ em seu estado meta bem a mão no seo achara segundo creo muyta dor muyto cuydado. E poys ante de ganhado este bem sa de perder gram trabalho he vyuer

## Danrrique da mota.

¶ Estes beés de tanta briga
com fadiga saim a vyoos
com fadiga possuyoos
¶ leytados com fadiga
E poys este mal sogygua
no ganhar ¶ no poder
gram trabalho he vyuer

¶ Logo meu contẽtarya
se neesta vyda presente
alguem vyuesse contente
ou descanisado hũ soo dia
Mas por quysto queu quer ya
nunca foy nem ha de ser
gram trabalho he vyuer

¶ Danrrique da mota a soã
rroiz de ssaa para que falasse
por ele ao conde seu sogro ¶
a iorge de vascõçelos seu cu/
nhado sobre dinheyro q̃ lhe
nã pagauã de vynhos q̃ lhe
vendeo pa hũa armada.

¶ Senhor aquem fobo deu
lyngoa virgyliana
de que corre de que mana
quanta fama ouço eu.
E alem deste primor
o muy alto deos damor
triumfante
vº fez huũ gentil galante
de damas gram seruidor

¶ De nobreza ¶ fydalguya
escuso de vº louuar
poys vosso claro solar
como sol rresplandeçia.
E das artes liberays
¶ vertudes cardeays
nam vº guabo
por que nysto nam tem cabo
a gram fama que cadays.

¶ Eu senhor por que conheço
vosso alto naçimento
quys tomar atreuymento
pedir vº jsto que peço
E que seja desygual
pedir esta merçe tal
sem sseruyr
fazeo por consseguyr
vosso lyndo natural

¶ Eu fiz ssenhor hũ partido
co senhor vosso cunhado
no qual peroy o ganhado
¶ nam ganhey o perdido.
Compryr com elc ssem briga
por me tirar de fadiga
¶ agora
fazme na pagua tal mora
que nam sey ja que lhe diga

¶ E por mays me agrauar
rremetteme a dom martinho
que mandou gastalo vinho
quele mo mande paguar
Dom martinho nam me cre
se lhe falo nam ve
nem me ouue
vede senhor quem trouue
a pedilo meu por merçe.

¶ Faley tres veés a el rrey
neste tam mao paguamẽto
sua alteza com bõm tento
ouuyo quanto lhe faley.
Mas porem sempre me disse
que dom martinho ouuysse
meu agrauo
nam sey. Vaj este crauo
nem menos sey quẽ no vysse

¶ Eu andando ssem ssaber
quem posesse nysto meo
em sonhos senhor me veo
que vos me podeys valer.
Mas conçelos mo compron
castel branco mo gastou
em zamor
mas eu nam acho senhor
quem digna que mo pagou.

¶ E poys vos ssoes hũ teseo
em esforço ¶ bõm destinto
lyurayme do labyrynto
de que sayr nunca creo.
Por que acho desta vez
que o que dedalo fez
nam foy tal
poys que fora nam me val
nem o gram pelouro de pez

¶ Mas vos q̃ tendes na mão
o cordel per. V. Sayr
se me quyserdes ouuyr
podes me dar rredençam.
E poys ssoys bom luytador
¶ podeysy lutar senhor
per dous erros
lyurayme destes desterros
¶ ganhays hũ seruydor

¶ Fym em vylançete.

¶ Destas joas destas vindas
destas paguas dos amores
por huũ prazer çem dolores.

¶ No tempo do contratar
andã tam bem assombrados
que nam venham namorados
que mays saybam lysonjar
Mas este negro paguar
nos cansa com desfauores
por hũ prazer çem dolores

¶ E poys que vossa merçe
naçeo pera bem fazer
folguay de me socorrer
poys magrauã ssem por que.
E por vosso me ave
por q̃ quãte mill louuores
de vossos grandes primores

¶ Outro vylançete ao cõde de
vyla noua sobre este caso.

¶ Quanto gãho nos partidos
tanto gasto em çapatos.
de rodes pera pylatos

¶Er me vou & er me venho
como barca de carreyra
quanto guanho quanto tẽho
tudo leua a tauerneyra.
¶E assy desta maneyra
guasto todos meus çapatos
derodes pera pilatos.

¶Quãdo cuido que stou bem
entam acho que stou mal
quando cuido ser alem
sam a quem de portugual.
E per este modo tal
guasto todos meus çapatos
derodes pera pilatos.

¶Ando muyto mays bolido
do que he saco de malha
tenho gram monte de palha
mas o gram nam he auido.
Sem cheguar a ser ouuido
rrompo todos meus çapatos
derodes pera pilatos.

¶E poys que senhor ho meu
fiz de vossa jurdiçam
daymo daymo que erreçam
daymo poys que dos mo deu.
Nam queirays q̃ guaste eu
o q̃ nam guanhey nos tratos
derodes pera pilatos.

Danrrique da mo/
ta a hũ creligo sobre
huũa pypa de vynho
q̃ selhe foy polo chã.
& lemẽtaua desta ma
neyra.

¶Ay.ay.ay.ay que farey
ay que dores me çercaram
ay que nouas me cheguaram
ay de myn onde me yrey.
Que farey triste meszquinho
com payram
tudo leua maao caminho
poys q̃ vay todo meu vynho
pelo cham.

¶O vinho quem te perdera
primeyro que te compraraa
oo quem nunca te prouara
ou prouando te morrera.
O quem nunca fora nado
neste mundo
pois vejo tam mal logrado
hum tal bem tam estimado
tam profundo.

¶O meu bem tã escolhido
que farey em vossa aussençia
nam posso ter paçiençia
por v^os ver assy perdido.
O pipa tam mal fundada
desoitosa
de foguo sejas queymada
por teres tam mal goardada
esta rrosa

¶O arcos por que ssurastes
oo vimeẽs de maldiçam
por que nam tiuestes mão
assy como me ficastes
O mao vilão tenoeyro
desalmado
tu teẽs a culpa primeyro
pois lenaste o meu vinheyro
mal lenado.

¶Fala com a ssua
negra.

¶O perra de manicongo
tu emtornaste este vynho
hũa posta de touçinho
tey de guastar nesse lombo.
a myn nunca nũca myn
entornar
myn andar angoa jardim
a myn nunca ssar rroym
por que bradar.

¶Se nam fosse por alguem
perra eu te çertefico
bradar com almererico
aluaro lopo tam bem.

Aos logno todos chamar
vos beber
vos pipo nunca tapar
vos a myn quero pinguar
myn morrer.

¶Ora perra calte ja
se nam matarey agora
aquyssar juys no fora
a myn loguo vay te laa.
Adym tã bẽ falar mourinho
ssacriuam
myn nã medo no toussinho
guardar nã ser mais q̃ vinho
creliguam.

¶Ora te dou oo diabo
rroguote ja que te cales
que bẽ mabastã meus males
que me vem de cada cabo.
Olhay a perra que diz
que fara
jra dizer oo juys
o que fiz & que nam fiz
& crelaa.

¶E poys ela he tam rroym
bem sera que me perçeba
diraa quee minha mançeba
pera sse vinguar de myn.
em tam em prouas nã pronas
guastarey
yram dar de mim mas nouas
& faram ssobre myn trouas
que farey.

¶O ssyso sera calar
pera nam buscar desculpa
poys a negra nam tem culpa
pera que lha quero dar.
Eu ssam aquy o culpado
& outrem nam
eu ssam o denificado
& eu ssam o magoado
eu o ssam.

## Danrryque da mota.

Que negra entrada de março
he todo vay por estarte
e as terças doutra parte
am me de dar hum camarço.
Do vos outros que passays
pelas vinhas
rresponoey assy viuays
se vistes dores yguays
coas minhas.

¶ Fym em vilançete.

¶ Pois nã tẽho aqui parẽtes
saltem vos amici mei
chorareys como chorey.

¶ Chorareys a minha pipa
chorareys o ãno caro
chorareys o desemparo
do meu bem de caparica.
E poys tanta dor me fica
saltem vos amici mei
chorareys como chorey.

¶ Fala como o viguayro.

¶ O guordo padre viguayro
vos que sabeys que dor he
ajuday por vossa fee
a chorar este faoayro.
Se perdera obrigalayro
nem a capa que comprey
nam chorara o que chorey?

¶ Respondeo vigayro.

¶ O yrmão muyto perdestes
e segundo em mym sento
nam tenera atrevimento
de sofrer o que sofrestes.
he hum tam grande mal este
que com dor que dey ey
pera sempre chorarey.

¶ Fala cõ aluaro lopes.

¶ O aluaro yrmão amigo
vedo jaz aqui no chão
pois perdestes teu quinham
vem e choraras comyguo.
Certamente eu te diguo
que quando morreo el rrey
pardos tanto nam chorey.

¶ Reposta aluaro lopes.

¶ Milhor me fora perder
dez mil vezes meu officio
ou hũ grande beneficio
que tanta pena sofrer.
Poys nam temos que beber
o yrmão onde mirey
poys que choras chorarey.

¶ Fala cõ o almoraryfe.

¶ O almoraryfe yrmão
leuantemos esta pipa
e vereinos sse lhe fica
aynda algum nembro são
Mas eu tenho tal payxão
do triste que nam logrey
que por sempre chorarey.

¶ Respõde o almoraryfe.

¶ Pois q nam tem alma jaa
pera quee alcuantada
mas muyto pior seraa
que dizem que ficaraa
esta casa vyolaoa
a confraria he danada
O jrmão que te farey
se chorares chorarey.

¶ Fala cõ o juiz d' orfãos.

¶ Vos que tendes jurdiçam
naqueles que nam tem pay
vynde vinde aqui chorar
que eu tam bem orfão sam.
e que vossa condiçam
seja dagua como sey
chorareys como chorey.

¶ Reposta do juiz d' orfãos.

¶ Esforçay nam v' mateys
perto he daqui a agosto
a negra fica com vosco
com que v' confortareys.
Do perdido nam cureys
nem chameys a que del rrey
e eu v' conssolarey.

¶ Fym d'alementaçam
do creliguo.

¶ Todo genero honrrado
em que vertude consiste
ajuday chorar o triste
que jaz aqui emtornado.
E poys eu por meu pecado
pera tanto mal fiquey
pera sempre chorarey.

¶ Danrrique da mota
a hum alfayate de dom
dioguo sobre hũ cruza/
do que lhe furtarã no
bombarral.

¶ Goayas q sam destroçado
ay adonay que farey
poys que quys o meu pecado
que perdy o meu cruzado
que por maas noytes guãhey.
Goay de mym onde mirey
que rreceba algum conforto
se o calo abafarey
jurem deu nam calarey
por que nessora sam morto.

¶ Mas yr mey por essa terra
como homem sem ventura
por qua dor que me desterra
me fara tam cruel guerra
que moyra sem sepultura.
Guyzeraa que gram tristura
o quem ante nam naçera
com tam gram desauentura
poys seys meses de cultura
todos juntos os perdera.

¶Ay que quero abafar
ay que me quero perder
quero myr lançar no mar
milhor he de me matar
que ſſempre proue viuer.
O quem me deſſe ſſaber
onde hum toyro eſtiueſſe
hylo hya cometer
jaremdeu em me comer
grande graça me fiſeſſe:

¶Doutra parte nam he ſſyſo
buſcar minha perdiçam
que quando culpam narçyſo
que morreo por mao auiſo
pois de mym ja que diram.
Mas porem eſpantar ſſam
os que ſſouberem tal lodo
como viuo com payram
o ſſe vieſſe hum lyam
que meſbandalhaſſe todo.

¶Certo eu nacy maa ora
em pior fuy bautizado
pois des em tam ategora
ſempre è mym moſina mora
ſempr̃andey atreueſſado.
Que farey triſte coytado
que nam ſſey ja que me faça
tudo he bem empreguado
em mim pois tomey de grado
eſta ley noua de graça.

¶Eu que me queyra caſar
com peroa tam conheçida
nam poſſo deſſymular
por que por meu ſoſpirar
ſera minha dor ſſabida.
O cruzado minha vida
pera que te conheçy
poys tua triſte partida
me cauſa dor tam creçida
qual eu nunca padeçy.

¶Eu nam ſſey que mal eu fiz
que tal peroa me conuenha
o coraçam qua me diz
que va buſcar o juiz
ẽ creo que bem me venha.

¶Eoirey que me mantenha
em juſtiça com ſſa vara
oo quem me dera ter grenha
pois nam tenho quẽ me tẽha
eu por my ma rrepelara.

¶Partir mey nam partirey
hyr me ey onde me foy
tornarey nam tornarey
ſe morrer nam viuirey
ou terey prazer ou doy.
Mas porem ſſe o ſſenhor
dom dioguo yſto ſſabe
ſegundo me tem amor
por que ſſam ſſeu ſeruidor
jurem dcu que nam me guabe

¶Pergunta dom ſoam
o alfayate.

¶Como veẽs eſpauorido
manuel que ds te valha
como nam tendes ſſabido
ſenhor: como ſſam peroido
nam ſſey diſſo nemigalha.
com quem ouueſte baralha
nam me negues iſſo mays
orala fora batalha
nã me fica graão nem palha
quero myr nam me tenhays.

¶A goarda a goarda diabo
dizemeſta puridade
que bem ſſabes por meu cabo
que ſſempre muyto te guabo
por te ter boa vontade.
Nam me negues a verdade
que quiçaa te vyra bem
tenho te tal amizade
ey de ty tal piadade
que nam no crera ninguem.

¶Senhor vou deſamarrado
coa peroa que mantenho
leuo meu colo alçado
ẽ vou tam deſatinado
que nam ſſey ſſe vou ſe venho.

¶O que tinha nam no tenha
nem he ja em meu poder
eſtas barbas vo empenho
que valia dhum çẽ menho
me nam fica por peroer.

¶Com tudo nam acabaſte
de deſcobrir teu peſar
mil rroseos me buſcaſte
ẽ porem agora vaſte
ſem nada me declarar.
Nam as aſſy de paſſar
nem te ey de leyxar yr
as oje oa rrebentar
ſe nam aqui as deſtar
ora começay douuyr.

¶Hum cruzado que poypey
em que tanto me rreuia
tantas vezes o olhey
ate que nam no achey
nem he ja onde ſſoya.
Eu nam ſſey ſſe cayria
da bolſſa ſe mo furtaram
ou quiçaa teſſquecria
em jugando algum dia
dar toam ſſeito acharam.

¶E poys hum peſar tã rraſo
me fez ſſer de dor ſſogeito
poys paſſey ja eſte vaſo
conſſelhayme neſte caſo
o que he mays meu proueito:
yſto dizes he ja feyto
a ſſam teſpritohyras'
batendo rryſo no peyto
ẽ contarlhas ten deſpeyto
ẽ quiçaa o cobiaras.

¶Oraçam de manuel
em ſſam teſpirito.

¶O tu ſſenhor ſſanteſpritto
poſto que teu nam conheça
de ty ſſenhor me he dito
que es hum ds infinito
ẽ mo metem em cabeça.

## Banrryque da mota.

Edizem que mofereça
a ty em mynha pairam
q posto que me nam creça
deuaçam quanta mereça
nam me ponhas culpa nam.

¶ Adeuinha madeuinha
tu senhor quem me leuou
hum cruzado que eu tinha
pera oar a molher minha
que nam sey quẽ mo furtou.
Dom joam ma conselhou
que me viesse eu a ty
ves maqui onde mestou
nam me falas ja me vou
que nam posso estar aqui.

¶ Aleuantey minhas velas
como nao com grã fadigua
carreguado de querelas
q fuy achar joam de belas
o qual manda que o sygua,
Ediz que es que te digua
manuel hũa gram noua
o senhor ds vo bem digua
ja este demo ssa trigua
q naim quer ouuir a proua.

¶ Nouas bem certas
q̃ joã de belas da a ma
nuel do seu cruzado.

¶ Tu saberas queu ouuy
dizer qum homem dissera
o qual eu nam conheçi
que passara por aqui
outromem nam sey dõdera.
E aquele homem soubera
dhum seu amiguo cheguado
que hũ dia desta era
hum seu filho lhe trouuera
esse he o meu cruzado.

¶ Nam quero mais escuitar
senhor meu muytas merçes
o juiz me vou buscar
que mande loguo çitar
esse homem que dizes.

Nam majays por descortes
por que vo leixo aqui soo
tanta merçe me fareys
que naquisto ma judeys
por des darmos este noo.

¶ Fala manuel co juys q̃
era gonçalo damota.

¶ Senhor juiz venho caa
com muyto grande pairam
estou qua nam estou laa
joam debelas vo diraa
toda minha concruisam.
Eu nã sey quem nem quẽ nã
hum cruzado me furtou
ou se me cahyo no cham
porem tenho presunçam
que hum homem o achou

¶ O juiz.

¶ Esse homem donde he
bem sera que modiguays
por que sem mais bolyr pee
vo juro por minha fee
que vosso cruzado ajays.
Senhor juyz bem viuays
ysso he o queu espero
ora sus nam tarde mais
esse homem cacusays
o nome saber lhe quero.

¶ Sinays que manuel da
do homem que lhe achou
o cruzado.

¶ Eu nam sey onde le viue
porem he donde le for
aparecle nam estiue
nem menos nam no rretiue
nem sey ondee morador.
Mas ponho quee laurador
q foy filho de alguem
q mays tem na sua cor
q tam bem tem mor amor
assy mesmo quaa ninguem.

¶ E he filho de molher
traz o rroito por diante
saberа quanto souber
q teraa o que teuer
ou he feo ou he galante.
De mays bayxo que gyguãte
q he mayor que pineu
ou he fraco ou he possante
nam he rrey nem he yfante
ou he cristão ou judeu.

De mays sinays demãdardes
daruolos ey sse quereys
mas porẽ sse bem julguardes
em estomem condenardes
grande merçe me fareys.
Bem sera ja ca cabeys
nam cureys mays de falar
q poys vos tanto sabeys
esperay q ouuireys
q sentença quey de dar.

¶ Sentença do juyz.

¶ Visto bem por my juiz
este feyto q maa auçam
q o queu sobristo fiz
q o queste homem diz
em sua maa concruisam.
Diguo por boa rrezam
que sele per deo cruzado
as epistolas de caram
que quarenta q oyto sam
am culpa neste pecado.

¶ Fym.

¶ Mas porẽ por quale guays
sinays com que mẽbaçastes
por esses mesmos sinays
eu julguo que vos percays
o cruzado que furtastes
Por cassy como o guãhastes
sem temor de ds nem medo
a bo fee bem no lograstes
q nã sey como o goardastes
que sse nã perdeo mais cedo.

¶ Danrrique da mota
ao ortelam q̃ a rrainha
tẽ nas calvas q̃ he hũ
omẽ muyto pequeno e
chamase joã grãde e pa
ssou estas palauras cõ
ele por trazer a carreto
de dizer q̃ o puedor das
calvas q̃ chamã jerony
mo dayres era muyto
seco ẽ suas cousas e co
meça abater a porta da
orta. e falam ambos hũ
com o outro.

¶ Oulaa oulaa ou delaa
quem esta hy
chegnay peçonos aqui
que queria entrar laa.
Quem soys vos abryr vos ey
abry vos e velo ey
que quereys
abry e dyr volo ey.

¶ Em abrindo a porta.

¶ Amiguo deos vos ajude
e a vos faça
dizeyme por vossa graça
assy deos vos dey saude.
De estaa aqui joam grande
hum muy grande ortelam
en o ssam
em quanto a rrainha mande.

¶ Isso seraa zombaria
bem por que
por que soys hũ qu tilque
pouco moor que cotovia.
E jam grande deue ser
hum omem grande creçido
muy compridо
de descriçam e saber.

¶ E vos pareçeis bogio
com capelo
rredondo como nouelo
ou pymen em desafio.

De vos vindes azombar
nam vos quero mais ouuir
quero myr
que nam posso aqui estar.

¶ Agoarday nam vos partais
escuitayme
estarey e ssegurayme
que nã sobeis de mim mais.
Deixaime passala porta
que queria la entrar
a falar
co ortelão desta orta.

¶ Vois ou grãde ou peq̃no
ermaqui
o que dizeys he assi
assi he por ssamtileno.
Vede vos o que quereis
pareçes a rratalinho
folforinho
nam disse que nam zombeis.

¶ Ora suos loguo fora
da minha orta
que quero carrala porta
eylo demo vem aguora.
Nam vos ploirey perdam
por qual quer cousa querrasse
ou passasse
mais de vossa condiçam.

¶ Por hy me podeis leuar
que per bem
nam me vençera ninguem
ora podeis vos entrar.
Benzus deos as larangeiras
pareçe ca olho creçem
e jateçem
por aqui estas limeiras.

¶ O que cousa tam rreal
começada
entray que nam vedes nada
o que fremoso ssoral

E estas larangeirinhas
de laranjas carreguadas
sam prantadas
por estas santas mãos minhas

¶ Quantro vos aqui prantais
tudo prende
por q̃ tanto se mentende
que ninguem nã ssabe mais.
Hũ pao sseco aqui inctido
co ssaber que me ós deu
farey eu
ficar verde e muy frolido.

¶ O que cousa de louuor
esta hee
metey ca por vossa fee
este vosso prouedor.
Hy correndo muy asynha
que vos valha ós trazeo
e fazeo
quee seruiço da rrainha.

¶ O jesu nam mo faleis
nesta cousa
por q̃ meu saber nam ousa
fazer y sso que quereis:
Por q̃ toda a natureza
nem o ssaber de medea
nem cumea
nam faram tal ardideza

¶ Por q̃ ssua ssequidade
he de ssorte
que nunca se nam per morte
mudara sa calidade.
E pera sse rreguar bem
primeiro despenderey
e ssecarey
toda quãta aagoa aqui vem.

¶ E aynda nam matreno
a rregualo
e se quiser bem agoalo
nam farey ca o que deuo.
Antes de sique seco
que dar maa conta de mym
e em fim
serey julgado por peco.

[CCV v.]

## Banrryque da mota.

¶ Por q̃ ſſempre ouuy falar
ca elaa
que o que natura daa
ninguem o pode neguar.
Ele tem ſſeca naçam
de ſſcu ſſeco natural
pelo qual
nam a hy ja rredençam.

¶ Aſſy que v⁹ deſpeois
de trazelo
doutra parte eu ponho ſſelo
a yſſo que concruois.
Por que depoys que nacy
outra tam ſſeca peſſoa
ſſendo booa
nunca neſta terra vy.

¶ Fym q̃ concruſam.

¶ E aſſy que concruoindo
nunca pude achar maneyra
pera que ſſua ſſe queyra
ſe foſſe deminuindo.
Porem diſem qua hũ dito
bem me deueys entender
que ſſe acha em eſcrito
que quando vyrmos ſſolſſito
queſperemos por chouer.

¶ Banrrique da mota a buũ ſſeu amiguo em rreposta ó hũa carta q̃ lhe mãdou em q̃lhe cõ/tana hũa viſam q̃ vyra e pedia conſſelho e de craraçã da dita viſam.

¶ Deſcriçam do tẽpo.

¶ A madre q̃ começaua
de rramar ſſeus lauradores
a filha de nouas frores
o mundo ja viſitaua.
e nepruno derramaua
ſeus teſouros
ſobre criſtãos ſſobre mouros
febo ſſeus cabelos louros
rreſeruaua
e ſſem graça ſſe moſtraua.

¶ O qual hya rrepouſando
na caſa do animal
que corrabo fere mal
e da boca he muy brando.
Neſte tempo era quando
me foy dado
hũ eſcrito muy çarrado
que me deu muyto cuidado
em cuidando
no que nele vou achando.

¶ E depoys de o ter lido
ſiquey todo ſſem prazer
por nam poder entender
ſeu eſtilo muy ſſobido.
E aſſy entreſteçido
me party
na qual hyda me temy
de ma conteçer aſſy
como ey lido
que omero foy perdido.

¶ E com tam gram deſatino
proſſeguy por minha vya
rramuſya tomey por guya
como fez el rrey ca dino.
E acheime tam moſino
caminhante
que quãto mays vou auante
me acho tam ynorante
de contino
muyto mays q̃ hum menino.

¶ E hya tam treſportado
que nam vya çeo nem terra
a mym meſmo dana guerra
coeſte nouo cuidado.
Porquya tam emleuado
em cuydar
que ſſem caminho achar
me foy furtuna leuar
a hum prado
dhumanos deſabitado.

¶ O qual todo ſſeçerraua
dũa ſſerra per tal arte
tam alta de cada parte
que as nuueẽs traſpaſſaua.
Na qual ſſerra vy camdaua
monteſyna
muyta fera ſſaluagina
e toda ave de rrapina
ſe criaua
naqueſta ſſelua tam braua.

¶ E eu vendo que errey
o caminho da pouſada
começey buſcar entrada
por ſſayr per hu entrey.
E depois que trabalhey
em buſcalo
ſem poder jamais achalo
de ter aas como dedalo
deſeſey
quando çercado machey

¶ E deſque nam achey meyo
pera ſſayr da montanha
braoaua com grande ſſanha
meſturada com rreçeo.
Porem o carro febeo
caminhando
me foy toda luz tirando
em tais treuas me leixando
como orfeo
quando do jnferno veo

¶ E depois que me çercou
a ſſombra de teſifone
ſiquey mais triſte que prone
quando ſſeu filho matou.
Por que deſque ſſaparteu
a luz do dia
fogio de mim alegria
e por minha companhia
me ficou
temor q̃ macompanhou.

¶ E com quãto mal dobrado
ate qui paſſey tam duro
com rreçeo do futuro
meſqueçia do paſſado.

Por q̃ me vy muy çercado
de beſtiguos
de minha vida jmiguos
& eu por fogyr perigos
foy forçado
em hũa aruor ſſer trepado.

¶ E depois daly paſſar
gram parte da noyte eſcura
mal diſſe minha ventura
quemaly veo portar.
E começey de rroguar
a cupido
qualomie' meu ſſentido
& pera que fuy trazido
a tal luguar
me quiſeſſe decrarar

¶ E eu que nam acabaua
meu rroguo tam paçiente
quando vy ſupitamente
hum crarol que me çercaua:
E no meyo dele eſtaua
poderoſo
hum moço çeguo fremoſo
ora ledo ora cuidoſo
ſe moſtraua
& tinha aas com que vosaua.

¶ E trazia por ſynal
de ſuas obras ſecretas
hum colore cõ muytas ſſetas
& hum arco muy rreal.
& a quem he mays leal
a ſſeu mandado
eſſe viue mays penado
eſſe tem tanto cuidado
que mays val
fogyr do ſſeu a rrayal

¶ E aqueles que feria
com ſſeus furioſos tiros
fazia lhe dar ſſoſpiros
ſem canſſar noyte nem dia.
E vy que tanto podia
ſeu poder
que nam preſta defender
nem o humano ſſaber
nam ſſabia
rreſiſtir ſſua perfia.

¶ E eu com alteraçam
que tinha do grande medo
faley hum pouco mais çedo
do que mandaua rrezam.
E diſſe com torvaçam
oo ſſenhor
ſe tu es o deos damor
liura liura de tal dor
meu coraçam
que nam moyra de payram

¶ O qual loguo rreſpondeo
eu ſſam o grande cupido
eu fuy amado & temido
de quanta gente naçeo.
E quem me nam conheçeo
nem amou
poucas couſas acabou
nunca gualanteandou
nem vinco
quem ſſem amores morreo.

¶ E eu poſſo dar cuidados
eu dou pena & eu groria
por mym alcançam vitoria
os conſtantes namorados.
E os q̃ ſſam mais honrrados
& ſeruidos
ſe quero ſſam abatidos
& por contrayro queridos
& amados
os triſtes deſeſperados.

¶ E aſſy que em meu poder
he achaue dos amores
& por tanto os amadores
me deuem obedeçer.
Deuem me rreconheçer
obediençia
poys mynha grande excelẽçia
por mays alta priminençia
tem poder
pera dar dor & prazer.

¶ E por quetu jnuocaſte
minha grande mageſtade
com tam vmilde vontade
grande graça percalçaſte.
Mas nam cuides queſcapaſte
da gram pena
que te meu ſſaber ordena
mas daqueſta mais pequena
te liuraſte
quãdo meu nome chamaſte.

¶ E diras a teu amiguo
que nam cure de cuidar
na viſam que vyo paſſar
que o poſ em gram periguo
Por que aquele beſtiguo
quele via
que as carnes lhe comia
ſera grande alegria
que conſiguo
lograra como te diguo.

¶ E tanto quiſto falou
hũa nuuem o cobrio
& aſſy ſſe tranſluzio
que os olhos me çegou.
E deſque ſſe apartou
ſem no ver
trabalhey por me deçer
& acheyme ſſem ſſaber
quem me leuou
neſta terra ondeſtou.

¶ Fym.

¶ Agora ſſenhor olhay
eſtroutra vyſam que vy
& entenderes aquy
voſſo feyto como vay.
Mas de mym vos affirmay
que ſſoo a viſta
me da tam forte conquiſta
que nam ſſey quem lhe rreſiſta
nem ſſe ſſay
minha dor por dizer ay.

## Danrryque da mota.

¶ Danrrique da mota
a dom joam de norõha
& a dom ſancho ſeu yr
mão porque ſe foraõ cõ
feſſar a ſam Bernal/
di na metade do verão
leuando comſyguo o
vigayro douidos que
he muyto gordo. & vie/
ram jãtar a hũ luguar
que chamam os gyral/
dos. & nom acharam
vynho pera beber.

¶ No verão hyr confeſſar
na força dos dias grandes
nam a hy bancos de frandes
pera tanto arreçear.
O frade muy denaguar
aſſentado a ſeu prazer
a çegua rregua a cantar
em tam eſtar & ſuar
yſto he mais que morrer

¶ Por tanto foy ordenado
o confeſſar no inuerno
por quo mor mal do jnferno
he ſer muyto emcalmado.
ante ſer eſcomungado
que hyr confeſſar por calma
que aças he gram pecado
ſer o corpo mal tratado
com pouco prouejto dalma.

¶ Ora ponhamos que jaa
ſeja feyta confiſſam
com muy grande contriçam
como creo que ſeraa.
vejamos quem poderaa
compryr agora pendença
a qual he couſa tam maa
que ſe nalma vida daa
no corpo cauſa doença.

¶ De hũa couſa muy ſaã
per aos corrutos aares
nos dias caniculares
o beber pela menhaã
a touguya ou lourinhaã.
Quem nam tiuer caparica
ſobre pera ou maçaã
& al he couſa vaã
em ſaluo eſta quem rrepica.

¶ Se ſe diſſer o contrayro
eſſe frade por ventura
diſeylhe caſſy ſe cura
o padre do campanayro.
Por que tem hum bibyayro
em que rreza ſem periguo
muyto mays q̃ no roſayro
nam diguays que eo viguairo
por quem ſenhor nã no diguo.

¶ Nem eu çerto nam diria
do ſenhor vigayro nada
nem da ſua jmbiguada
por que meſcomunguarias
Mas porem eu juraria
na ſaya de ſam bernaldo
que ja ele rrezaria
hum rreſponſſo que diz ia
libera me do giraldo.

¶ Jnde illa tremenda
quando for o çeo mouido
& o vinho faleçido
que nam achem quẽ no vẽda
nem fiado nem aa tenda
Nẽ per força nẽ per rroguo
domine michi defenda
de tam aſpera emmenda
ante me julgue per foguo.

¶ Aças gram pendença era
a que fez voſſa merçe
querer beber ſem ter que
Do que pendença tam fera
ſempre ouuy que neſta era
he periguo ter barrigua
& eu vy na prima vera
& no curſſo da eſpera
cavyẽs de ter fadigua.

¶ Aierom do oriente
tres rreys magos q̃ ſſabeys
& vos foſtes todos tres
muyto guordos em ponente.
O frade muyto contente
na ſua çela muy fria
& vos per calma muy quente
eu meſpanto çertamente
ſſayrdes daquele dia.

¶ Fym.

¶ Ora ja vos confeſſaſtes
goarday vos de ſejnũar
caças vos deue abaſtar
o ſſuor que laa ſſuaſtes.
Por que doulhe que cõeaſtes
mays pecados do q̃ eram
eu mafirmo que paguaſtes
na fronta que la paſſaſtes
a pendença que vos deram

¶ Trouas danrriq̃ da
mota a hũa mula muy
to magra. & velha que
vyo eſtar no bonbarral
ha porta de dom dio/
guo filho do marques
& era de dom anrrique
ſeu yrmão que hya em
rromaria a noſſa ſen/
hora de nazarete & leua
ua nela hum ſeu amo.

¶ Donde ſſoys ſenhora mula
quaſſy ſtays deſmazalada
vos no pecado da gula
nam deues de ſer culpada.
Segundo eſtays dillicada
juraria
que ſereys acuſtumada
a comer pouca çeuada
cada dya.

Aos por vossa grã magreyra
nam deues ter dor de baço
ja deues deyrar o paço
pois v$^{a}$ oã tã ma cõteira.
Quem nã synto quẽ v$^{a}$ queira
porem ssey
quãdo foy dalfarroubeyra
quãdaueys na dianteyra
cos del rrey.

Dessa vossa guarniçam
bem ssey ꝙ v$^{a}$ contentays
doutra parte he rrazam
pois ꝙ tem tantos meraÿs.
Ouro prata estanho & mays
tem verniz
la tam cobre nam deixays
pareçes hy onde stays
hũa boiz.

Se fordes a nazaree
aly he vosso fartar
ho ꝙ gram duçura he
arca & agoa do mar.
Se v$^{a}$ ds bem ajudar.
nesta jornada
quero vos profetizar
que aues la de ficar
estirada.

Aos pareçes hum diabo
se nã quanto soys mays fea
por mays ꝙ bulays co rrabo
aues de ter bem maa çaa.
Tendes feyçam de lamprea
na longura
da barriga pouco chea
ho jesu ꝙ ma estrea.
que trestura.

A mula.

A bofe bem v$^{a}$ mereys
sem saber com quẽ falays
& de mays se vos colidays
que falays com quem ssoeys.
Vos de mym sõbar queres
assaz de mal
ã fuy do senhor marques
& ia rreys vy morrer tres
em portugual.

O ꝙ dizeys he assy
dizey assy v$^{a}$ ds farte
no tempo del rrey duarte
v$^{a}$ afyrmo ꝙ naçy
& ja quatro rreys seruy
portugueses
& com quanto mal soffry
nunca de casa sahy
dos marqueses

Pooys cõ quẽ vyueis agora
ꝙ v$^{a}$ tem tam mal tratada
traz mũ homẽ empreytada
de quem sse ja çedo fora.
nam me dyreys onde mora
se ousasse
mas traz hũa tal espora
querya la na maa hora
sse falasse.

No tempo dos caramelos
ꝙ comẽs ꝙ deos v$^{a}$ valha
hũa quarta de farelos
hũa jueyra depalha.
Nam comes outra byralha
assy gozedes
nam como mays nymygalha
baruos ha fome batalha
jora vedes.

Ora bem & no beber
assy v$^{a}$ poẽ prouyssam
quanta disso fartassam
nam ha hy al que dyzer.
Se me dissem de comer
dessa maneyra
bem pooya gordasser
nam me vyrya morrer
de laseyra.

Tendes os ossos muy altos
& a carne muy ssom yoa
andays bem fora dos saltos
soys de quadrys bẽ fomyos.
Por hy veres vos a vyda
ꝙ eu passo
& por sser mays destroyda
von cõ hũ homẽ nesta byda
muy escasso.

Ora bem esse vossamo
nam dyreis como se chama
he o amo queu desamo
ꝙ amym bem pouco ama.
Nam ey de calar sia fama
que messole
mas ssagora ouuesse lama
selheu nam fezesse a cama
na mays mole

Gomez anrriquez

O jesu ꝙ ma vysonha
o ꝙ cousa tam disforme
tem no pescoço comforme
com garganta de cegonha.
Donde he tal caranconha
de tays geytos
sam da casa de noronha
& nam ey dauer vergonha
de meus feytos

Por ꝙ vedes me aquy
eu vos juro de verdade
ꝙ por mety vyrgyndade
& estou tal qual naçy.
Em meu bom tẽpo ssruy
quanto pude
& depoys ꝙ em velhecy
nũca mays bem rreceby
nem saude.

Damo ꝙ hyra neta

Que diabo lhe quereys
a esta triste coytada
dis ꝙ nam come çenada
& ꝙ vos ꝙ lha tolheys.
Quero poys quysso dyzeys
ꝙ ssaybays
ꝙ a come cada mes
cada mes ha vynta tres
que ma nam days.

Anrrique damo
ta.

## Banrrique da mota.

¶ Por q̃ partyo o ouuestes
a mula q̃ foy oas boas
aforaoa em tres pessoas
o cara maa ca vyestes.
nũca foro me disestes
de tal sorte.
mas poys vos jsso fezestes
eu me faço logo prestes
pera morte.

¶ O amo.

¶ Estays ora muy em fynta
e estays troçendo ho rrosto
mas bradam todos co vosco
por meteroes tam faynynta.,
Deueys lançar hũa fynta
em alcoentre
pera lhe encher a çynta
fycouos q̃ mays nã fynta
dor de ventre

¶ Fala o amo com anrrique da mota

¶ Se sonbesseys como anda
fycaryes espantado
ssey que anda mal pecado
nam muy farta de vyanda.
Pareçe longua-varanda
de ta verna
traue longa muyto panda
zambuco q̃ sse nam manda
nem gouerna

¶ Fala o amo com a mula quando sse ja queriam yr.

¶ Todaa jente sse vay jaa
vamonos da quy em booa
mas q̃ vamos na maoa
q̃ comyguo andara.
Anday rryjo e ver vos haa
esta jente
nunca ds tal quereraa
quẽ me da vyda tã maa
q̃ ho contente

¶ Quãto mays q̃ eu nã posso
fazer jsso q̃ quereys
por co meu mal e vosso
todo men como sabeys.
O que ando he q̃ me pes
e com payram
des que em mym vos colhes
cuydays que sam hũ arnes
de mylam.

¶ O amo.

¶ Anday ãday nã vos toçais
quolham todos pera nos
orala rrysem de vos
tanto ata q̃ vos deçais.
Aguaroay poys q̃ pairrays
coçar vos ey
e vos dona rrespyngays
sse me vos assonclais
q̃ farey.

¶ Despydimento da mula em sse partindo.

¶ Senhores do bom barral
voume com vossa merçe
tanta merçe me faze
que vos lembres de meu mal
E a cousa pryncipal
que a deos peçays
questa fome tam jeral
q̃ anda em portugual
nam dure mays.

¶ Que se eu ssam mal prouido
quando a terra he abastada
q̃ farey quando a çeuada
a coremta he vendida:
Seu escapo desta hyda
com tal cura
Ey de buscar hũa ermyda
onde faça outra vyda
mays segura

¶ Daly a dias jndo anrrique da mota ter alcoentre bondom anrryque estaua achou a mula q̃ lhe deu conta de todo o que passara na jornada darromarya onde fora de ja era tornada.

¶ Folgo bem de vos achar senhor meu naquesta terra pera vos contar a guerra q̃ me da naim mastigar. Se quyseroes escuytar contaruos ey men jntrinsyco penar minha gram dor e pesar q̃ passey.

¶ Partymos naquele dya q̃ nos vos vystes partyr todos vya muyto rryr se naim eu q̃ naim podya. Que nam pousa alegrya nem prazer na trypa muyto vazya por q̃ todo bem sse crya do comer

¶ Effomos ter no arelho onde la esses senhores e todos seus seruydores todos eram duũ conssselho. Zyngoado per diz cochyo e em fym muyto branco e vermelho e eu em hũ palheyro velho por rroym.

¶ Poys la em selyr do pom q̃ terra de fyde puta de çeuada muy entuta carecyda de conforto. Sucy langue alyjno orto com payram meu esforço aly foy morto porem foy o grande torto sem rrazam:.

¶ Que vos juro de verdade
q̃ como fomos chegados
todos foram apousentados
senam eu que gram maldade.
nam averem pyadade,
de meu mal
e de minha estyguydade
senam sso lopo danorade
q̃ me val

¶ O qual me deu por pousada
hũa casa muyto fryade
vyanda muy vazya
muy varryda e muy agoada.
E sselada e em freada
me deytaram
e a porta bem ffechada
sem me dar de comer nada
sse tornaram.

¶ Fyquey assy paseando
chorando minhas fadyguas
em minhas obras antyguas
como ja case sonhando.
muytas vezes sospirando
por comer
os galos todos cantando
e eu triste arrenegando
sem prazer.

¶ Se nam quando eylo vem
cũa quarta dũa quarta
de farelos q̃ mal farta
quem taam grande fome tem.
adas eu disse nam com bem
dengeytar
este tam pequeno bem
por q̃ nam fyque aquem
de sear.

¶ Fomonos all feyzyram
onde ha jnfynda sal
nam leuey eu daly al
senam dor de coraçam.
Daly a fama lycam
nam taroam
q̃ nome de maloytam
q̃ nem sevada nem pam
pam acham

¶ E daly apederneyra
leuey hũ bom suadoyro
mas eu namleuaua soyro
no lombo nem na cylheyra.
Leuaua muy gram peteyra
na barrygua,
muyta fome gram lazeyra
e cheguey desta maneyra
com fadygua.

¶ Bem disse o sabedor
oje mal e pyor craas
sse eu mal passey atras
aly foy muyto pyor.
Dareala meu senhor
fartar me manda
ela tem muy gentyl cor
mas dayo demo o sabor
da vyanda

¶ Tomamos outra jornada
la caminho dalcobaça
eu lanana pouca graça
por quya muy effaymada.
Aly fuy atormentada
nesta vya
e na cruz muy marteyrada
com a sfela bem lograda,
que corrya.

¶ Fyquey muyto descansada
quando me vy no moesteyro
em poder do estrybeyro
de poder deste tyrada.
E fyquey muy espantada
quando vy
sevados ja de bulhada
ante mym apresentada
que comy

¶ Tyue muytas alegryas
os dias qualy passey
nam sey quãdo tacs tres dias
em meus dias passarey.
Bram saudade tomey
na partyda
e parteynos comeccy
ho quam pouco q̃ logrey
esta vyda

¶ Assy triste lamentando
me party e sem prazer
outros myl males passando
q̃ nam sam pera dyzer
As caldas vyemos ter
sem tardar
perguntey por mays saber
estas agoas tem poder
de men gordar.

¶ E dyseranme sy tem
porem logo sem detença
quem nelas entrar có vem
q̃ faça muy grã pendença
Bem me praz desta convẽça
poys he tal
mas esta minha doença
he faminta pestenença
muy mortal

¶ De hũa dor de trystura
q̃ faz aos mays honrrados
dar sospiros muy dobrados
seos toca per ventura.
Que nam ha hy dor tã dura
de soffrer
a vynente criatura
como verse em apertura
de comer.

¶ Esta faz muytas vylezas
onde nam valem castigos
esta faz myl fortalezas
dar em poder dos jnmygos;
esta faz muytos amygos
se perderem
os presentes e antygos
sse posseram em myl perigos
por comerem.

¶ Assy qua dor q̃ masseyta
ypocras e galeano
dam em contra de sen dano
hũa muy gentyl rreceyta.
e dyzem quadesser feyta
per estarte
de farelos satisfeyta
sevada bem escolheyta
que me farte.

## Damrrique da mota.

¶ Se a veys por confyssam
a caz ſlam de comſeſſada
eu nam como ja çeuada
ſſo por que ma nom dam
& tomo por deuaçam
ſeſũar
poys quanta por contriçam;
aſſaz demſſadada ſſam
de chorar.

¶ Eu eſtando conçertada
pera entrar ja nos banhos
forom meus males tamãhos
que fuy loguo emfreada.
& aly foy apartada
a companhya
cada parte foy tornada
com ſeu ſenhor apouſada
que ſoya.

¶ A mula a dom dioguo
quando hya.

¶ Noſſa ſenhoriya vay
caminho do bom barral
rreſeſſy ſenhor meu mal
poys que fuy de voſſo pay.
& com voſco me teuay
que eu myrey
ou ſenhor men comenday
a voſſo jrmão ſe nam cuyday
que morrerey.

¶ & dyzelhe com rrygor
q̃ mande curar de myn
nam deſeje minha fym
poys q̃ fuy tal ſeruydor
Olhay bem o grande amor
que me tinha
voſſo padre meu ſenhor,
q̃ ſomente ſſeu fauor
me mantinha.

¶ Olhay bem quãto ſeruyço
fyz na idade paſſada
nam queyra tomar por vyço
ver me morrer eſſaymada

Dã alqueyre de çeuada
que he hũ vento
com fareloſ meſturada
com pouco mays caſenada
me contento

¶ Dom dioguo.

¶ Bem he jſſo q̃ poys
meu jrmão o ſſabera
ſeruyr vos como ſeruyo
q̃ tudo ſe bem fara.
Do ſenhor queſqueçera
logo ſſe digua
ante q̃ daquy ſſe vaa
que depoys nam lembrara
minha fadygua.

¶ Todos teuerã folgança
ſenhor meu neſte caminho
çeuada pam carne vynho
tudo foy em abaſtança
Todos andam em bonãça
ſem tromenta
ſe nam eu ſem eſperança
queſta fome por erança
matormenta

¶ Dom dioguo.

¶ Nam dignays jſſo maçora
poys q̃ eu ſſey o contrayro
ſſe eu todos bẽ rrepayro
como fycays vos de fora.
nam dyguo mays por agora
por que ſeyo
mas poys jſſo ſſe jnora
manday vos faſer de mora
& ſabeyo.

¶ Dom dioguo.

¶ Nam ſſey como ſſer podya
nam comerdes vos çeuada
poys vos era ordenada
bem tres quartas cada dia.
çerto eu bem folguarya
& conſſem

ſſaber voſſa ſenhoriya
o çerro deſta poſtiya
mas he bem.

¶ Dom dioguo ao
ſeu veador

¶ Dyzey baſtiam da coſta
vos q̃ ſabeys a verdade
day a quy voſſa rreſpoſta
quem far ya tal maldade.
Do ſenhor he vaydade
nam vꝰ menta
nam lhe des autoridade
q̃ ja paſſada idade
dos ſetenta.

¶ Vos quereys atabucarme
que nam ouſſe de falar
ves bem me podeys matar
mas eu nam ey de calar.
& vos cuydays denganarme
neſte vale
mas vos queres deffamarme
nã queyrays vos aſanharme
que eu fale

¶ Porem vos tomays ſolaz
& em mym nã entra rryſo
ho ſenhor q̃ nam tem ſyſo
diz aquyſſo q̃ lhe'praz
ora iſſo nam me faz
nenhũ agrauo
preguntay aquẽ me traz
& ſabey bem onde jaz
eſte crauo

¶ Dom dioguo ao amo

¶ Dyzey amo poys lograys
eſta triſte deſcarnada
nam lhe vyſtes dar çeuada
o ſenhor nam na creays.
Que de poys que cabandeys
nam ha fome
tres quartas lhe dam & mays
bem & vos forçamachays
de quem come

Dom dioguo ao veador

Dyzey aquem entregays
a rrafam q ſſaber ſaa
a çeuada q̃ lhe days
ao amo q̃ hy eſtaa
Dyzey amo vyndocaa
he aſſy
aſſy foy he q ſera
q cla nam o negara
q̃ eu lha vy

Dyzey vyſtes me goſtar
a çeuada q̃ dizeys
nam mas ſey q vos ſabeys
que vola mandana dar.
Senhor ſede myn ſachar
que foy comyda
fazeyme vos deſcſtar
mandaymna ſela quebrar
q abryda.

Dom dioguo.

Ora eu nam tenho culpa
na ma vyda que paſaſtes
a verdade me deſculpa
a qual vos eſpermentaſtes:
Deſſor vos bẽ vꝰ moſtraſtes
verdadeyro
q aquem mencomendaſtes
bem compryo o q̃ mandaſtes
per jnteyro.

Porem toda a culpatem
eſte moco q̃ me cura
a çeuada bem precura
mas ele guardaa muy bem:
ſſabedes qaum mal me vem
eſta ſaudade
mas fazelo me com vem
por q̃ nam acho ninguem
que me queyra.

Senhor ey de conheçer
poys a verdade ſe cre
a muyto grande merçe
q̃ me folgaſtes fazer.

Porem eu poſſo dyzer
que paſſey
oyto dias ſſem comer
mantendome no prazer
que leuey

Acaba a mula de cõ/
tar anrryque da mota
todo o que paſſou q da
ſſym q concruſam.

E depoys deſtas rrazoes
todos nomos apartados
ſe nam eu que de payrões
nam no fuy por meus pecad.
Aquy ando com cuydados
ſſem de porte
hu meus dias mallogrados
ſeram ſempre laſtymados
ate morte.

Anrrique da mota a
vaſco abul por que an/
dando hũa moça bayla
do em alanquer deulhe
zombando hũa cadea
douro q depois a moça
nam lha quys tornar q
andaram ſobre iſſo em
demanda. q veo vaſco
abul falar ſobre iſſo ba
rraynha eſtando em al
mada q ha hy lhe fez
eſtas trouas

Que buſcays caneſta têrra
com q al ſul
meu ſenhor vaſco abul
quámor de nam hũa guerra.
Seram iſſo mercricos
nam ſeiays vos tal comeu
mas ſam hũs ſenhores rryços
que per byços
mequerem leuar ho meu

Trazeys alguũa demanda
ou que he
nam no ſſey por minha fee
mal vyua quẽ me ca manda:
Vos andays eſmoreçydo
eu nam ſſey que vos aueys
he hũ caſo tam ſobydo
que donydo
ſeo vos entendereys

Nam cureys de ouuydar
q dyzecmo
nam no dyguo por que temo
que am de mym dezombar
Que caſo podeſſe ſſer
em q̃ tanto ſopeſays
eu volo quero dyzer
per aver
o conſſelho que me days

Fuy la muyto na maaora
neſta era
em ora q̃ nam deuera
vy baylar hũa ſenhora.
Dey q̃ foram iſſo brigas
mas cuydo q̃ ſſam pecados
bem mereço eu myl fygas
q fadyguas
poys q̃ perco meus cruzados

Furtaram vos ladinheyro
mas tomaram
q pergeyro ma ſſacaram
q̃ fiz outrem meu eroeyro:
Quanta iſſo folgarya
de ſaber como paſſou
he a mays alta perfya
q zombarya
q̃ nunca ninguem cuydou

Hũa gentyl bayladerra
dalanquer
fremoſa gentil molher
me chofrou deſta maneyra
Dezme nam pareçer fea
vendoa baylar hũ dia
lhe mandey por bõa eſtrea
hũa cadea
quen no peſcoço trazya.

## Damrique da mota.

¶ Depoys quando aquy sera
rrecolher
quyseram me fazer crer
q eu por sua alha era
E vos fycays oy honrrado
nam deueys dizer hy al
que o homẽ bem cryado
namorado
o bom he ser lyberal

¶ Baylaua balho vylam
ou mouryca
mas chamo lheu carraquisca
mays vyna que taroyam.
Eu nam sey quem me venceo
pera tomar tal trabalho
calayuos q̃ mays per oco
poys morco
ssam joham per hũ soo balho

¶ E q̃ percays cyncoenta
boos cruzados
hũ homẽ dos mais hõrrados
nestas cousas sespermenta
Vos falaes bem do arnes
e nam curays de vestylo
fazey vos o q̃ fazes
e fycares
autor de nouo estylo.

¶ E vos la no bom barral
assy days
nos nom somos lyberays
somos jente bestyal.
Mas vos deueys de folguar
de serdes nysto deuasso
por de vos fama fycar
e cinlhcar
quem diz q̃ vos socs escasso:

¶ Há quero vosso conselho
nem mo deys
poys q̃ sey e vos sabeys
q̃ sey mais por ser mais velho
Do calaynos ganhay fama
husay lyberal y oade
e quyça se vª nom ama
essa dama
amar vos ha de verdade.

¶ E tambem fazeys serayso
em fynyto
ao senhor santi spryto
q̃ he cousa de gram vyso.
E ganhays o parayso
Poys he orfaã a senhora
tomay senhor esta vyso
poys he syso
e jr vos eys muyto em boora

¶ E hy leuar boa vyda
a vossa casa
quysto he vergonha rrasa
a vareza conheçyda.
poys q̃ socs bom caualeyro
e vindes de nobre sente
nam vª façays tysoureyro
do dinheyro
e day sempre nobremente.

¶ Vestyuos de genteleza
que ós vos valha
e rrapayuos aa naualha
q̃ vª veja sua alteza.
Fazey muy alegre rrosto
guarneçeyuos de rretros
e poys socs tam bẽ dysposto
leuay gosto
em falarem ca de vos

¶ A taes me portal maneyra
que me pesa
e nam posso achar defesa
q̃ prester posto que queyra.
A verdade nam me val
por escasso ma pregoo
e quem me faz lyberal
por meu mal
certo nũca lho perdoo

¶ Fym em vylançete

¶ Poys destes tam lenemẽte
este colar
nam vª deue de lembrar

¶ Do colar q̃ ja foy vosso
q̃ he de quẽ nam he vossa
buscay quem vª nysso possa
conselhar poys eu nam posso

¶ E poys o tam bem fyzestes
em odar
nam vª deue de lembrar.

¶ Todos vos outros senhores
q̃ sabeys aqueste feyto
se de mens ajudadores
rreçeba de vos fauores
com q̃ supra mende feyto.

¶ Ajuda de mestre gil.

¶ Do tempo tem poder tal
q̃ faz do seruo sento
faz lyberal a varento
do a varento lyberal
e poys vosso natural
de goardar muodou em odar
nam vª deue de lembrar.

¶ Agostinho gyram.

¶ Com o colar q̃ cuydastes
de prender fycastes presso
e compraste lo per peso
e sem peso o entregastes
e poys q̃ tam bem obrastes
em odar
nam vª deue de lembrar

Affõsso fernãdes mõtarroyo

¶ O galante q̃ sem carna
em amores e em dar
nam se deue mays coçar
nem menos deue ter sarna
poys fycays desta encarna
descarnado sem colar
nam vª deue de lembrar

¶ Joam aluarez secretareo

¶ Todo homẽ que escasso
selhe vem aa fantesya
dara mays em hũ soo dya,
que en çentan hũ de vasso
e poys destes sem compasso
este colar
nam vª deue de lembrar.

¶ Diogo de lemos.

¶ Alexandre foy louuado
por q̃ foy muy lyberal
& vos se fyzerdes al
podereys ser muy tachado
E poys ja o tendes dado
day o demo este colar
nam v̄ deue de lembrar.

¶ Diogo gonçalues.

¶ Muy galante v̄ mostrais
bem rrapado sem carepa
& crede senhor que peca
quem v̄ diz que vos arraes
& poys vossa alma ganhayes
em o dar
nam v̄ deue de lembrar

¶ Tome toscano.

¶ O dynheyro daigreja
naquysto sa de gastar
cryar orfaãs & casar
por q̃ deos seruydo seja
& poys q̃ ós v̄ deseja
de saluar
nam v̄ deue de lembrar.

¶ Bastiam da costa
cantor.

¶ Andays ledo em grã guysa
como quem veo da myna
galante cheo de frysa
com vossa gentyl deuysa
De cruz vermelha muy fyna
& poys ja sse determyna
q̃ percays este colar
nam v̄ deue de lembrar.

¶ Fernam diaz.

¶ Destas nouas q̃ vam quas
folguo por ser vossamyguo
& quem diz q̃ soes mindyguo
ja nũca mays o oyra
& por tanto senhor ja
nam cuydeys neste colar
nem v̄ deue de lembrar.

¶ Por brancaluarez cry
stal eyra.

¶ Por q̃ sey q̃ soys oureyro
em sayr de vos merçes
deueys andar prazenteyro
por teres o mealheyro
pregado como sabeys
& poys mester me nã aueys
quero v̄ aconselhar
nam v̄ lembre este colar

¶ Embargos danrriq̃
damota pera se nõ en/
treguar o colar a vasco
abul ffeitos arraynha
donalyanor.

¶ Senhoras

¶ Bem posso encõ rrazam
por ser dos orfaãos juyz
açeytar a talaueam
o dyreyto assy o diz
nas sergas despandiam.
E tam bem por nã cuydar
nos meus bẽs q̃ se me perde
poys ando tam deuaguar
quero senhora ordenar
questa orfaã nam desere dem

¶ E diz & prouar entende
esta orfaã ou menor
q̃ dia bem sse defende
& queste seu seruidor
o seu nunca mal despende.
E he homẽ muy sesudo
& posto q̃ seia seco
este ue ja no estudo
& entende assy em tudo
q̃ nam perde o seu de peco

¶ Item entende prouar
sse nom for anoly byerto
que quem tem bem pode dar
assy o diz outro certo
na conquista oultramar.
E no parrafo segundo
doutra caronyca noua
diz q̃ el rrey ia gisfmundo
q̃ he ja no outro mundo
q̃ faz muyto a nossa proua

¶ E assy quer prouar mays
q̃ el rrey de fez de mouro
& que antre os metaes
val mays este colar douro
q̃ de ferro dous quyntays.
E tam bem senhora quer
per testemunhas prouar
q̃ he foral dalanquer
q̃ quem colar douro der
nam no possa mays tomar

¶ Item quer prouar tam bem
que ela quer a cadea
& que contra ela vem
o doutor pero correa
primo de martu alem.
mas vossa alteza lhe mande
poys q̃ parece paul
q̃ algũs dyas cando
& o dyreyto demande
por parte de vasco bul

¶ E assy mays quer prouar
per muytos omẽs onrrados
quele lhe deu o colar
por cynquoenta cruzados
sem hũ soo graão lhe miguar
E loguo ao entreguar
mingou hũ cruzado & meo
o qual lhe deue paguar
poys q̃ logo ao pesar
o peso certo nom veyo

¶ E por menos sospeyçam
por testemunhas lhe dou
hũ paie do gram soldam
qua esta terra chegou
em tempo del rrey jspam.

& tam bem hũ boyceyro
q̃ se chama janes breca
que ora vyue no cayro
& hũ mouro quee vy gayro
dentro na casa de meca:

¶ Jtem o dal fym de frança
& el rrey de tremeçem
& joham piz de bragança
janes pera deos tam bem
sabe muyto desta dança.
E damos tam bem elyas
que sabe bem deste feyto
& o profeta jeremyas
& aquele que huryas
fez matar damor sojeyto.

¶ E pera mays brieuydades
hũ homẽ nos preguntay
questanas se tecydades
& tã bem damos dous fraades
questam em montesynay.
Por questes conheçer tem
dos lyberays & auaros
& nomeamos tam bem
hũs dous parentes de sem
que vyuem nos mõtes craros

¶ E por esta jnquyryçam
do que queremos prouar
a ver mester dylaçam
vossa alteza a mande dar
segundo q̃ for rrazam.
E por nam auer enganos
no q̃ esta tam prouado
& ninguẽ rreçeber danos
mandaynos dar sesentan?
q̃ he termo rrazoado

¶ E por quisto sse nauegue
por hũ caminho muy santo
a cadca se entregue
a estorsaã entre tanto
& o seu nõ selhe negue.
E pera mayor fyrmeza
nomeamos afyança
sseo manda vosalteza
o tesouro de veneza
quee acaz em abastança

## ¶ Fym.

¶ E por isto sse seguyr
& a ver fym por meu azo
vossalteza mande myr
& acabado este prazo
podcrey ca acudyr.
E podersam concrudyr
estas demandas jnjustas
& protestamos das custas
& rrepryrsse compzir

¶ O pareçer de gil vy
çente neste proçesso de
vasco a bul a rraynha
dona lianor.

¶ Senhora.

¶ Vossalteza me perdoe
eu acho muyto danado
este feyto proçessado
em q̃ manda que razoe.
Vay a cura tam errada
vay o feyto tam perdido
vay tam fora daestrada
q̃ a moça condenada
vascabul fyca vençydo

¶ O prinçipio doçymento
a segura a fortaleza
sseo cume tem fraqueza
geronsse no fundamento.
He errada a calydade
deste caso na primeyra
vem a tanta varyedade
q̃ na fym & na metade
tem os pes por cabeçeyra

¶ Este dar moveo amor
por quamor gera frãqueza
no ventre da escaçeza
por mostrar quãto he senhor
Poys so caso he namorado
fundado todo em amores
o autor foy enframado
& o q̃ deu dado ou nom dado
conuem outros julgadores

¶ Quem mete bartolo aquy
nem os doutores legistas
nem os quatro avangelistas
mas os namorados sy.
mande mande vossalteza
este proçessoa arelhano
vereys com quanta graueza
busca leys de gentyleza
no lyndo estylo rromano.

¶ Ele deue ser juyz
& sea pclacam queres
apelem paro marques
procure pero monyz.
pera quee quy rrespondcr
pera quera proçessar
pera quee quy proçeder
poys nam he nẽ pode sser
q̃ se possa aquy julguar

¶ Vejo tanta deferença
vay a causa tam rremota
q̃ os embargos do mota
vam primeyro qua sentença
& mestre antonyo tam bem
vem com texto que topou
teytos vam & textos vem
& este caso mays conuem
aquem menos estudou.

¶ Assy quee meu pareçer
& eitou çertefycado
q̃ o feyto vay errado
& nam deue proçeder.
porque comee dyto ja
Jsto he caso damor
rrompasso q̃ feyto esta
se quer q̃ nam dygam la
q̃ nom sabem cadaçor

¶ Fym.

¶ Leue o caso dom dioguo
coutinho por rrelator
por quel rrey nosso senhor
ho fara despachar logo.
E vyra dela senhora
hũ proçesso tam fermoso
vasca bul jrssa em boora
soffrase poys se namora
& logo quer sser esposo.

¶ Reepryca dãrrique da mota aestas rrazoẽs de gil viçente.

¶ A quem ôs tem ordenado
algũ bem ou prometido
em tam lhe he outrogado
quando mays desesperado
por ser mays aguardeçido.
E por tanto estaa sabido
por ôs vyr esta rreposta
por que çerto nam douuoo
segundo o mar he erguydo
este colar yra costa.

¶ Em tomardes arelhano
por juiz daqueste feito
procuraltes vosso dano
porem eu vꝰ desenguano
que vꝰ he muyto sospeyto.
Que por compryr o preçeyto
desta ley dos amadores
de quem ese he sogeyto
se nam teuermos direyto
aa nos defazer fauores.

Voi ja muyto mais errastes
em pedirdes o marques
per vos mesmo vꝰ matastes
o colar nos confirmastes
poys que tal juyz queres.
E como vos nom sabes
poys passou em vossos dias
queste senhor que dizes
he mançias portugues
e ynoa mays que mançias.

Nõ sabeys quãtos milhares
tem despesos descruzados
quantas joyas e colares
quantos rricos alamares
por amores tem guastados.
Sem mays serẽ demandados
nẽhũs destes despendidos
por q̃ antre os namorados
nam he erro serem dados
e he erro ser pididos.

¶ Poys tam bẽ se procurar
esse galante montz
co decimo vay o colar
por que sam de concertar
o procurador co juiz.
Em tam veres o que diz
a ma del rrey sobre nos
eu direy que nam no fyz
vos dirces que sam bilis
eu direy que o soiẽs vos.

¶ Nos falaes por nossa parte
e contra vos esguardes
olhay por quam sotil arte
sua graça ôs rreparte
pera q̃ nam vꝰ percaes.
Esta nao que nauegaes
por parte de vascabul
meedo ey que a percaes
poys a agulha que leuaes
vꝰ faz ja do norte sul.

¶ Tendes vento por dauante
e ahy grande bayria
e naim ha nẽhũ galante
que de vos se nom espante
nauegardes por tal via.
tomay tomay outra vya
acordaay ja deste sono
por que toda esta porfya
por rrazam sacabarya
em dar o seu a seu dono.

¶ Hũa gram defesa sento
que vascabul pode dar
por queu farey juramento
que nunca seu penssamento
foy de dar este colar.
E assy nam deue gozar
dos priuilegios damor
e poys ysto foy sombar
o seu lhe deuem tornar
sem lhe dar outro fauor.

¶ Fym.

¶ E tanto que lhe for dado
nam seja aquy mays ouuido
seja daquy degradado
nam se chame namorado
poys damor nã foy vençido.
Mas eu çerto nam douuido
por jsto que se cafes
quele naim seja atreuido
em praça nem escondido
a empestalo outra vez.

¶ E bernardi rribeiro a hũa senhora q̃ se vistio damarello.

¶ Equy me prouenganar
mas agora que podeys
trazela cor do pesar
pera mym soo a trazeys.
Que dor do desesperar
he tanto mal de sofrer
que nam he pera passar
quanto mays pera trazer.

¶ Mas ysto vay daquel arte
quando sayntre montes braos
ho thom he em hũa parte
em outro he a pancada.
Assy foy qua minha dor
mostrou em vos o synal
por qua o menos na cor
vos lembraseys do meu mal.

¶ Canty gua sua a senhora maria coresma.

¶ Hũs esperam a coresma
pera se nela saluar
eu perdyme nda mesmal
pera nunca me cobrar.

¶ Mas cõ esta perda tal
eu mey por muy bẽ guanhado
por que o milhor de meu mal
estaa todo no cuidado.

Anrique da Mota

Carta Sobre A Morte de Dona Inês de Castro

treslado de hũa carta que anrique da mota mandou a elrey dom Joham ho terçeiro deste nome da cidade de coimbra honde estava fazendo hũa diligençia que lhe sua alteza mandara sobre esta morte de dona Ines//

Continoando meu proposito começado segundo ho dito de vosa A./ acabando ja denumerar ho grande povo desta mui nobre e sempre leal çedade de Coimbra e seus arabaldes e quimtaes, dos olivais pelas divisões de seus termos e lymites, me sahi pera correr os termos pelos Jugados de fora em hũ dya naquellas oras que phebo com seus coredores compeçava de romper as escuridades em noso esmipherio/ pello apartamento do Riguroso (sic= triguoso) curso de seu carro/ Em aquelle tempo que a primavera Rompe a superfiçie da terra/ e nos mostra suas blancas flores/ porseguindo meu caminho/ não muito andey por ella quãdo hũa mui escura nevoa me çeguou de maneira que me pareçia começarse outra noyte mais escura que ha pasada/ e como os corações douidosos levemente se mudã tive as Redeas ao cavalo chamando hũ meu homẽ que comiguo levava/ pera com elle me aconselhar e esforçar/ como nos tais tempos a neçesidada nos aconselha e Insina/ e não me Respondeo nada e levantando mais a voz chamei dizendo vẽs Jaa/ mas por eu estar entre dous outeiros grandes que não via/ me acudiu aquelle enguanoso echo que ja enguanou a muitos com suas fingidas Repostas e dise jaa/ e eu cuidando que vinha esperey/ e quando ui que tardava dise estas aqui/ Respondeo o não servidor aqui/ começei a falar paso por tomar seu pareçer do que faria/ e cuidando que estava aly não me Respondeo nada/ e então se me começou mais a dobrar ho medo/ e tronando outra vez a Replicar dise vẽes ou não/ Respondeo aquelle echo Não com hũa uoz tão alta e temerosa que claramẽte conheçi não ser homẽ/ e querẽdo Rijo desviar ho cavalo pera me tornar fazendo ho sinal da cruz/ não sey quem me deu hũa tão grande palmada nas anquas do cavalo dizendo adiante adiante que do grande salto que deu perdi hũa das estribeiras e ouvera de Ir fora da sela se me não apeguara as comas/ e ho cavalo tomou hũ gualope tão apresurado como nas cousas periguosas se acostuma/ sem saber honde me levava e em pequeno espaço me poos as portas de hũs grandes paços e mui sumptuosos per que muitos canos de aguoa clara fria corryam que de mui altos muros vinham em tres tanques cahir e chafarizes que nos paços e jardỹs estavam com que se Reguavã as mui

verdes laranjeiras/ e muytas outras arvores de espinho/ os quaes Jardÿs eram ladrilhados de mui fremosos ladrilhos e azulejos e Jaçintos com piares per honde as aguoas corriam, que lhe davam Immẽsa perfeyçã̃o e graça/ per antre hũa quadra do Jardim dãtre as frescas laranjeiras e rosas que hi estavã̃ que de si odorifico cheiro lançavã̃ ui andar hũa mui gualante e mui fermosa donzela e em hidade e aparato de sua pesoa/ hũa prinçeza Representava/ e trazia vistidos mui ricos e ricas Roupas/ acompanhada doutras lindas donzelas/ as quaes como a sñra acatavã̃o e serviam e porem asi ella como as outras andavã̃ como pesoas tristes e desconsoladas/ não que lhe faltase beleza e perfeiçam de suas pesoas e vistidos/mas a continẽçia de seus Rostros ho mostrava/ e por me pareçer que me não uiam estive ali a cavalo vendo o olhando per antre hũa grade de ferro que no Jardim estava/ e pareçeome que nam podia falar nem ousava/ e aquella fermosa donzela e sñra que mais que todas pareçia se apartou das outras com hũ molho de Rosas e flores na mão e começou a dyzer em voz baixa quanto abastava pera se ouvyr//

Amores vos me matastes
por meu bem e por meu mal
por meu mal pois me matastes
por meu bem pois me deixastes
Rainha de Purtugual

No tempo que aqui andava
era de vos mui querida
que minha alma e minha vida
tudo per uos se mandava
asinha uos enfadastes
meus amores por meu mal
Real morte me causastes
pois com ella me deixastes
Rainha de purtugual

ho prĩçipe que eu seruia
por sñor e por amiguo
aquy me tinha consiguo
mui grande bem me queria
mui ledo vos apartastes
triste de mĩ por meu mal
e pera sempre lastimastes
ao prinçipe de purtugual

Este fermoso jardim
estas rosas tanto belas
estas fermosas donzelas
tudo se fez pera mim
nũqua me desemparastes
meu amor firme e leal
em vida macompanhastes
e na morte me deixastes
Rainha de purtugual

não me perdi por alarve
mas por gentil cavaleiro
gualante prĩçipe herdeiro
deste Reyno e do alguarve
ho amor quã mal andaste
em minha morte Real
não sinto que me matastes
mas a maguoa q̃ deixaste
ao prinçipe de purtugual

Acabando de dizer estas palavras com grande lastima e paixam se meteo pera hũa fermosa camara/ na qual hũa mui Rica camilha estava/ e tanto que entrou lhe uy mudar a mui Rubicunda frescura de seu Rostro e começou de tremer e mudarse como pesoa cortada de grande temor e intrinsicas dores que tinha/ e junto della yu dous meninos tão fermosos/ que asi na aparençia como na perfeição/ e Riqueza de seus vistidos de Real progenie pareçiam/ e querendo oulhar pera elles a uy cahir na camilha com grandes feridas e mortaes estocadas per ho meo de seus fermosos e delicados peitos/ sem ver quem lhos daua/ e ho muito sangue que dellas corria tingia não somẽte seus longuos e Ricos vistidos e a mui delgada e alva camisa laurada douro e de seda com novas enuẽçõe mas Inchia a camilha dõde estava e no prano ladrilho da camara e no mesmo Instante vi chegar hũ gentil cavaleyro correndo em hũ fermoso cavalo e tão afadiguado das esporas ho trazia que em cheguando as portas dos paços cahio morto em terra/ e elle mui desemvoltamẽte saltou fora da sela/ e vinha vistido em uistiduras de monte/ na emvenção dos quais bem pareçia e mostrava que era Real monteiro/ e uinha tão afrontado e suarento que loguo pareçia seguir algũa periguosa aventura e com triguoso paço e severa comtinençia sem falar cousa algũa entrou na camara honde aquella sñra estava ferida e chegouse a ella tomandoha em seus braços e se asentou com ella em a camilha honde em breve espaço foy todo tinto em muito sangue que de suas feridas corria e tomando lhe sua mão direita ja mui quebrada e quasi sem sintido estava começou a dizer asy//

Sñra quem vos matou
seja de forte uentura
pois tanta dor e tristura
a uos e a mi causou
e pois não uim mais asinha
a tolher uosa triste fim
Reçebouos uida minha
por sñra e por Rainha
destes Regnos e de mim

Estas feridas mortais
q̃ polo meu se causarão
não hũa uida e não mais
mas duas uidas matarão
a uosa acaba jaa
pelo que não foy culpada
e a minha que fiqua qua
com saudade sera
pera sempre maguoada

O crueldade tam forte
o Injustiça tamanha
uiose nũqua em espanha
tão cruel e triste morte
contarsa por maravilha
minhalma tão verdadeira
pois morreis desta maneira
eu sirey a turturilha
que lhe morre a companheira

hi senhora descansada
pois que uos eu fiquo qua
que uosa morte sera
se eu uiver bem uĩguada
por Iso quero uiver
que se por Iso não fora
milhor me fora sñra
com uosco loguo morrer

que cousa he esta a que uim
ou honde mẽsanguentey
sñra eu uos matey
e uos matareis a mim
sangue do meu coraçam
ferido coraçam meu
quem asi por ese chão
uos espargeo sem Razão
eu lhe tirarey o seu

Com estas tão fortes e nojosas conjurações do verdadeiro amor os espũs uitais daquella sñra que quasi de todo eram fora de seus naturaes aposentos/ tornaram a Reuiver/ e ella sintindo os Reais braços do seu verdadeiro amiguo e sñor/ ainda que estava com mortal fadigua abrio os olhos/ e uendo ha cousa a que moor bem queria dise com uoz baixa e mui cansada minha alma lembrayuos della/ e deu hũ grande sospiro que do Intimo e secreto do seu ferido coração damor sahio com que acabou despirar/ e vendo ho maguoado sñor que era finada ficou muito mais triste e cortado/ e as lagrimas que do seu forçado coração tee li Retivera começaram abrir os canos de suas perenays fontes/ que em toda sua uida correram/ e tomando os mininos que junta da defunta may estavam chorando por filhos os nomeou com grande firmeza/ dizendo filhos muito amados nascidos da disdytosa may lembreuos que ja ha matarão por amor de mim/ querendo me apartar della/ mas aguora pera todo sempre/ e pera quanto viver uos pormeto que me nam façam esquecer ho seu nome/ e posto que não posais herdar estes Reinos por ja terdes Ifante uoso Irmão mais uelho/ tende esperança em deus e em mĩ que sempre direi que soes meus filhos/ e uosa may nomearey sempre por Raynha/ por que eu lhe mandarey fazer sua sepultura Junto da minha honde pera sempre como Rainha sera honrrada/ e dizendo estas lastimosas palavras se levãtou em pee/ e paseando pella camara com muytas lagrimas que neste tempo deRamava começou a dizer//

Amor por q̃ não entendes
que aquelles que tu matas
quanto mais mortes lhe catas
tanto mais firmes os prendes

prendes dous corações
com hũ noo tão firme e forte
que com esta triste sorte
fiquam nosas affeições
muito mais vivas na morte

e pois honde tu te açendes
tuas chamas tarde matas
olha bem que os q̃ prendes
se os soltas mais os atas

e acabando estas mui lastimosas e sentidas palavras ouuy mui grande estrondo de gente/ asi de pee como de cavalo que trazia ho mesmo caminho per honde aquelle sñor veo/ e cheguando as portas dos paços honde ho seu cavalo jazia morto se apearam todos e entrando Rijo pera dentro/ ouvi o grande Rumor e gritos asi das molheres e donzelas de casa como delles e eu estando asi suspenso sem saber ho que faria nẽ ho luguar honde estava ouvi dizer uelas/ e senti dar outra palmada nas ancas do meu cavalo ho qual com a mesma furia e presa com que fuy me tornou a levar não sey por honde senão quando me achey as portas da minha pousada/ honde achey ho meu homem e pela uizinhença soube como auia tres dias que partira e por que me pareceo bem contar esta uisam a uosa alteza lha contey/ e porque saiba que no seu Reyno também se acham aventuras como nos tempos pasados queira deus apareçerme com sua boa graça com que milhor posa seruir a uosa A. com meus desejos sam//

(Biblioteca de Évora, Manizola,
cód. 348, fls. 119v-123r.)

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## I-TEXTS OF THE WORKS OF HENRIQUE DA MOTA

Mota, Anrique da. "Carta sobre a morte de Dona Inês de Castro," in Eugenio Asensio, "Inés de Castro de la crónica al mito," Boletim de Filologia-Centro de Estudos Filológicos,(Lisboa) XXI (1965), pp.355-358.

Mota, Anrrique da. A Farsa do Alfaiate. Critical edition by J. Leite de Vasconcelos. Lisboa, Edição da Lusitânia, 1924. 49 pp.

Resende, Garcia de. Cancioneiro Geral. Lisboa, Hermão de Campos, 1516. Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Reservado 110A, 111A and 112A (lacking folia after CCXXIII).

_____. Cancioneiro Geral. Lisboa, Hermão de Campos, 1516. Edição Fac-similada de Archer Huntington, New York, 1904, reproduced by the Kraus Reprint Corporation, New York, 1963. 227 folia.

_____. Cancioneiro Geral. Edited by E.H. von Kausler. Stuttgart, Germany, 1846, 1848 and 1852. 3 volumes.

_____. Cancioneiro Geral. Editado por A.J. Guimarães. Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1910 1913, 1915, and 1917. 5 volumes.

## II- STUDIES ON THE CANCIONEIRO GERAL

Braga, Teófilo. Poetas Palacianos-Cancioneiro de Resende. Porto, Imprensa Portuguesa Editora, 1871. 434 pp.

Cornu, Jules. "Phonologie syntactique du Cancioneiro Geral," Romania, XII (1883), pp. 243-292.

_____. "Mesure des mots dans le Cancioneiro Geral," Romania, XII (1883), pp. 293-306.

Figueiredo, Fidelino de. "Garcia de Resende-A sua Crónica e Cancioneiro," História da Literatura Portuguesa Ilustrada, organizada por Albino Forjaz de Sampaio, Lisboa-Paris, Alliud-Bertrand Editora, 1929. Volume I, pp. 228-244.

Figueiredo, Fidelino de. "Garcia de Resende," Crítica do Exílio. Lisboa, Clássica Editora, 1930, pp. 71-154.

Freire, Anselmo Braamcamp. A Censura e o Cancioneiro Geral. Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1921. 41pp.

_____. Crítica e História. Lisboa, Tipografia da Antiga Casa Bertrand, 1910. 414pp.

_____."A Gente do Cancioneiro," Revista Lusitana, X(1907), pp. 262-297.

_____."A Gente do Cancioneiro," Revista Lusitana, XI(1907), pp. 311-344.

_____.Os Índices do Cancioneiro de Resende e das Obras de Gil Vicente. Lisboa, Tipografia Francisco Luiz Gonçalvez, 1900.

Freitas, Maria C.M. de. "A Expressão de Dor no Cancioneiro de Garcia de Resende," Boletim de Filologia, X (1949) pp. 287-295.

_____. "Palavras e Expressões sobre o Vestuário no Cancioneiro Geral de Garcia de Resende," Boletim de Filologia, VIII (1945), pp. 67-88, IX (1947) pp. 93-120.

Lapa, Manuel Rodrigues. "O Cancioneiro de Resende," Lições de Literatura Portuguesa-Época Medieval. 5ª edição. Coimbra, Coimbra Editora, 1964, pp. 303-331.

_____. Miscelânea de Língua e Literatura Portuguesa Medieval. Rio de Janeiro, Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1965, pp. 276- 282.

Lemos, Maximiliano. A Medicina no Cancioneiro de Garcia de Resende. Porto, Tipografia da Enciclopédia Portuguesa Ilustrada, 1920.

Lucas, João de Almeida. O Cancioneiro Geral de Garcia de Resende. Selecção, prefácio e notas e glossário. Lisboa Livraria Popular, n/d. 111pp.

Noronha, Tito A.D. de. Curiosidades Bibliográficas-O Cancioneiro de Garcia de Resende. Porto, Livraria Internacional, 1871.

Pimpão, Álvaro Júlio da Costa. "Garcia de Resende," História da Literatura Portuguesa. 2ª edição. Coimbra, Atlântida, 1959, pp. 361-369.

Pimpão, Álvaro Júlio da Costa. Poetas do Cancioneiro Geral. Prefácio e notas. Lisboa, A.M. Teixeira, 1942. 78 pp.

Resende, Garcia de. Florilégio do Cancioneiro Geral. Editado por M. Rodrigues Lapa. Lisboa, Textos Clássicos Literários, 1960. 81 pp.

Rocha, Andrée Crabbé. Aspectos do Cancioneiro Geral. Coimbra, Coimbra Editora Limitada, 1950. 150 pp.

_____. O Cancioneiro Geral. Prefácio e selecção. Lisboa, Editorial Verbo, 1962.

Ruggieri, Jole Scudieri. Canzionere di Resende. Genève, Leo S. Olschki, S.A., Éditeur, 1931. 238 pp.

Simões, Felipe A. "Alguns Subsídios para a Biografia de Garcia de Resende," O Instituto, XV (1872), pp.189-192.

Ventura, Augusto F.G. Algumas Expressões do Tempo no Cancioneiro Geral. Lisboa, União Gráfica, 1953.

## III- STUDIES ON HENRIQUE DA MOTA

Asensio, Eugenio. "Inés de Castro de la crónica al mito," Boletim de Filologia-Centro de Estudos Filológicos, (Lisboa), XXI (1965), pp. 337-358.

Gusmão, Armando. "O Códice número 348 da Biblioteca da Manizola," Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa, (Lisboa) II (1956) pp. 17-22.

Júnior, António Salgado. "/A critical review of/ Leite de Vasconcelos, /editor/ A Farsa do Alfaiate de Henrique da Mota," A Águia, Porto, XXX (1927), pp. 26-27.

Miguel, António. "Henrique da Mota, poeta, cortesão e precursor de Gil Vicente," Seara Nova, (Lisboa) XXVII (1947), pp. 182-184.

Ribeiro, Mário de Sampaio. "A Rainha D. Leonor de Lancastre e os Alvores do Teatro Português," Ocidente (Lisboa), LVI (1959), número 250, pp. 69-82.

Rocha, Andrée Crabbé. Esboços Dramáticos no Cancioneiro Geral(Anrique da Mota). Coimbra, Coimbra Editora Limitada, 1951, 41 pp. This first appeared in the Bulletin d'Histoire du Théâtre Portugais, II(1951),2.

Sena, Jorge de. "Anrique da Mota: ou Inês em prosa e verso," Ocidente, (Lisboa), LXXIII, pp. 604-618.

Sequeira, Gustavo de Matos. "A Farsa do Alfaiate," Teatro de Outros Tempos. Lisboa, Ottosgráfica, Limitada, 1933, pp.9-16.

Stegagno Picchio, Luciana. Il 'Pranto de Maria Parda' di Gil Vicente. Napoli, V, 1963. pp, 19-22.

Teyssier, Paul. La Langue de Gil Vicente. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1959, pp. 199-250.

Vasconcelos, J. Leite de. A Farsa do Alfaiate por Anrrique da Mota. Lisboa, Edição da Lusitânia, 1924. 49 pp.

_____. "A Língua de Preto num Texto de Henrique da Mota," Estudos de Filologia Portuguesa, Rio, Livros de Portugal, 1965, pp. 307-312.

## IV - GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alfonso X. Cantigas de Santa María. 3 volumes. Walter Mettman, editor. Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1959, 1961, and 1964.

_____. Las Siete partidas. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 1807.

Allison, Francis G. Lucian - Artist and Satirist. New York, Longmans, Geen and Co., 1927

Asensio, Eugenio. " De los momos cortesanos a los autos caballerescos de Gil Vicente," uma comunicação ao Primeiro Congresso Brasileiro de Língua Falada no Teatro, em Salvador, Bahía, 7 de Setembro de 1956. Published in Anais do Congresso, Rio, 1958, pp.163-172.

_____. Itinerario del Entremés. Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1965.

Asín Palacios, Miguel. Huellas del Islam. Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1941.

Baena, Juan Alfonso de. El Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena. 3 volumes. Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1966.

Barata, António Francisco, compilador. Cancioneiro Geral-Continuação ao de Garcia de Resende. Évora, Emp. Tipografia Eborense, 1902.

Barnet, Sylvan. Aspects of the Drama. Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1962.

Barreiros, Gaspar. Chorografia de Alguns Lugares... Coimbra, João Alvares, ed., 1561.

Barrera y Leirado, C.A. de la. Catálogo del teatro antiguo español. Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1960.

Beau, Albin Eduard. "Gil Vicente, o Aspecto Medieval e Renascentista da sua Obra," Boletim de Filologia, IV (1936), pp. 358-380.

Bell, Aubrey F.G. Estudos Vicentinos. Traduzido por Antónia Álvaro Doria, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1940.

_____. A Literatura Portuguesa. Traduzido por Agostinho de Campos, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1931.

Berceo, Gonzalo de. Milagros de Nuestra Señora. Edición de A.G. Solalinde, Madrid, Clásicos Castellanos, 1944.

Braga, Teófilo. História do Teatro Português. Volume I-Século XVI. Porto, Imprensa Portuguesa, 1870.

_____. História da Poesia Popular Portuguesa-As Origens. Lisboa, Manuel Gomes Tipografia do "Dia," 1902.

Brasil, Reis. Gil Vicente e o Teatro Moderno. Lisboa, Editorial Minerva, 1965.

Brockett, Oscar G. A History of the Theatre. Boston, Allyn and Bacon Inc., 1968.

Camões, Luis de. Obras Completas. 3ª edição. Prefácio e notas de Hernâni Cidade, Lisboa, Sá da Costa, 1964.

Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional. 8 Volumes. Leitura, comentários e glossário de Elza Pacheco e José Pedro Machado. Lisboa, Edição Revista de Portugal, 1949-64.

Cancioneiro de Coimbra. Affonso Lopes Vieira, ed. Coimbra, França Amado, 1918.

Carvalho, Joaquim de. Estudos sobre a Cultura Portuguesa do Século XVI. Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1947-48.

Cary, Henri, translator. The Dialogues of Plato. London, George Bell and Sons, 1888.

Castillo, Hernando del. Cancionero General. Valencia, 1511. Reimpresión Facsímile y una Introducción Bibliográfica por Antonio Rodriguez-Moñino. 2 volumes. Madrid, Real Academia Española, 1958-1959.

Chambers, E.K. The Medieval Stage. 2 volumes. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1903.

Champion, Pierre. Histoire poétique du quinzième siècle. 2 volumes. Paris, Honoré Champion, ed., 1923.

Chancelaria de D. Sancho I. Edição da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa.

Chancelaria de D. João II. Edição da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa.

Chancelaria de D. Afonso V. Edição da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa.

Chancelaria de D. João III. Edição da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa.

Chancelaria de D. Manuel I. Edição da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa.

Chatelin, Henri. Recherches sur les vers français au XVème siècle. Paris, Honoré Champion, ed., 1908.

Cicero. On Old Age and Friendship. Translated by H.G. Edinger. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1967.

Cidade, Hernâni. Lições de Cultura e Literatura Portuguesas. 2 volumes. Coimbra, Coimbra Editora Limitada, 1959.

_____. Lições de Cultura Luso-Brasileira-Épocas e Estilos. Rio, Livros de Portugal, 1960.

Coelho, Jacinto do Prado, organizador. Dicionário das Literaturas Portuguesa, Galega e Brasileira. Porto, Livraria Figueirinhas, [1960].

Cohen, Gustave. Antologie de la litterature française au Moyen-Âge. Paris, Delgrave, 1946.

_____. Antologie du drame liturgique en France au Moyen-Âge. Paris, Editions du Cerf, 1955.

Cohen, Gustave. La comédie latine en France au XII^e siècle. Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1931.

_____. Une grande réprésentation théâtrale en Juillet 1501. Monaco, Imprimerie de Monaco, 1928.

_____. Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux au Moyen-âge. Paris, Honoré Champion, ed., 1926.

_____. Le théâtre en France au Moyen-Âge et à la Renaissance. Paris, Gallimard, 1956.

Corbin, S. Essai sur la musique religieuse portugaise au Moyen-Âge (1100-1385). Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1952.

Crawford, J. P. W. The Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937.

Díaz-Plaja, Guillermo. Antología mayor de la literatura española. Barcelona, Editorial Labor, 1958.

Díez-Echarri, E. and J. M. Roca Franquesa. Historia general de la literatura española e hispanoamericana. 2ª edición. Madrid, Aguilar, 1966.

Donovan, Richard B. The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain. Toronto, 1958.

Duckworth, George E. The Nature of Roman Comedy. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1952.

Du Méril, Édelestand Pontas. Origines latines du théâtre modern. Leipzig, H. Welter, 1897.

Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo. 9 volumes. Roma, Casa Editrice Le Machere. Fondata de Silvio D'Amico. 1955-1962.

Encina, Juan del. Cancionero de Juan del Encina. Edición facsimilada de la Real Academia Española. Madrid, 1928.

_____. Cancionero de Juan del Encina. New York, Greenwood Press, 1896.

_____. Églogas. Humberto Lopez-Morales, ed., New York, Las Américas, 1965.

A Evolução e o Espírito do Teatro em Portugal. 2 volumes. Lisboa, O "Século," 1947-1948.

Faral, Edmond. " Le fabliau latin au Moyen-Âge," Romania (Paris), L (1924), pp. 321-385.

Faral, Edmond. Les jongleurs en France au Moyen-Âge. Paris, Bibliothèque Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, 1910.

_____. Mimes français du XIIIe siècle; contribution à l'histoire du théâtre comique au Moyen-Âge. Paris, Honoré Champion, ed., 1910.

Fernández de Moratín, Leandro. Orígenes del teatro español. Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1846.

Figueiredo, Fidelino de. A Épica em Portugal no Século XVI. São Paulo, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de São Paulo, em separata, 1950.

Foerster, W. "Catalanisches Streitgedicht-zwischen En Buch und seinem Pferd," Zeitschrift. für romanische Philologie, I (1877), pp. 79-88.

Folché-Delbosc, R., editor. Cancionero castellano del siglo XV. Volumen II. Madrid, Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Casa Editora Bailly//Bailliere, 1915.

Frèches, Claude-Henri. Théâtre neo-latin au Portugal (1550)-1745). Paris, Librairie A. G. Nozet, 1964.

Freire, Anselmo Braamcamp. Arquivo Histórico Português. Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1903-1908.

_____. Vida e Obras de Gil Vicente-Trovador, Mestre de Balança. Lisboa, Edição da Revista "Ocidente," 1944.

García Soriano, Justo. El teatro universitario y humanístico en España. Toledo, R. Gómez, 1945.

Góis, Damião de. Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel. 4 volumes. Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1954.

Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira. Lisboa e Rio, Edição Enciclopédica Limitada, 1936-1960. 40 volumes.

Gassner, John and Ralph G. Allen. Theatre and Drama in the Making. Boston, Haughton Mifflin Co., 1964.

Hunninger, Benjamin. The Origin of the Theatre. New York, Hull and Wang, 1961.

Index Librorum Prohibitorum. Olyssipon, Antonius Riberius, ed., 1581.

Jack, William Schaffer. The Early Entremés in Spain. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1923.

Jubinal, Achille. Nouveau recueil de contes, dits, fabliaux et autres pièces inédites des XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles. Paris, Challamel, ed., 1842.

Kennard, Joseph Spenser. The Italian Theatre. New York, Benjamin Bloom, 1932.

Láfer, Celso. O Judeu em Gil Vicente. Coleção Ensaio 24, São Paulo, 1963.

Lang. H. R. Observações às Rimas do Cancionero de Baena. Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1930.

Lausberg, Heinrich. Elementos da Retórica Literária. Tradução e aditamentos de R.M. Rosado Fernandes. Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1966.

Lázaro Carreter, Fernando. Teatro Medieval. Madrid, Castalia, 1955.

L'Estrange, Sir Roger, editor. Fables of Aesop. New York, Dover Publications, 1967.

LeGentil, Pierre. La poèsie lyrique espagnole et portugaise à la fin du Moyen-Âge. 2 volumes. Rennes, Philon, ed., 1949 and 1954.

Lenaghan, R. T. editor. Caxton's Aesop. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1967.

Lesser, Arlene. La pastorela medieval hispánica-pastorelas y serranas galaico-portuguesas. Vigo, Galaxia, 1970.

Livermore, Harold V. A History of Portugal. Cambridge, University Press, 1947.

Loomis, Roger Sherman. The Grail-From Celtic Myth to Christian Symbol. Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1963.

Macgowan, Kenneth. Golden Ages of the Theatre. New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1959.

Malkiel, María Rosa Lida de. La originalidad artística de 'La Celestina.' Buenos Aires, Editorial Universitaria, 1962.

Manuel, Don Juan. El Conde Lucanor. Versión de Ricardo Anaya Dorado. Buenos Aires, Sopena, 1940.

Marques, A. H. de Oliveira. A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa. Lisboa, Sá da Costa, 1964.

Martins, Mário. Estudos de Literatura Medieval. Braga, Livraria Cruz, 1956.

_____. "Representações Teatrais em Lisboa no Ano de 1451," Brotéria, LXXI (1960), pp.422-430.

_____. "Teatro e Gestas Sagradas," Brotéria, XLIV (1947), pp.543-553.

_____. "O Teatro Litúrgico na Idade Média Peninsular," Brotéria, LXIX (1959), pp. 275-287.

_____. "Teatro Sagrado na Nossa Idade Média," Brotéria, L (1950), pp. 140-153.

Mata Carriazo, Juan de, editor. Refundición de la Crónica de Halconero por el Obispo Don Lope Barrientos. Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1946.

Matthews, Brander. The Chief European Dramatists. Boston, Riverside Press, 1944.

Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. Poesía juglaresca y juglares. Buenos Aires, Espasa-Calpe, 1945.

Merrill, Elizabeth. The Dialogue in English Literature. Yale University Press, Archon Books, 1969.

Meyer, P. "Les dernières troubadours de la Provence," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, XXXe année, Tome Ve, 6e série. Paris, Librairie A Franck, 1889, pp. 469-471.

Milá y Fontanals, Manuel. De los trovadores en España. Barcelona, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1966.

Miller, Neil. O Elemento Pastoril no Teatro de Gil Vicente. Porto, Editorial Inova, 1970.

Montaiglon, Anatole de and James de Rothschild. Recueil de poésies françaises des XVe et XVIe siècles. Volume X, Paris, Paul Daffis, ed., de la Bibliothèque Elzevirienne, 1875, pp. 369-376.

Moore, Marianne, translator. The Fables of La Fontaine. New York, Viking Press, 1954.

Morais Silva, António de. Grande Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa. 10ª edição. Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1951.

Muñoz, Matilde. Historia delteatro en España. Madrid, Edición del Tesoro, 1965.

Nicoll, Allardyce. The Development of the Theatre. New York, Harcourt Brace and World Co., 1966.

_____. The English Theatre. London, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1938.

_____. The Theory of Drama. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, n/d.

Nowell, Charles E. A History of Portugal. New York, D. Van Nostrand Co. Inc., 1952.

O'Hara, Frank H. and Margueritte Harmon Bro. A Handbook of Drama. Chicago, Willet, Clark and Co., 1938.

Parker, Jack Horace. Gil Vicente. New York, Twayne Publishers, 1967.

Peacock, Ronald. The Art of the Drama. New York, Macmillan Co., 1957.

Pellegrini, Silvio. Studi su trove e trovatori della prima lírica ispano-portoghese. 2ª ed. Bari, Adiatica Editrice, 1952.

Peres, Damião. História de Portugal. 9 volumes. Barcelos, 1931.

Pina, Ruy de. A Crónica de D. Afonso V (Inéditos de História Portuguesa). Volume I. Lisboa, Academia Real das Sciências, 1790.

Pratt, Óscar de. Gil Vicente-Notas e Comentários. Lisboa, Livraria Clássica Editora, 1931.

Rebello, Luis Francisco. História do Teatro Português. Lisboa, Colecção Saber, 1967.

Resende, Garcia de. Breve Memorial de Pecados e Cousas que Pertencem à Confissam. Crónica del Rei Dom João II. Lisboa, edições originais na Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Reservado 92P and 18A.

_____. Miscellânea. Prefácio e notas de Mendes dos Remédios. Coimbra, França Amado, ed., 1917.

Révah, Israel S. "Gil Vicente, a-t-il été le fondateur du théâtre portugais?" Bulletin d'Histoire du Théâtre Portugais, I (1950), pp. 153-185.

Révah, Israel S. La Censure inquisitoriale portugaise au XVI^e siècle. Lisboa, Sociedade Progresso Industrial, 1960.

_____. Deux autos méconnus de Gil Vicente. Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1948.

_____. "Manifestations théâtrales pre-vicentines: les 'momos' de 1500," Bulletin d'Histoire du Théâtre Portugais, III (1952), pp. 91-105.

Robertson, J. G. A History of German Literature. Edinburgh, William Blackwood and Sons Ltd., 1959.

Rocha, Andrée Crabbé. "Presence et absence du théâtre portugais," Bulletin d'Histoire du Théâtre Portugais, VI (1953), pp. 1-9.

Romero, Sílvio, editor. Cantos Populares do Brasil. Introdução por Teófilo Braga. 2 volumes. Lisboa, Nova Livraria Internacional, 1883.

Rose, H. J. A Handbook of Greek Literature. 3rd edition. London, Methuen and Co. Ltd., n/d.

Rougemont, Denis de. Love in the Western World. New York, Pantheon, 1956.

Saraiva, António José. Gil Vicente e o Fim do Teatro Medieval. Lisboa, Publicações Europa-América, 1965.

_____. História da Cultura em Portugal. Lisboa, Jornal do Foro, 1950.

_____. A Inquisição e Cristãos Novos. Porto, Editorial Inova, 1969.

Sayers, Raymond. O Negro na Literatura Brasileira. Traduzido por Antônio Houaiss. Rio, O Cruzeiro, 1958.

Schack, Federico Adolfo Conde de. Historia de la literatura e arte dramático en España. Eduardo de Mier, traductor. Volume I. Madrid, Imprenta de M. Tello, 1885.

Shergold, N.D. A History of the Spanish Stage from Medieval Times until the Seventeenth Century. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1967.

Shoemaker, William H. The Multiple Stage in Spain during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1935.

Sousa, A. Caetano de. Provas da História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa. Lisboa, Academia Real, 1739.

Stegagno Picchio, Luciana. "Arremedilho-Di un presunto componimento dramatico guillaresco alle origini del teatro portoghese, " Annali dell' Instituto Univ. Orient. di Napoli-sez. Romanza, II, 2 (1960),pp.31-45.

_____. "Observazioni sull'uso di Alcuni Termini nell' Antico Teatro Portoghese," Boletim de Filologia (Lisboa), XIX (1960), pp.131-143.

_____. "Quatro Lições sobre o Teatro Português," Estudos Italianos em Portugal. Instituto Italiano di Cultura in Portogallo. Lisboa, 1967, No. 28, pp. 51-118.

_____. Ricerche Sul Teatro Portoghese. Roma, Edizioni dell' Ateneo, 1969.

_____. Storia del Teatro Portoghese. Roma, Edizioni dell' Ateneo, 1964.

Tirante el Blanco. Valladolid, 1511. Edition of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Reservado 30912-3.

Torres Naharro, Bartolomé de. Propalladia and Other Works by Bartolomé de Torres Naharro. Joseph E. Gillet ed., Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961.

Valverde, Filgueira. La Cantiga CIII - Nociόn del tiempo y gozo eterno en la narrativa medieval. Compostela, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1936.

Vasconcelos, Carolina Michaelis de. Cancioneiro da Ajuda. 2 volumes. Halle, 1904.

_____. Notas Vicentinas I-V. Lisboa, Edição da Revista 'Ocidente', 1949.

_____. Das Origens da Poesia Peninsular. Lisboa, José Fernandes Júnior, 1931.

Vicente, Gil. Obras Completas. Edição Facsimilada da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1928.

_____. Obras Completas. 2ª edição. 6 volumes. Prefácio e notas de Marques Braga. Lisboa, Sá da Costa, 1955.

Viterbo, J. de S. Rosa. Elucidário das Palavras Termos e Frases que em Portugal Antigamente se Usaram. 2 volumes. Lisboa, Thaddeo Ferrera, ed., 1798-1799.

Vossler, Karl. Formas literarias en los pueblos románicos. Buenos Aires, Espasa-Calpe, 1944.

Webber, Edwin J. "The Literary Reputation of Terence and Plautus in Medieval and Renaissance Spain," Hispanic Review (Philadelphia), XXIV (1956), pp. 191-206.

Whicher, George F. The Goliard Poets. Cambridge, Mass., University Press, 1949.

Wickham, Glynne. Early English Stages. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959.

Williams, Ronald B. The Staging of Plays in the Spanish Peninsula Prior to 1555. Dissertation of the University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1935.

Young, Karl. The Drama of the Medieval Church. 2 volumes. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1933.

Zeydel, Edwin H. Vagabond Verse. Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1966.

Zurara, Gomes Eanes de. A Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta por El Rei D. João I. Lisboa, Academia das Sciências de Lisboa, 1915.

Autobiographical Statement

October 15, 1971

I was born on January 10, 1946. I am married to Ellen Fromm Miller. I received my B.A. degree from Queens College, with a major in Spanish. My M.A. was obtained from the same University, majoring in Portuguese with a minor in Spanish. I pursued my graduate studies at the City University of New York, specializing in Portuguese, again with a minor in Spanish, as is quite obvious from the dissertation. In both the M.A. thesis and Ph.D. dissertation I specialized in the poetry and theatre of Mediaeval and early-Renaissance Spain and Portugal. I have been to Portugal and Spain six times and once to Mexico. I received three Gulbenkian Scholarships for Summer study in Lisbon, as well as an NDEA Title IV Fellowship for graduate work in Portuguese. I am a member of both the Spanish and Portuguese Honor Societies. Thus far, I have had one book published (O Elemento Pastoril no Teatro de Gil Vicente), as well as various articles. I received the Diploma Superior at the University of Lisbon.

From 1967-1968 I taught as a part-time lecturer at Queens College. Since 1968 I have been teaching at Adelphi University where, in 1969, I instituted a Program in Portuguese within the Spanish Department. The Program now leads to a major and includes summer study in Portugal. It will include a similar program in Brazil as of Summer 1972. I have taught beginning and intermediate Spanish and Portuguese, as well as advanced electives in both. I have also taught graduate courses involving comparative literature and language (Spanish and Portuguese) in Adelphi's M.A. program in Spanish. I also served as the Acting Chairman of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese during the Spring 1971 semester.